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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

No. 183.—JANUARY, 1891.

ART. I.—PIERCING THE AMRAN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the opposition which Lord Beaconsfield's scheme for the creation of a "scientific frontier" encountered at the hands of the Liberals, subsequent events on the political chess-board—notably the challenge to British prestige implied in the seizure by the Russians of Panjdeh—have happily opened the eyes of those who scornfully derided, as "Russophobia," the warnings of the experienced statesmen who proclaimed that, with a weak frontier, the Empire must always remain seriously menaced by the Russian advance. It is now admitted by both political parties that India, in order to maintain peace within her borders, must be in a position not only to close her gates, if need be, against foreign aggression, but to fight her defensive battles with those gates at her back.

At what points these barriers should be erected, and how many of them will be found necessary before the frontier can fairly be pronounced impregnable from a military point of view, are questions which must be left to experts to decide. Broadly speaking, the possible avenues of approach are three in number : through Kashmir on the north ; through Afghanistan on the north-west ; and through Persia on the west. Of these three, the most probable line of attack is undoubtedly the second. The immense altitude of the Kashmir passes keeps them closed with snow for the greater portion of the year, and an invasion from that quarter would be feasible only during the brief summer months, the advent of winter promptly preventing all communication with the rear, and effectually cutting

off all possibility of retreat should the invading army meet with reverses. Again, the Persian route pre-supposes a prior subjugation of that Power by Russia, or at least a political understanding between the two Powers hostile to India,—a condition of things which would take time to evolve; time during which our more Southern line of defence could be reinforced, or a countermarch by our troops effected.

Hence the weakest link in the chain (which is therefore also the strongest) is represented by a line drawn roughly from Peshawur through Dera-Ismail-Khan, on the Indus, to the old frontier station of Jacobabad in Sind, a distance of 500 miles. A glance at the map will show that this old frontier, followed roughly, the course of the Indus from north to south: the river behind it, and, facing it, the Sulciman range of mountains. The northern section, from Peshawur to Dera-Ismail-Khan, remains geographically unchanged, but has been vastly strengthened by improved means of communication, the Sind-Sagar Railway having been completed from Multan along the left bank of the Indus to Mianwalli, whence a line is being projected almost due north, having its termini at Kushalghar and Rawal Pindi. The southern section of our boundary line, running from Dera-Ismail-Khan to Jacobabad, distant 350 miles, has been abandoned, and now forms the base of an almost equilateral triangle of country with the outpost of Chaman, to the west, as its apex. The country thus enclosed—the home of Murris, Bugtis and other tribes formerly independent—is, now that it has come under British rule, almost as peaceful and orderly as any province in India. To protect this new frontier line, a railway has been run from Jacobabad to Chaman, along the south-western arm of the triangle, and surveys for a line along the north western arm, starting from Bostan, running along the Zhob Valley and emerging somewhere about the Gomul Pass, north of Dera-Ismail-Khan, are now being made. Whether this line of railway, when made, will join the Sind-Sagar system at Mianwalli, by a bridge over the Indus at or near Isa-Khel, or whether it will be projected in a northerly direction to Peshawar, or whether, again, both schemes will, in course of time, be carried out, the future must decide.

Leaving speculation, however interesting, aside for the present, we will confine ourselves to a study of what has been done since the war, and of what is now being done in British Beluchistan.

As the railway is unquestionably the key to the position politically, it deserves front rank in any *resumé* dealing with recent events.

The history of the frontier railway, which has its junction with the Indian system at Ruk, near Sukkur, on the Indus

Valley (now incorporated with the North-Western) Railway, dates from the year 1879. During the first phase of our operations against Shere Ali, this was the detraining point for our troops, whence began their weary march across the waterless desert to Sibi, and up the gloomy Bolan Pass to Quetta. But so serious was the loss in time and pack-animals during this first expedition, that, on the news of the assassination of Sir Louis Cavagnari reaching the Government of India, the order was at once given to start the construction of the railway, in order to facilitate the advance of a British column by the Quetta route from the south upon Kandahar. From Ruk to Sibi, at the foot of the Bolan, the country presented no physical difficulties. The "Put," or desert, crossed is absolutely flat, and the metals were laid along the surface at an average rate of nearly a mile a day. But if no material obstructions faced the Engineers, they had, nevertheless, a hard battle to fight against time, and the rapidity with which materials were collected and forwarded, the difficulties under which labour was imported, and the still greater straits under which food supplies were pushed forward for the labourers over this arid track, will immortalise this feat in engineering in the annals of railway making.

Sibi once reached, the real struggle with nature began. It now became necessary to decide by what route the mountains should be pierced and the rails laid to Quetta. Two alternatives presented themselves—the shorter, but more difficult Bolan Pass, and the more circuitous, but easier, Hurnai line. The latter was chosen and work commenced at once, to be suspended by the Liberal Government in 1881, in view of reversing the policy of their predecessors, and to be again recommended by them in 1883. Two years were thus lost, which delay notwithstanding, the line was linked through to Quetta and opened to passenger traffic in 1887. In the meantime [1885] the Bolan line, before rejected, was suddenly determined upon when the news of the seizure of Pandjeh vibrated through India, and, under difficulties even greater than those met with on the Hurnai route, and at enormous expense, the line was also carried into Quetta in the spring of 1887. This much accomplished, the danger of an approach through the Bolan Pass was averted. But more remained to be done. There was still the Khojak Pass, through the Amran, which commands Quetta, and the authorities wisely concluded that nothing short of railway communication with the outpost of Chaman, on the Kandahar side of the great range, would render our position secure. The railway has, therefore, been carried to Killa Abdulla, at the foot of the Khojak, eight miles beyond which a tunnel right through the range and normal

to its axis—now under construction—will land the locomotive on the Kandahar plain.

Owing to the abruptness of the acclivities and the tortuous alignment on the Hurnai and Bolan loops, these lines are computed to possess only one half the carrying capacity of the railroad below Sibi. It is obvious that, on gradients ruled by a rise of 1 foot in 45, and on curves described with a radius of 600 feet, the haulage power of an engine adapted to an ordinarily level and straight road is sensibly affected. The two lines will not, therefore, be found in excess of requirements in carrying forward the traffic arriving over the level line to Sibi, and the advantage of having two alternative routes in case of pressure is beyond question. From Bostan, some miles north of Quetta, where the two lines converge, to Gulistan—some 40 miles further north still—the line runs over an elevated plateau where a single track suffices. Thence to the Chaman terminus the line will again be doubled, gradients of 1 in 40 and curves of 800 feet radius having again to be surmounted. By this arrangement it is confidently expected that all risk of congestion of traffic at any spot between Karachi and the frontier, under the pressure of railing forward troops and stores during a war in Afghanistan, will be avoided.

To those accustomed to railway travelling in the plains of India, the mere mention of a gradient of 1 in 40 does not perhaps convey much idea of the boldness of the engineering which has successfully conducted the rails over these mountains. In order to realise what the engineers had to face, one must travel over the line, and, gazing out of the window, try to imagine what would be his feelings if he were asked to align even a goat-track over these rugged heights. Awful are the majesty and sullenness and deep quiet of these rocky, towering gorges. On all sides are sterility and desolation. 'Tis as a nightmare petrified into stone. The heights are fretted into a never ending variety of shapes through aqueous denudation; not a tree is to be seen, and the only signs of life met with are an occasional *Pathan* and his laden donkeys, wending their way down the hill-tracks, or perchance a pair of jackals scurrying away at the sight and sound of the puffing engine. The railway winds up the gorge, now crossing the Nari river on substantial iron girders, now cutting deep through a cliff, now hugging a towering mountain side, with a sheer drop below. The most difficult feature is met with at a spot some 5,000 feet above sea-level, known as the Chappar Rift, where a vast mountain, cleft from top to bottom by two perpendicular fissures, is crossed, first by a single lattice girder, which, from the floor of the valley, looks like the web of a spider, and secondly by girders supported by stone masonry piers, of

immense height, founded on the slope of the cleavage. The drop from the level of the rails to the bed of this gloomy gorge is over five hundred feet, and when it is added that a tunnel abuts immediately at each end of the viaduct, some idea of the difficulties with which the engineer had to contend, may be formed. To Mr. G. P. Rose, C.E. (now Engineer-in-Chief of the Khojak Works, is due the honour of having successfully overcome this prominent physical obstruction.

This is on the Hurnai section. The Bolan, though really steeper, is not characterised by such boldness of alignment. The Pass for sixty miles is narrow, being a defile through which the river, from which it is named, runs, and the railroad is constructed partly in this bed and partly on the side slope of the gorge, the windings of which it follows as closely as the curvature necessary for a railroad permits. This line suffers severely from floods every year during July and August, when the Bolan river becomes swollen by the numerous hill torrents which fall into it. But the rapid declivity of the Bolan bed insures a commensurately rapid subsidence of the spates when they do come, and damage to the line can be thus generally repaired in the course of a few days. As there is no great pressure of traffic at present, it is found more economical to close the line altogether for three months of the year and to re-open it after the monsoon is passed. A portion of this line was, during its construction, laid to the metre-gauge, and the *Abt* system was also essayed in order to push through more rapidly, a gradient of 1 in 25 having been thus overcome; but the engineers have since, at their leisure, found an alignment adapted to the broad-gauge throughout. The *Abt* system [the principle feature of which is a cogwheel on the engine, working on a fixed rack, or centre rail] did not prove a success, although a German Engineer was specially engaged to superintend its installation and working. Ordinary engines of great hauling power, but not built for high speed, are said to do the work more economically.

After climbing steadily for sixty miles to a height of 5,800 feet, the line runs for 25 miles over the comparatively level tableland which separates Kotul from Quetta, and enters that city from the south-west at an elevation of 5,600 feet. As we have seen above, a fairly level run then takes us to Gulistan, whence we rise and fall, until Killa-Abdulla is reached. This old Baluchi fort stands about 5,400 feet above sea level, and is the present terminus of the open line. Beyond this, the railway, under the title of the "Chaman Extension," is under construction. By means of high embankments and deep cuttings, the line now rises to a height of 6,383 feet where it enters the great tunnel. Climbing the gentle grade of 1 in 1,000 for

some 6,000 feet, the summit, of 6,389, is passed about midway in the tunnel, when the line begins to fall rapidly at 1 in 40, emerging on the western side of the range at 6,229 feet, and continuing to fall until, about 17 miles off, it reaches Chaman, the level of which is 4,300 feet above the sea. The flight of the 'crow would reduce these seventeen miles to nine, but the railroad has to take its own time in climbing down, a detour to the south being made to find a practicable gradient. It will thus be seen that the tunnel is approximately 12,000 feet long—as a matter of fact, it is 12,800 feet or nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. As compared with the Mont Cenis, and other great European tunnels, this length is not prodigious; but when the locality is taken into consideration, when it is remembered that the plant, stores, machinery and labour have all been imported; that the country through which it passes has produced absolutely nothing, excepting clay to make bricks with, that two years to a day after the first sod was turned, daylight was through, and that this was accomplished without any hitch or accident in the working, the Government of India may fairly be congratulated on the staff of engineers in whom it placed this great trust. Mr. F. L. O'Callaghan, C.E. (Chief Engineer, P. W. D.) planned the arrangements and began the work; and, now that he has been called upon to fill the still higher post of Consulting Engineer to the Government, his mantle has fallen on the shoulders of his trusty lieutenant, Mr. Rose, who has been in practical charge of the work from the beginning, and who now, as Engineer-in-Chief, with an able selected staff under him, bids fair before very long to bring it to a happy termination.

To those who might thoughtlessly assume that the construction of a tunnel of this magnitude is to be accomplished by the easy expedient of introducing a few navvies, pick in hand, at each end, with *carte-blanche* to burrow away until the two parties should haply meet somewhere midway, it may be interesting to read an account giving some idea of what tunnel-making is like. With apologies to the profession, therefore, for any technical inaccuracies which may have crept into these notes, they are given as the result of a recent visit to the Khojak, attended, it is to be feared, by a heavy tax on the courtesy of the obliging Engineers, in the shape of much questioning which must have appeared unto them commonplace enough, though they were one and all much too kind to say so.

On the 17th. of April, 1888, then, the great mountain was attacked in four places. At the east and at the west mouths of the proposed subterranean way, horizontally and vertically, in the shape of two shafts sunk from the surface to the tunnel level, each shaft admitting—it will be understood—two more

faces to work on, or six faces in all. The shafts, the positions of which were determined on by a dip in the surface section, are each about 300 feet in depth, and here proper hoisting machinery, as used in English mines, was erected, the cages carrying the trollies on which the "muck" out of the tunnel is brought to the surface, being let down by a strong steel rope, running over a huge drum worked by steam power. The first excavations, or "headings," as they are called, projected from these six points, are of sufficient width and height only to admit of two trollies, side by side, being pushed forward, rails being laid on which the trucks run further and further into the bowels of the earth as the borings progress. The hole thus made has a sectional area about eight by six feet, a very tight place to work in. As the shafts passed through soil too soft to be trusted to stand vertically, they had to be timbered from top to bottom,—an operation demanding the skill of experienced miners. And as the headings throughout called for the same treatment, to prevent the superincumbent mass from burying the workmen alive, a colony of about 50 English pitmen, thoroughly conversant with this class of works, was early established on the Amran range. In addition to thus affording auxiliary outlets for the stuff from the tunnel, these shafts have proved of great help in ventilating the workings, though, owing to the great length of the tunnel, they, by no means, suffice for this purpose. Air, compressed at the surface by machinery, is therefore pumped through pipes and distributed below, and it answers the double purpose of ventilation and affording power for driving the rock-drilling machines. For a great portion of its length, the boring passes through rock too hard to yield to the navvy's pick, and in this formation holes are drilled to receive the dynamite charges, the explosion of which breaks up the rock and admits of its being carried off in the trollies. With two atmospheric drills at work on each face, one hundred and twenty feet of lineal heading was worked out in the week of best progress. The machines themselves are rolled up to their work on lines of rail, so as to be readily removable when they have prepared the face for the blasting. The stuff which comes out of the tunnel on the trucks has been used partly to make up the approaching embankments, the rest being tipped down the hill side to waste, or as the Engineers term it, being "spoiled." As air had to be artificially introduced for the workmen to breathe, so light was also artificially provided for the men to see by. A steam engine, working a dynamo at the surface, kept the electric light shining in the workings, thus very materially facilitating the subterranean operations which, failing this, would have had to depend on the doubtful light provided by the old fashioned miners' dips.

For two years uninterruptedly, with one exception, the work was kept going at the six faces, till, at length, on April 17th of the present year, the Engineers had the satisfaction of knowing that the heart of the mountain was penetrated and the back of the work thus broken.

The exceptional interruption referred to was due to water. It has already been mentioned that from the summit the formation of the tunnel falls on either side. Now, it is obvious that, so long as the borings progressed up hill, whatever water was met found its way out of the tunnel mouths by gravitation; whereas when working down, a falling grade from the intermediate vertical shafts, whatever water accumulated could be removed by pumping only. It was on one of these faces that the workmen were, in spite of steam pumps vigorously applied, drowned out. For three months the work on this face was entirely stopped, and so great was the accumulation of water after the spring was tapped, that the Engineers had an anxious time of it when drilling out the last few yards on the dry face opposite to the water. Happily the rock at this point was hard and held to the last, but, in anticipation of this wall suddenly bursting and letting this huge volume of water through on to the miners—a mishap which would have certainly resulted in the drowning of many—great anxiety must have been felt by those responsible. When the time came to effect the junction, to the relief of all the wall stood firm, and in the course of four days, through a small hole drilled through the screen, the whole of the imprisoned water was safely discharged.

This water, which during this critical period seriously threatened to master the Engineers, has now been transformed into an obedient and invaluable servant. Gathered into pipes, it no longer spills wantonly over the tunnel, but is discharged at its mouth in a constant and reliable stream. It is of good quality, and will be made use of for the locomotives permanently running over this portion of the line.

The heading once through, and the water reduced to obedience, the serious business of enlarging the tunnel through-out, to its ultimate cross section, began in earnest. This section is represented by a circle of 14 feet radius, the floor of the tunnel being a chord 5 feet 6 inches below the centre of the circle and crossing it horizontally. The tunnel is, therefore, 28 feet wide by 19 feet 6 inches high, taking the extreme dimensions, which gives room for two lines of rail. The progress made with this part of the work depends, in a great measure, on the kind of rock met with. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the borings pass through clay slate at the eastern end, running into half formed shale and clay at the Chaman end.

The soft stuff, although easier to excavate, gives the most trouble, as heavy timbering is necessary to prevent a collapse. The roof throughout is considered too treacherous to trust, and is being lined with brick-work or stone masonry, the sides, however, where the dip of the rock is in the Engineer's favour, are left unlined: this is the case for about a quarter of the way through. This widening out is carried on in short-sections, termed technically "break-ups." The work is now being carried out at fifteen "break-ups," each 18 feet in length, and having two faces. When the miners have driven an 18 feet length to full section, which operation takes about 7 days, the bricklayers are put in, and they build in the arching. The sides are left to the last. The arching now proceeds at the rate of 700 feet per month. About 8,500 feet, or two-thirds of the whole tunnel, is arched to date. But it is obvious that, as each "break-up" has two working faces, when two "break-ups" meet, their four faces are again reduced to two, so that the rate of progress tends to diminish as the different parties join hands. July 1891 is given as the probable date of completion throughout. The masonry is all being laid in Portland cement imported from England. As this mortar is what Engineers call hydraulic, that is to say, water-tight, it is expected that the tunnel will be perfectly dry when completed, only such water as may be required for use outside being tapped and conveyed in pipes. A handsome stone entry to the tunnel has been designed and is now being constructed at either mouth.

It has been said that the whole of the materials necessary to the construction of this important extension have had to be imported. The stone for the masonry, and the clay of which the bricks are made, are obtained locally; but the cement with which they are joined together crosses the sea from England, and the fuel which burns the bricks and drives the engines, hails from Scotch and Welsh coal pits. The enormous mass of timber used in propping the headings, consists partly of deodar from the Himalayas and partly of teak from Burmah. The girders spanning the chasms and hill torrents are, of course, of English manufacture, and the machinery and plant, from the complex electric light engines down to the commonest piece of rope on the works, is English, or, at least, European. The only exception is in the case of fuel, the supply of English coal having been supplemented by country coal from the Khost collieries, the cheap and plentiful yield from which is due to the exertions of Mr. David Morris, formerly Engineer in charge of these works, and now Port Engineer of Karachi Harbour. Crude oil from Khattan is also used as fuel for the furnaces of the atmospheric engines. But as Khost

and Khatlan are also a vast distance from Killa Abdulla, this material can scarcely be said to be locally produced.

It is evident that a very large number of labourers must find employment on such a work. In addition to the fifty English miners who are engaged on the more dangerous work of timbering, about four thousand natives—Pathans, Punjabis, Arabs, Kashmiris, Mekranis, and one solitary Zanzibari—answer daily to the muster roll. The work never ceases, day or night, save for about eight hours once a week, to allow the Engineers to check lines and levels within the tunnel in peace, failing which stoppage, the noise below, of the drilling machines, of the shouting coolies, and of the rumbling trucks, would be too great to admit of any such delicate operations being carried on.

The labourers are paid—and well paid—weekly; and, considering that no great temptations to spend their earnings offer, many of them must be hoarding up little piles of wealth. The English miners are under covenant with the Secretary of State: they are mostly grass widowers, and are a very quiet, hard working and sober lot. Perhaps the absence of temptation is answerable for this. Their chief amusement is riding: one and all possess Kandahari nags, and occasionally races are organized. They are not quite up to steepchases, but riding on the flat [if a tearing gallop up a hillroad at an angle of 45 degrees with the horizon deserves the name] with much giving and taking of odds, they delight in. To watch the seats of some of these equestrians is, indeed, to take a lesson in equitation!

The men are comfortably housed, and the commissariat arrangements are such as to enable all to live well. A bazar has been established at Shelabagh, on the east side of the hill, where the butcher, the baker and even the barber are to be found plying their trade. The natives are huddled in a sheltered valley north of the tunnel, where quite a busy village has sprung up, and where the gloomy silence, unbroken for ages, save by the hootings of night-owls, has given place to the roar of a bartering crowd by day, and the reverberating tom-tom's measured beat by night.

Shelabagh, which, being interpreted, means "the valley of the garden," a name it owes to one solitary and wretched wild vine, blooming on its hill side, is the Engineers' head quarters. Tastefully designed small villas of grey stone, with high-pitched roofs—curtained windows, displaying clusters of flower-pots on the window sills, and a cottage garden ten feet all round—a front door gazing boldly over the mountains, unhampered by the conventional Indian verandah—a front door with a knocker, if you please,—and the interior a perfect poem of

coziness—such is the description to which at least one of these [alas ! ephemeral] mountain châteaux answers. Needless to add, perhaps, that this embellishment is the work of a lady's hand. The bungalows stand ensconced in a valley 6,400 feet in height, screened from the cruel *blizzard* which winter brings, by the Amran mountain slopes, the highest peak of which in the vicinity is 7,000 feet above sea-level. The shelter thus secured, notwithstanding the climate—tempting as such an elevation may appear to those sweltering in Indian plains—is not a little trying. The mean temperature registered for the summer months is 86° Fahrenheit, that for winter 37°; but this gives but a poor idea of the rapid changes which have to be borne, even within twenty-four hours. In December the mercury often stands for days at 15°, and it not seldom falls below zero. The consequence is that pneumonia is not uncommon, one miner and several natives having lost their lives from this painful disease. The rainfall in 1889 was 6½ inches : it was never before measured.

The little settlement is just half way on the direct trunk road between Kandahar and Quetta. Strings of camels, laden with dried fruits, skins, spice and wool, are constantly passing down, to return from India with cargoes of iron, cotton, and English piece-goods. Fresh fruit—apricots, pomegranates, grapes and apples—is to be had in plenty, and to a jaded Anglo-Indian, whose breakfast table has for years boasted only of the eternal cotton-woolly plantains of the plains, a visit to these high latitudes, where his teeth meet in juicy peach, carries its own reward. These all come from the gardens round about Kandahar. At Shelabagh itself nothing grows excepting the wild pistachio and a little edible grass in the lower valleys. Large flocks of sheep, however, not only pick up a living, but grow fat on the hillsides, though what they can find to eat it is hard to conceive. The horses kept by the Engineers and miners are fed on *blüosa* imported from Quetta ; milk is somewhat scarce, there being a paucity of goats, and butter is a dainty these colonists must perforce forego during their sojourn on the Kojak. But, with good mutton, excellent bread, and a plentiful supply of luscious fruit, men can manage to live well, and, considering the general inhospitality of the country, it is matter for wonder that more calls are not of necessity made on Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell. There is, at any rate, intramurally, no such thing as inhospitality to be found on the Amran !

There is not much sport to be obtained in the hills, and indeed, it is not considered very safe to wander far from the camp. Occasionally a few *chikors* are shot ; but, with this exception, the only living things to be found in these solitudes are

wolves and jackals. Even the ubiquitous crow does not appear to have penetrated so far. Sport being out of the question, the officers have fallen back upon billiards and lawn tennis to fill up their leisure hours, from a superabundance of which, however, they do not appear to suffer: tunnel-making is anxious and arduous work, and time hangeth not heavily on the hands of these handicraftsmen.

The local tribes appear to be friendly to the railway on the whole, but the treachery of a Pathan is notorious, and a guard of 150 sepoy, of the Bengal Pioneers, under the command of an English officer, is lodged at Shelabagh for the protection of the little colony. So far all has been quiet, and the gallant captain's military demonstrations have been limited to marching his men up a hill and down again, to keep their knee-joints supple. No doubt, he and his brave handful would be "all there," if called to arms; in the meantime their presence adds a comforting sense of security to the civil element.

But we have loitered long enough at Shelabagh, and must hurry on to Chaman, on the other side, to reach which we have a choice of three routes: (1), by crawling, bent double, through the tunnel; (2), on horse-back along the military road winding in and out of the hills; or (3), by the funicular railway, over the very summit of the Khojak. As we have, perhaps, seen enough of the first, and as the second offers no great novelty, we will, with the Engineer's kind permission, avail ourselves of the third.

For the enlightenment of those whose classics have grown somewhat rusty, it may be mentioned that *funicis*, in the Latin tongue, means a rope. Hence "funicular" is applied to a railroad the motive power of which is imparted by a rope running over a drum. The history of this feat in engineering is briefly told. When the tunnel works were commenced, it was rightly estimated that at least some years must elapse before a train should pass through, and, as it was reckoned also politically desirable that we should be in a position to construct the railway in headlong haste into Kandahar in the event of an emergency, the question arose how we should, without waiting for the tunnel, put eighty miles of railway material across the mountains. By road, on camels, would have been a terribly slow business, if feasible at all, and the ingenuity of the Engineers was therefore put to the test, and resulted in the construction of a steep inclined plane up, and a corresponding one down on the other side, over which railway waggons, laden with railway material, are hauled, one at a time. The slope of this unique railroad is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, that is to say, it rises $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet vertically to every foot forward horizontally.

On the top is a steam-engine working a huge drum, over which runs an endless steel rope, one loaded truck being hauled up as the empty truck descends for a second load. The curious part of the arrangement is that the track, instead of consisting of two separate lines of rail, parallel to each other, and at a distance admitting of waggons being crossed, the up track is *within* the down track, the trucks meeting at a loop half way, where, by a clever system of "points and crossings," they pass each other without colliding. The railway waggons do not run up this slope on their own wheels, the inclination being such that the cargo would certainly shift in the ascent. The waggons are therefore shunted into a truck, the platform of which remains horizontal, the front wheels of course being much smaller in diameter than the rear wheels. When the waggon reaches the summit, it is hauled off by an ordinary locomotive engine, for some distance, along a comparatively level railroad, till it reaches the western rope incline, where it is lowered away into Chaman in the same way, and thence it is again hauled by a locomotive to the terminus. The engines on the summit, as well as those on the Chaman side, were lifted and passed over by the funicular railroad. The working capacity of these inclines is 40 waggons per day of 12 hours: with night work, if necessary, this could be more than doubled. They have been hard at work for the past eighteen months or more, and nearly the whole of the material necessary to carry the railway into Kandahar is now stored on the Chaman side. There appears, however, to be not the remotest intention of pushing the railway an inch beyond the frontier at present. Such an act would involve a breach of faith with the Amir, our policy toward Afghanistan being one of non-interference, save on appeal. But the moral effect these eighty miles of rails exercise is incalculable, and the day may come when they will be laid, be it as a measure of peace, with the concurrence of the Afghan ruler, or as a measure of war, for the protection of the British flag.

The funicular railway having conveyed us with perfect comfort, if with a somewhat novel sensation, to the crest, we may now gaze to our hearts' content on the boundless Kandahar plain stretching below. As a prospect conveying an idea of abstract vastness, it is probably unmatched. It is like an angry sea suddenly petrified into yellow sand. For miles and miles the eye has no resting place, until at length, 60 miles distant, it lights on the range of mountains which conceal Kandahar itself from view.

Descending to Chaman—which signifies a grassy swamp, and is thus named after some springs in the valley which afford a patch of grazing—we find a second colony of Engineers in

charge of the Western mouth of the tunnel. Everything we found at Selabagh is here repeated, the bazar, the bungalows, the tennis court and the few traggling pistachio trees. But in place of having the military in their midst, the Chamanites are guarded by the military outpost some few miles further west, where are posted two companies of Native Infantry, one squadron of Bombay Cavalry, and two mountain guns. The climate on this side is even more severe than at Shelabagh, there being no shelter from the biting winds which blow across the Kandahar plain. In a photograph of Chaman, taken in winter, it is represented as carpeted with snow. Even in the month of August, and gazing from the crow's nest across the lowlands, a top-coat was found to be a comfort.

And now, with a few words anent the roads over which our steps must be retraced to Selabagh, we will bid the tunnel and its hospitable Engineers a cordial farewell. There are two roads over the pass. The old road, constructed by the Military Department in 1879 though a vast improvement on the Native camel track, which did duty before we invaded the Kandahar country, is yet somewhat narrow, steep and difficult. The ruling grade is 1 in 8 over long distances. In 1887, however, a second and greatly superior road was made with grades of 1 in 10, and none of them very long. The roads have, of course, been of the greatest service to the railway Engineer, nearly all the plant, machinery and building materials for Chaman having passed over them. And with these two highways over, and one highway through, the mountain, the conditions ruling a future march on Kandahar would compare favourably indeed with those under which the campaign of 1879 was conducted, when the heavy guns, owing to the abruptness of the declivity on the far side, had to be slung in ropes in order to reach the bottom in safety.

That peace, however, and not war may be our portion in Beluchistan for a long future, is earnestly to be hoped. If the latter upholds British prestige, it is none the less true that the former tends to develop our popularity, not only directly with the people within our territory, but indirectly with the surrounding tribes. Men are, after all, human, even though they be but barbarians, and for those who have tasted of both, a comparison between the harsh and arbitrary despotism of their own rulers and our more civilized qualities in governing, must come home to them with striking conviction. On the railway and on other works, employment has been provided for thousands of these people, who have found themselves paid with regularity and treated with justice. The rough ways, moreover, have been

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made smooth for them through their rugged gorges, and they are fully sensible of the benefit of almost absolute security to life and property which their caravans enjoy the moment they cross over into British ground. This peace [and considering the thinness of the population, it may be added *plenty*] which now reigns over this newly-acquired territory, is due in a great measure to the ability of Sir Robert Sandeman, who, carrying the official title of Agent to the Governor-General, Beluchistan, and Chief Commissioner, British Beluchistan, is entrusted with the jurisdiction of the country. His powers are those of the High Court, except over Europeans in criminal cases.

Speaking of the popularity of the railway, it is even said that the people of Kandahar would rejoice at hearing the locomotive whistle within their gates. It would mean for them improved trade with India. But the court at Cabul is, of course, jealous of any seeming interference, and Abdur Rahman would himself (even if he be sufficiently enlightened to appreciate the benefits of a railway though his country—which is doubtful) probably meet with much internal opposition if he acquiesced in any peaceful overtures on our part, having for their object the further extension across the border of the North-Western Railway. There has been told a story pertinent to the subject which will perhaps bear repetition. When the Governor of Kandahar visited Chaman, he was invited by the Engineer to make a tour round the works, including an excursion into the tunnel itself. "Sahibs"—was his reply—"when you English have shot a man through his breast, do you then invite his friends to come and see the hole?"

But if the new country is quiet, it must not be rashly concluded that the civilizing influence we have brought to bear is the sole element from which law and order have sprung. If the Afghan is not beyond appreciating British integrity and fair play, he has also a very wholesome respect for power. Like the rest of India the country is virtually held by the sword, albeit that sword is happily sheathed. There is a strong force at Quetta, the head-quarters of a division, under the command of General Sir George White.

The railway, from Shikarpore upwards, is not meant to be, and certainly never will be, a paying commercial speculation. The gradients are too steep and the country is too poor. It is possible, of course, that trade will develop with these improved means of communication, though the trade returns at hand do not, so far, show a tendency toward an increase. From the accounts published by the Finance and Commerce Department, relating to the trade by land of British India with foreign countries for the twelve months ending 31st March 1890, as compared with the two previous years, we gather that the total

value of imports from Kandahar and Khorassan into Sind was registered as follows :—

IMPORTS.

By road.			Trans-frontier by rail, exclusive of railway material.		
1887-88	...	Rs. 1,08,030	1887-88	...	Rs. 20,60,156
1888-89	...	" 1,19,851	1888-89	...	" 28,67,903
1889-90	...	" 98,686	1889-90	...	" 27,40,789

The figures representing value of railway materials re-imported into India have been purposely omitted. They probably stand for machinery, plant and materials used on the Sind-Pishin (Hurnai) and Bolan Railways during construction, which, on the completion of those lines, were transferred to other lines under construction in India, and the figures will thus probably not appear in future returns showing the flow of trade into Sind. From the above it will be seen that about one lakh of Rupees' worth of merchandise finds its way down by camel. This is not a very large quantity ; but, such as it is, the railway will probably carry it when once the line is open to Chaman, which will then become the terminus of the Kandahar *Kafilas*. Now that the caravans have to cross the Khojak Pass—the most difficult part of the journey—they seem to prefer pushing on to Shikarpore to making use of the railway. As a matter of fact, there has probably been competition between the camel and the locomotive, but it is quite obvious from the above table that the latter has already practically driven the former out of the field.

The tables below give an analysis of the import trade for the last year only :—

IMPORTS BY ROAD 1889-90.

Rs.		Rs.	
Animals, living (for sale)		Brought forward	44,372
horses, ponies, mules	27,278	Fruit	26,190
Animals, living (for sale)		Ghi	11,690
other kinds	12,907	Silk (manufactured)	500
Drugs and medicines	2,177	Tobacco	1,050
Madder	2,010	Wool	14,420
		Piece-goods (manufacturer)...	464
Carried over	44,372	Total Rs.	98,686

IMPORTS BY RAIL 1889-90.

(Exclusive of Railway materials).

	Rs.		Rs.
Animals, living (for sale) ...	3,200	Brought forward ...	11,50,117
Cotton (raw) ...	106	Leather (unmanufactured) ...	680
Twist and Yarn ...	208	Leather (manufactured) ...	16,440
Piece goods (European) ...	174	Liquors ...	1,580
Cotton (manufactured) ...	1,950	Metals ...	22,326
Drugs and medicines ...	16,328	Oil Cake ...	332
Charas ...	3,536	Oils ...	31
Indigo ...	744	Provisions (Ghi, &c.) ...	87,483
Dyeing materials ...	496	Salt and saline substances ...	1,47,456
Turmeric ...	1,105	Mustard and rape seed ...	14,132
Jute ...	11,370	Til seed ...	47
Other fibres ...	20	Other oil seeds ...	2,925
Fruit and vegetables ...	6,66,148	Other seeds ...	13,038
Grain ...	63,786	Spices ...	79,573
Gram and pulse ...	19,134	Sugar ...	1,141
Other spring crops ...	612	Tea ...	80
Rice ...	544	Tobacco ...	7,987
Other rain crops ...	57,038	Timber ...	1,325
Hides and skins (large) ...	6,480	Wool (raw) ...	13,85,410
Sheep and goat skins ...	20,790	Wool (manufactured) ...	7,100
Horns ...	20	Other articles unclassified (raw) ...	3,119
		Ditto, (manufactured) ...	74,735
Carried forward ...	11,50,117	Total Rs. ...	27,40,789

A glance at the above will show that fruit and wool are the two principal staples. Now, as railway freights are not regulated "*ad valorem*," but in ratio of weight and bulk, and as both fruit and wool are light and of great bulk, this is not what railway Managers would call a paying description of traffic.

Touching exports, the following returns prove that the camels carry away merchandise to about the same value as that brought down, but that the export trade on the whole is greatly in excess of imports. But it must be borne in mind, in regard to both the outward and the inward flow, that the Indian frontier line is at Jacobabad, and that a large proportion of this trade moves only between Shikarpore and Quetta. Railway materials have again been omitted, as representing an abnormal state of traffic, and coal burned on the railway, as representing no actual revenue to the line. The large items of timber, arms, and ammunition have also been scratched. The timber was probably moved by the Military Department, and the railway, to build Quetta, and the Military stores presumably found their way up to stock the Quetta garrison.

EXPORTS.

By road.			By rail, exclusive of railway materials, coal, coke, timber, arms and ammunition.		
1887-88	...	Rs. 1,83,443	1887-88	...	Rs. 98,55,559
1888-89	...	1,07,079	1888-89	...	76,81,260
1889-90	...	1,69,592	1889-90	...	81,22,696

EXPORTS BY ROAD, 1889-90.

	Rs.		Rs.
Cattle	3,575	Brought forward	1,40,009
Chinese and Japanese Ware	19,020	Rain crops	635
Cotton (manufactured)	1,13,862	Leather (manufactured)	13,500
Turmeric	1,172	Metals Brass, Copper	660
Other dyeing materials	2,200	Do. Iron	1,374
Fibres (manufactured)	180	Do. Assorted	5,490
		Sugar	7,920
Carried forward	1,40,009	Total Rs.	1,69,592

EXPORTS BY RAIL, 1889-90.

(Exclusive of Railway materials, coal, coke, timber, arms & ammunition.)

	Rs.		Rs.
Cattle	1,820	Brought forward	55,07,090
Cotton (raw)	14,039	Metals, assorted	3,606
Cotton (manufactured)	27,900	Oil Cake	183
Twist and yarn	11,466	Oils	47,400
Piece-goods (European)	12,19,131	Do.	86,923
Piece goods (Indian)	22,53,615	Ghi	35,534
Drugs	12,840	Provisions	89,450
Charas	2,056	Salt	10,210
Indigo	1,58,038	Saline substances	3,686
Madder	2,229	Seeds	180
Turmeric	3,075	Ditto	114
Dyeing materials	38,300	Til seed	3,492
Fibrous products	1,65,784	Seed	605
Fruit	2,37,040	Do.	2,336
Gram	1,87,710	Silk (raw)	6,600
Other spring crops	9,477	Ditto (manufactured)	4,500
Rice	1,84,397	Spices	31,781
Rain crops	5,388	Stationery	700
Hides and skins	5,675	Stone and Marble	2,296
Leather (unmanufactured)	3,425	Sugar	5,34,748
Ditto (manufactured)	47,840	Tea	67,400
Liquors	4,44,490	Tobacco	39,288
Metals	4,71,337	Firewood	4,117
		Wool (raw)	340
		Wool (manufactured)	2,11,900
		Other articles of manufacture (raw)	10,803
		Ditto (manufactured)	14,17,411
Carried over	55,07,090	Total Rs.	81,22,696

This is, certainly, more promising than the down traffic. In addition to being three times as great in value, the heavy items are this time piece, goods, metals and sugar—paying traffic to the railways. Yet the sum totals are small, and, as we have seen, show as yet no tendency to improve.

But even though the railway authorities should perforce shake their heads and sigh over the trade returns, and declare that the line will scarce even pay its working expenses [which is taking a very pessimistic view], it must still be admitted that every rupee spent on its construction has been wisely spent, in promoting the security of India. The bill, no doubt, has been a heavy one, and there will be yet more to pay, but the outlay is as nothing compared with the ruinous expense to which the great Empire would have to submit should a Russian advance find it unprepared.

There are yet a few isolated politicians who argue that, because Russia has never knocked at India's gates, all danger of her ever doing so may be regarded as chimerical. They persist in quarrelling with a policy which strengthens those gates, on the score of the enormous expenditure involved. But if war with Russia is but the dream of visionaries, war with Afghans is at least an ever threatening probability. What was forced on us in 1839 and 1842, and again in 1878 and 1880, may be forced on us again at any moment, and, in view of this contingency alone, the possession of an impregnable frontier, with the passes in our hands, is to India surely of paramount importance. Therefore let a red-letter day in Indian annals be now scored:—the 17th day of April 1890, the day on which the Great Amran was pierced.

E. B.

ART. II.—IVAN KRILOV THE RUSSIAN FABULIST.

WHAT Æsop was to Greece, what La Fontaine is to France, Ivan Krilov is to Russia.

Krilov was born in Moscow in 1768, in the early years of the reign of Katherine the Great, after the death of her husband, the ill-starred Peter III.

Peter III, the half-German grandson of Peter the Great, had married the German princess, Katherine of Anhalt-Serbst. He came to the throne in 1762. Though bearing the title of Emperor, he had nothing imperial about him but the name, and the imperious will and penetrating intellect of his wife entirely dominated him.

After six weeks of their joint reign, Katherine determined to rule alone, and almost immediately afterwards, her husband mysteriously disappeared; Katherine was proclaimed Empress, and the regiments of the Guard took the oath of allegiance to her. What became of Peter the Third is not certainly known; but Katherine, though reputed of pure German blood, had genius enough to make herself more Russian than the Russians, to gain firm hold on the imperial throne and the hearts of the nation, and to reign brilliantly till the end of the century.

As similar events in English history would lead us to expect, the disappearance of Peter the Third was the signal for the appearance of more than one Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. The greatest of these was the Pretender, Pugatchov, who appeared on the upper waters of the River Ural.

To this Ural country all the malcontents of the previous reigns, for the most part Kazaks from the Don and Dnieper, had betaken themselves. Here, also, were many tribes of Tatars, Kirgiz, Mardva, Bashkirs and other lawless nomads.

Amongst these people, who were the very material for a rebellion, arose, in 1771, the famous Pretender, Pugatchov. He was a Kazak, a heavy powerful man, with jet-black hair and black-flashing eyes. Nevertheless, when this tawny Kazak claimed to be the pale, sickly, sandy haired German, Peter the Third, he found not a few Kazaks ready to believe him, and to espouse his fortunes. With a nucleus of three hundred horsemen, he besieged and seized a small fortress near Orenburg on the Ural, and this victory added three thousand Kazaks to his ranks. With this considerable force he marched towards the rich city of Orenburg, and by the time he reached it, his forces numbered twenty-five thousand, all the small turbulent

tribes having thrown in their lot with him after his first successes.

By this time the news of his revolt had travelled to St. Petersburg, then a month's journey from Orenburg and the Ural country. Katherine the Great sent several regiments against him from St. Petersburg and Moscow, and in one of these regiments served Captain Andrey Krilov, the father of the future fabulist.

Captain Andrey Krilov took with him his wife and son, then just three years old. All three went through the campaign together, and at one time they were blockaded, with their regiment, in a small fortress on the Ural, by the forces of the triumphant Pugatchov.

The Empress then sent her skilful General, Bibikov, against the Pretender, and, under this General's leadership, the imperial armies at last began to make some headway against the insurgents, and the nobility of the Ural Provinces began to regain courage and bring together their scattered forces.

For some time Bibikov risked no battle with the rebels. He devoted himself to restoring confidence to the nobility, and to the panic-stricken cities of the South Eastern Provinces.

Almost all the noble families had been decimated by Pugatchov, who sought to gain adherents by distributing the wealth of the nobles amongst the lowest of the peasants. Bibikov spent some weeks in preparing festivals, balls, and receptions in the large cities, in order to re-awaken confidence in the imperial power and the continuance of the imperial rule. But Bibikov's work was cut short by death, and the Pretender's star again came into the ascendant. For several months he ruled absolutely a territory larger than England. He used his power to ruin the old Russian nobility, and to raise peasants and Kazaks to their places. He acted on the superstitions of the fanatic peasantry, calling on them to defend the old Russian faith, and the old Russian dynasty, against religious innovation and the German influence of Katherine.

Pugatchov was not finally defeated till 1774, when Katherine sent against him Suvorov, the greatest of Russian Generals, and one of the greatest soldiers of all time. Suvorov shares with two men, Hannibal and Napoleon, the honour of having crossed the Alps at the head of an army; an exploit which forms the subject of one of the best Russian historical novels.

This is the Russia to which Ivan Krilov was born, and in which he was left, to make his own way, by the death of his father in 1780. Young Krilov, then only twelve years old, went with his excellent, but uncultured mother to the city of Tver, where he obtained the post of junior clerk in the Magisterial office. Two years later, he went with his mother to

St. Petersburg, where he got some post in the Court of Exchequer, and afterwards in the imperial household.

Though Krilov passed in the midst of the most stirring scenes—battles, sieges, insurrections, massacres—those tender years of boyhood when the mind and imagination most readily receive impressions, yet it is characteristic of his mind and nature, that in none of his writings is there any reflexion whatever of the adventures and sufferings of his early years. All his life he dwelt apart, in an imaginary paradise, shutting out the external world, and nourished only by the products of his own mind.

In strong contrast to his contemporary, Goethe, whose boyhood glimpses of the marches and counter-marches of the armies of Frederick the Great appear again and again in his writings, the warlike surroundings of young Krilov seem to have left no impression on his mind at all.

We find him in 1783, at the age of fifteen, choosing for his maiden work a comedy entitled the "Soothsayer," or, more exactly, the "Spey-wife," detailing the adventures of an old woman who told fortunes from the patterns of coffee-grains in the bottom of a cup.

Krilov's literary work must be divided into two periods—the fruitless, which lasted till he was almost forty, and the fruitful, from forty till his death. After the "Spey-wife," which opened his fruitless period, he wrote two tragedies, "Philomela" and "Cleopatra," but they are almost worthless.

Ivan Krilov's mother died in 1788, leaving him alone in the world at the age of twenty. He gave up his post, and determined to devote himself solely to literature. He began by editing a journal, the "Ghost's Mail," to which many talented writers contributed. Soon after, he edited the "Spectator," and in 1792 the "St. Petersburg Mercury," but none of Krilov's own contributions have survived. Krilov then produced a comic opera, "The Mad Family," and later, two comedies, "the Scapegraces," and "The Antichamber," all nearly worthless. These were followed by "The Fashion Shop," "Lessons to Daughters," and "Ilyc Bagatir."

In 1806 Krilov, then thirty-nine years old, struck the true vein, and opened his fruitful period by a translation of La Fontaine's "Oak and Reed," and "The Exacting Bride." In 1809 he published the first book of his fables, twenty-two in number, only six of which are imitations.

Krilov's fables—the works which have made him immortal—are written in terse, idiomatic Russian, and are full of the strongest Russian national feeling. There is nothing at all resembling his fables in English, unless it be some of Gay's forgotten works, so that we are driven to foreign literature for comparisons to illustrate him.

Though his form is the same as La Fontaine's, his spirit much more closely resembles that of Beranger. He is quite free from the affectation and mannerism of the French fabulist, and full of broad, genuine humour and goodheartedness. See him as a stout, middle-aged man of forty, with his beaming face and double chin; with what kindliness and *bonhomie* he laughs at the classic school in his "Parnassus;" how many profound and genial judgments on life and manners in his social fables; and yet withal we have an unworldliness, a far-awayness from the things of this earth, that make of him a kind of comic Hamlet, for whom the objective world is in eternal subordination to the subjective impressions of the mind."

We shall try to illustrate Krilov's fables by a few translations, following faithfully the metre and form of his verse, and begging our readers to excuse the imperfections of the result, as it is unhappily not true of the translator that

"He lisped in numbers, for the numbers came."

The chief peculiarities of Krilov's verse are the ruggedness of the rhythm, the frequent use of doggerel, where a short line rhymes with a long one, and the varying order of the rhymes. But even when we imitate all this, and translate word for word as well, much of the peculiar aroma of the verse, much of its grace and quaintness necessarily evaporate,—the fate with every poet, from Homer downwards, whose works are rendered in a foreign tongue.

THE LIAR.

Homeward from distant lands returning,
 A nobleman (perhaps a prince)
 Out walking with a friend one morning,
 Boasted about the country whence
 He'd come. To fact bold fiction adding,
 "No," cried he, sorrowfully nodding,
 "What I have seen, I'll never see again.
 What sort of country have you here?
 Too hot or cold for half the year;
 Now the sun bakes, now pelts the rain.
 But *there* . . . it's paradise indeed,
 Fur coats or fires you never need,
 Even to think of it revives delight;
 Not once an age you have a gloomy night;
 'Tis one May-day through all the livelong year,
 There you need neither plant nor sow,
 And if you saw the things that grow.
 In Rome I once beheld a cucumber,
 —Oh Lord! to think of it
 Confuses all my wit,—

Would you believe? Indeed 'twas bigger than a mount?

"Ah," cried the friend, "indeed, 'tis wonderful;

But in the world are wonders plentiful,

Though 'tis not everywhere that wonders count.

Just now, for instance, we shall come upon

A strange phenomenon

The like of which, I'll bet,

You never met. . . .

Do you see yonder bridge across the stream?

—(Soon we shall cross it) simple though it seem,

'Tis a true wonder. Not a liar here

Will venture on it; for when he is near

Half way across, the bridge will gape in two,

And, splash! the liar straightway tumbles through.

But he who speaks the truth and does not lie,

May in a carriage fearlessly go by."

"And is the water deep?" "Not deep, I own,

Yet deep enough to drown

A liar or two. And so, you see,

More than one kind of wonder there may be.

But Roman cucumbers *are* big, that's certain:

I think you said—'as big as any mountain,'?"

—"Well, not perhaps a mountain, but a house."

—" 'Tis hard to credit.

I wonder at it.

This bridge is somewhat of a wonder, too

For it wont let a liar go

Across it. Just this very spring,

Down through the bridge—the whole town knows it all—

A tailor and two journalists did fall.

But still, a cucumber that's bigger than

A house *is* wonderful, deny it who can."

"Well, not so wonderful when once you see

Exactly how the matters be.

You don't find everywhere

Houses as big as here.

The houses there (I should have mentioned it)

Will just hold two who neither stand nor sit."

"Well, even so, I think a cucumber

With room for two inside, is no small wonder.

But all the same, our bridge is, too;

For not a liar across can go,

But through he'll fall.

Yet Roman cucumbers are wonders, after all, . . ."

"Look here, my friend,"—The liar put in his word,

"Why cross the bridge? let's go and seek a ford."

Visions of exorbitant bills and special correspondents' lies rise before us, called up by the episode of the "Two Journalists and a Tailor" who came to grief on the Liar's Bridge. No better example could be given of the keen, yet kindly cuts Krilov sometimes deals to a class or tradition. There is also in this fable a patriotic protest against the following of foreign fashions and modes of thought introduced into Russia by Peter the Great, to the detriment of Russian national growth and development. It is only to day that Russia is regaining entire self-confidence, under the patriotic influence of the present Emperor.

In "Peace and War," Lyef Tolstoi holds up to ridicule the infatuation of the Court of Alexander I. for German strategists and "ideologists," and the popular resentment against foreign influence is summed up in the answer of General Yermolow to the Emperor Nicholas, who offered him any reward he wished for his Persian victories in 1827. "Will Your Highness," said Yermolov, "promote me to be a *German*?"

THE MUSICIANS.

To dine, a noble asked his friend—
 The dinner, though, was not his end,
 Our host loved music, and, the sinner,
 To show his band off, gave the dinner—
 His minstrels raised their voices, but the tune
 Was hard to tell, as each one chose his own.
 The guest, quite deafened by the sound,
 With head and senses whirling round,
 Cried out, "Forgive me, friend!" in great dismay,
 How can this screaming please you, pray?"
 "Truc," said our host, recovering soon;
 "They sing a *little* out of tune;
 But then, they never touch the glass;
 Their manners with the best may pass."

And I say—Better drink their fill,
 And understand their work as well.

The nobles with their serf "Musicians" bring us back to old Russia, before the schemes of Nicholas and the benevolent folly of Alexander II had emancipated the serfs. Prædial slavery in Russia dates only from the year 1605, eight years before the accession of the Imperial House of Romanov, when serfdom was instituted to prevent the depopulation of great tracts of Russian territory by the emigration of bands of discontented peasantry to the south, to the country of the Don and the Dnieper. Here the malcontents formed

themselves into irregular bands of Kazaks, and conquered extensive territories, afterwards brought under the Russian Crown. From 1605 till the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, the serfs were attached to the soil, and could not be disposed of separately. In Old Russia, before the emancipation, the Russians, with the exception of the mercantile class, were sharply divided into the noble owners on the one side, and their property, the peasantry, on the other. It was the promiscuous education of the sons of the "owned," by the idealist Alexander II., that produced the class which gave birth to that Socialist movement to which the Emperor afterwards fell a victim. This Socialist movement is entirely distinct from the true "Nihilists," who were a Voltairean philosophic clique, and never took any active part in politics. There was no place in the Russian policy for the half-educated sons of peasants who were turned out in crowds from the schools and universities, and it was the social instability caused by the sudden creation of this new class—just at the time when many of the smaller nobility were ruined by the compulsory emancipation of their serfs—that gave birth to the Revolutionary Socialists. They are now disappearing, as social equilibrium is gradually being restored.

There can be no Russian Revolution, as the nobility and the vast mass of the Russian people are firmly attached to the House of Romanov, and more firmly still to the sentiment of continuity of national development. The Socialists would never have existed if Alexander II., instead of flooding Russia with a host of emancipated serfs, had so arranged matters that the freedom of the serfs should have been gradually accomplished in a space of fifty or a hundred years. It was, again, that lack of national self-confidence, and that bowing to foreign opinion which we have illustrated, that were to answer for all the disturbances from 1860 till the death of the late Emperor. There should have been no violent solution of continuity between the system which nourished the rustic nobility of Krilov's "Musicians," and the social system of the present day.

Of more universal interest are the next two poems we shall quote:—

THE WOLF AND THE CUCKOO.

"Good-bye! friend cuckoo," said the wolf. "In vain
Would I in peace beside you here remain;
For dogs and people frequently come here,
Each worse than each. Though I an angel were,
Still, somehow, they'd find cause of war."
"Well, neighbour, are you going far?
Where is the land whose virtues give
You hopes in quietude to live?"

"Oh, I shall take the shortest road
 To bright Arcadia's happy wood ;
 For there, they say, there is no war ;
 Like lambs the gentle people are ;
 And there with milk the rivers run,
 The golden age still lingers on ;
 They walk, like brothers, hand in hand ;
 Dogs bark not in that happy land ;
 And, as for fighting !
 Or even biting !

Tell me, my dove, does it not seem
 A visit to that land in dream
 Would bring delight to any one ?

Think kindly of me when I'm gone,
 I shall live peaceful, easeful there
 Not fearful, day and night, as here."

"A happy journey, friend," replied the cuckoo,

"But your wolf's nature, and your teeth—
 You leave them here, or take them with you ?"—

"I leave them ? Why, the thought's beneath
 Contempt !" "Mark me !" the cuckoo said,

"You'll surely lose your skin instead."

—Find out some marauder, or pirate, and he
 The first to blame peaceable people will be,
 Still complaining of others, in every saint
 The villain finds some unendurable taint.

which is simply Krilov's way of saying, that the most quarrelsome people in the neighbourhood, the people who are at the bottom of every row, are always the first to complain of the contentious disposition of their neighbours.

Here, as in many of Krilov's fables, the wolf makes his appearance, as might be expected from his familiarity to the Russian people. Perhaps the reason that England has no national fables is, that in England, wild animals are almost extinct, and the few that remain give the fabulist scant chances of observing them.

When Gay wrote "The Hare with Many Friends," he merely copied the antics of his animals from Æsop, and it is not at all certain to the reader that he ever saw a hare : and we have to go back to Chaucer's "The Cock and the Fox" * and the "Parliament of Foules" before we get any real nature-pictures. Take Chaucer's description of the fox "full of sly iniquity,"

* The Nine Prestes Tale.

—“ His colour was bitwixe yelwe and reed ;
 And tipped was his tail, and bothe his eeres
 With blak, unlik the remtraunt of his heres ;
 His snowte smal, with glowing eyen tweye,”

who lies in wait for the cock ; full of fresh morning joy—

—“ This Chauntecleer his wynges gan to bete,
 stood heighe upon his toos,
 Strecching his nekke, and held his eyghen cloos,
 And gan to crowe lowde for the noones ;”

then the sad *dénouement*, which cut short the morning music of the cock :

—“ And daun Russel the fox sterte up at oones,
 And by the garget hente Chauntecleer,
 And on his bak toward the woode him beer.”

This passage is not equalled, or approached, in the whole range of English literature. Here, alone, we have the true fabulist's touch, but the great length of these poems of Chaucer prevents them from being a true parallel, as far as form goes, to the fables of Æsop, La Fontaine, and Krilov.

Krilov's "Swan, Crayfish and Pike," is a little gem, that illustrates exquisitely, by picking out a single strongly marked characteristic, the use which the fabulist makes of animals to depict moral qualities :—

THE SWAN, THE CRAYFISH AND THE PIKE.

A crayfish, pike, and swan agreed one day

To pull a waggon all together,

So harnessed each to his own tether.

They pulled and pulled away

With all their might and main :

Alas ! 'twas all in vain,

The waggon moved not, (all the same,

The load was light enough for them,)

Because the crayfish always backward ran,

While in the sky

The swan soared high,

And in the stream the pike to pull began.

Who was to blame ? who right ? I cannot say ;

Only the waggon *stays* there to this day.

Krilov's moral is—people of incompatible dispositions should not enter into partnership.

Though this moral applies to marriages most forcibly of all partnerships, yet it is almost certain that Krilov himself never made this application. That unworldliness of his was so strong, that he never had a household of his own; never was married, and was never even in love.

"Grandfather Krilov" counted the whole youth of Russia as his children, for he never had a child of his own. He was so fond of children, that he often used to stop a little child in the street, and make him a present of a silver five-kopek piece : just out of kindness, and the overflowing affection of his tender heart.

When Krilov was about forty-two, the battle between the Classic and the Romantic schools was raging in Russian literature. Just as in France, the old school, the country poets, the followers of Racine and Corneille, were being fiercely attacked by the Romanticists, the children of the French Revolution ; and in England the Romantic school under Byron, Shelley and Wordsworth was triumphing over the successors of Pope and Dryden, so in Russia, the Academic poets were fiercely attacked by the young Romantic and Natural school that has created modern Russian literature.

Pope's Russian contemporary, Prince Kantemir, presents in his thoughts and writings the strongest analogy to Pope himself. Both have the same stiff, almost mechanical verse, the same reflected and artificial sentiment ; both have written satires in imitation of Horace, and the rhymed couplets of both teem with Chloes, Lydias, and Corydons. In England and in Russia, these poets were succeeded by the semi-classical Grey and Derjavin,—both writers of Pindaric odes,—and the sentimental Thomson and Karamzin. The resemblance between these poets is very great, and the parallelism of the poetical epochs in the two nations is remarkable.

It was this classico-sentimental school that Jukovsky and Pushkin attacked at the beginning of this century, just when Byron and Wordsworth were finally discrediting the traditions of the classical epoch, and securely establishing the modern Romantic school of English poetry.

Pushkin, Jukovsky and Gogol, by the profound, penetrating genius and broad naturalism of their writings, completely eclipsed and disestablished the old classico-sentimental poets, and firmly founded the modern school of Russian writers. All Russia took sides in the contest, and for a long time the rival schools continued side by side.

This was just the time when Krilov was writing the first book of his fables ; he sided with the modern school, and satirised the classicists in " Parnassus."

PARNASSUS.

When the gods from Greece were driven,
And their haunts to men were given,
Some one or other bought up Mount Parnassus,
And on its slopes began to feed his asses :

The asses—how I know not—came to hear
That formerly the muses had lived there,
And said, " 'Tis not for nought that we
Are driven to Parnassus' lea.

The world is weary of the muses,
And now to hear our voices chooses."
" Come now," cried one, " I see the way !
I shall tune up ; support my lay ;
Friends do not fear, but, mark my word !
We shall do honour to our herd,
And then the old nine sisters higher
Shall raise the voices of our choir.
And to protect our brotherhood,
To make a rule like this, were good ;
All those who cannot sing like asses
Shall be kicked down from steep Parnassus.
With praise the asses, ass-like, heard
This eloquent and cunning word :
And the new choir's music starts
Like a row of heavy carts,
With axles shrieking,
And felloes creaking.

Well, and what came of their melodious song ?

It was not long
Before their master wearied of it all,
And sent each ass back to his native stall.

Be not offended if my meaning dark you find ;
My object innocently is to call to mind
The saying that, if empty be the head,
To place it high will not supply the need.

The asses who have assumed the seats of the muses nine, are, of course, the Classic and Academic school. Krilov has a hit at them in using the classical metaphors and allusions. The rivals of the asses in possession, are the Romantic school who are to be kicked down from steep Parnassus. The master of the asses is, probably, the public, who did, in fact, defend the new school against the Academicians. Of course Krilov's moral about calling to mind the ancient saying, is merely a blind, and a very transparent one.

In only one poem does Krilov reflect the great historical events which were convulsing Europe at the time he wrote, and that poem is the " Wolf at the Kennel." It commemorates the descent of Napoleon upon Russia, " like the wolf on the fold," in 1812.

To understand the fable, and the fulness of patriotism and hatred which even the subjective and unworldly Krilov put into

it, we shall have to recall the incidents which preceded and led to Napoleon's Russian campaign.

Murat was King of Italy. Joseph Bonaparte had just lost the throne of Spain by the Peninsular war. Seeing Napoleon's army vanquished in Spain, the Austrian Emperor, Francis I., determined to attempt the recovery of his lost provinces, Venice and Tyrol. The peace of Schonbrunn ended this attempt, and Austria again became the ally of Napoleon, who married Marie Louise, the Austrian Emperor's daughter. During this last campaign against Austria, Alexander I. of Russia had been the friend and ally of Napoleon. But shortly afterwards Alexander I. aroused the hostility of Napoleon by desiring to open his ports to English ships in defiance of Napoleon's prohibition. With this exception, Alexander was willing to agree to Napoleon's general policy, and to remain on friendly terms with him. Diplomatic relations continued between them till Alexander I., uneasy at Napoleon's changes amongst the European Sovereigns, endeavoured to obtain a pledge from him that Poland should not be made independent. Napoleon refused to give any pledge. Then Alexander I. broke off diplomatic relations with France, and threw open his ports to English and European commerce, in direct contravention of Napoleon's plan.

Napoleon determined to give the Russian Emperor a lesson, and, collecting a force of half a million men, marched through Prussia to the Russian frontier. In order to realise the terrible danger that overhung Russia, and the almost complete ruin that conquest by Napoleon would have meant, we must remember the condition of the Russian Army in the summer of 1812.

Russia's conquests in Finland, which had extended her boundary to the river Torneo, had cost her dear in troops and money. In 1812 ended a three years war with Turkey, which added the rich provinces of Bessarabia and New Russia on the Black Sea. In 1812, and for several years before, the war in the Caucasus had been raging with Abbas Mirza and the Persians: this was continued till after Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. The Russian Army, therefore, had just finished two protracted wars and was carrying on a third, all three at the extremities of the Russian Empire, and at immense distances from the point of Napoleon's attack on the Niemen. All three detachments of the Russian Army were worn out and thinned by their previous campaigns. Moreover, a large force had to be maintained in the Caucasus at any cost.

Such was the position of Napoleon and Russia when the French Emperor "meditated an attack on the sheepfold," in the words of Krilov's fable:—

THE WOLF AT THE KENNEL.

One night a wolf, to the sheepfold prowling,
 By error to the kennel found his way.
 The hounds broke forth in sudden howling,
 Scenting so near their grey-furred enemy.
 They rushed to drag the robber out—
 “Thieves! Hurry friends!” the huntsman cried,
 And swiftly shut the hounds inside.
 The kennel raged with maddened rout,
 All ran: with cudgels some,
 Others with guns and bullet pouches;
 “Bring fire!” cry some: with fire they come.
 The wolf back to a corner crouches,
 With grinding teeth and bristling mane,
 Eager to tear them young and old,
 But, seeing now resistance vain,
 And that he’d missed the fold,
 And that the time had come at last
 To pay for all his murders past,
 Bethought him, craftily,
 To try diplomacy:

And thus began; “My friend, what means this wild turmoil?
 I’m your ally and ancient friend,
 I’ve come to make my peace, and not for spoil;
 Not only will I spare your fold,
 But guard it against robbers bold;
 And by the honour of a wolf, I swear,
 That I” —“Come, neighbour!”—here
 The huntsman cried, “Your hair is grey,
 But mine is white, remember, pray,
 I’ve known wolf’s nature for a long time back;
 And peace with wolves should not be made
 Till with their skins they’ve hostage paid.”
 Then on the wolf he loosed the pack.

Although their army had been weakened by the campaigns in Finland, Turkey and the Caucasus, the Russians managed to put 200,000 men into the field under Barclay de Tolly and Bagration, to meet Napoleon’s half million of soldiers. The Russian generals withdrew to the south and east, to cover Moscow, and to cut off Napoleon’s route to the rich Southern provinces. All along the road towards Smolensk, the French generals had been strangely affected with a presentiment of coming misfortune. They met with nothing but ruined villages and burned corn fields, destroyed by the peasants themselves to prevent the invader from profiting by them. Napoleon published proclamations of pardon and benevolence

to the Russian peasantry, but his fair words gained him not a single waggonload of corn. At length the grey-walls of Smolensk came in view, and Napoleon at last began to hope that rest and food were at hand for his soldiers. Smolensk was reached, and there Napoleon received a warning that might have averted his future ruin if he had heeded it. For Smolensk lay before him, only deserted and in ruins, like a presentiment of the fate of Moscow.

Then Napoleon tried to open up negotiations with his "brother" Alexander I, proposing fair and liberal terms of peace. Messenger after messenger was sent to the Russian Tsar, but without any response. Napoleon might have been a thousand miles away in Egypt or Spain for all the notice that was officially taken of him in Russia.

The Russian army distrusted Barclay de Tolly, and the veteran Kutuzov was made General-in-Chief of the armies.

The white haired Kutuzov was seventy years old; he had lost the use of one eye from a bullet, he had none of the fire of Bagration, nor the German military science of Barclay de Tolly; yet there was universal joy throughout Russia when he was named General-in-Chief, and that joy was nobly justified.

To the generalship and prestige of Napoleon, Kutuzov opposed a rare wisdom and mature experience, heroic endurance, and devotion to his country and to her people. When he joined the Russian army, the soldiers were overjoyed, for they at last hoped to give battle to the invader. But to the bewilderment of the army, Kutuzov began his command by ordering a further retreat, and the Russian army, entirely ignorant of his end or object, followed him reluctantly, yet full of devotion and confidence in his superior wisdom.

The feeling of hatred to the invader in the Russian army grew till it became a religious enthusiasm, and at last Kutuzov determined to fight at Borodino.

Borodino was fought on 26th August; it was nominally a victory to the French, but a victory more deadly than defeat, Borodino was the death-blow to Napoleon, and the real turning point in the history of Europe.

Though Napoleon marched on towards Moscow after Borodino, the French Army never recovered itself; "Like a huge monster that has received a deadly wound, yet still moves onward, dragged by its own weight and momentum."

On the second of September, six days after Borodino. Napoleon's Army came in sight of Moscow, and halted. The next morning Napoleon and his generals waited on an eminence above the city for the deputation from Count Rostopchin, the Governor of Moscow, to deliver up the keys of the city on a golden tray, with the ceremony that Napoleon loved so

well. Hours passed, but no deputation arrived. At last a few French and Italian colonists came from the city, and announced to Napoleon the terrible news that Moscow was deserted.

The night before, every one who could walk had left the city, but had left it a deadly prize for the victor. All the corn had been thrown into the river; all food supplies, clothing, firewood, grain had been withdrawn from the city. That morning of the third of September, the world's conqueror looked down on Moscow with its fair streets and bridges; the Kremlin with its white towers and golden domes shining in the sun, and the gorgeous palaces of the Tsars, lying at his feet, a sight more splendid than the Pyramids. But the world's conqueror, as he gazed at Moscow, a rich, unresisting spoil at his feet, as he listened to the terrible news of the French colonists, must have felt that his star was declining, soon to set for ever.

At last the order was given to enter the gates, and the French soldiers, already exasperated by suffering, soon broke away from discipline, and began to pillage the city. Wine they found in plenty; silver dishes, and gilded furniture, but not a sack of corn, not a loaf of bread. All had been destroyed by the Russians themselves—a costly sacrifice to their beloved country. Napoleon again tried fruitlessly to open up negotiations with Alexander by promises and threats, but both were absolutely ignored.

That night, the third of September, Napoleon was driven from his new abode in the Palace of the Tsars by the flames of the Kremlin, which soon completed the ruin that the Russians had begun. Moscow was burned in pursuance of a definite plan of national self-sacrifice, that Kutuzov's wisdom had designed, and Kutuzov's influence alone could have brought into execution.

Needless to recapitulate the well known incidents of Bonaparte's retreat. The wolf who had thought to sacrifice the sheep, had himself been sacrificed to his own ambition and cruelty. His "skin" was left in hostage in the Kremlin, and is there to this day. In a wide court-yard, lie rows upon rows of his cannon, stamped with N., surmounted by a French imperial crown, to show how Napoleon conquered Moscow in 1812.

In 1812 Krilov was appointed Librarian in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg; there he remained till 1841 three years before his death, writing nothing but fables. He lived in a little room, full of bookshelves, at the top of the Imperial Library. Year after year the dust was religiously allowed to accumulate. A flock of pigeons used to come in

at his window and sleep on his bookshelves, or on the top of his pictures.

There, from his breezy outpost, surrounded by a chaos of books, papers, and dust, Krilov looked down on the busy world beneath him with philosophic toleration and amity, and there, year after year, he added a few more fables to his collection.

His chaotic study had many wise and charming visitors besides his pigeons. The St. Petersburg men of letters used to meet and discuss their works with benevolent Grandfather Krilov. One day Mme. Olenina, the wife of the President of the Academy, came and found Krilov sitting amongst his books, pigeons and papers; above his head, a heavily framed portrait being hung perilously by a trusty wire.

Mme. Olenina startled Krilov by trying, with a cry of terror, to drag him from his seat, and pointing to the Damocles portrait above his head—

"Madame, pray do not alarm yourself," remonstrated Krilov. "Observe that the curve of the parabola which the picture will follow in its fall, will carry it safe over my head to the floor as I sit here?"

A few of Krilov's fables are translations from Æsop or La Fontaine, but, in translating, he made the fables his own: he gives to the fables that peculiar colour and aroma which is his great charm, and which is so hard to preserve in a translation.

Compare the French of La Fontaine:

*Maître Corbeau, sur un arbre perché,
Tenait dans son bec un fromage;
Maitre Renard, par l'odeur aléché,
Lui tint à peu près ce langage :—
—" Eh ! monsieur du Corbeau,
Que vous êtes joli ! que vous me semblez beau !
Si votre ramage
Se rapporte à votre plumage
Vous êtes le phénix de ces lieux.*

And so forth, with Krilov's quaint, homely, natural verse; and we cannot but feel that his work is not a translation, but an original.

Krilov renders the fable thus:—

THE CROW AND THE FOX. .

God, in his goodness, sent a crow some cheese.

The crow, alighted on a pine,

And, having settled there to dine,

With cheese in beak, fell thinking by degrees.

Just then, alas! a fox came trotting past,

And smelt the cheese. Its odour held him fast,

Quite fascinated. On the branch he spied
 The crow, and up on tiptoe creeping,—
 —Tail wagging—through the branches peeping—
 With scarce-drawn breath, he softly cried—
 “My little dove! how sweet you are!
 What eyes! and what a glossy neck!
 What feathers! what a lovely beak.
 If any to describe should dare—
 Who would believe him? I dare wager, sweet!
 Your voice is pure angelic: sing my pet!
 Pray don't be shy—for if you sing,
 And are as tuneful
 As you're beautiful,
 Then you must be of fowls the king.
 The bird of presage swallowed down the praise,
 And lost her head. With pleasure half distraught,
 She then prepared her song to raise,
 And cawed as mother Nature taught,
 Down fell the cheese, the crafty fox
 Seized it and fled amongst the rocks.

In the Summer Garden in St. Petersburg stands a handsome statue of Krilov. The spot is a pleasant one; quiet, and unfrequented, except by children, who love to come and play there, and build sand-castles at the foot of his pedestal. All round it are sculptured Krilov's foxes and wolves and crows, the heroes and heroines of his fables—a never-ceasing joy to the children. One morning was found stuck to the pedestal the following inscription—

“—Father Krilov stands on his pedestal, and looks down at the children playing. He looks and thinks,—Dear little animals, how prettily you play there: Dear little animals! what beasts you will be when you grow up!”

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ART. III.—ON SOME NAMES OF PLACES IN BIHAR : THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

EVERY one who has taken the trouble to enquire into the origin and history of the names of places in Bihar, must have been struck by the variety of their sources. Names aboriginal, Aryan, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Muhammadan, and even European, are found scattered broadcast, furnishing clear landmarks of the successive influences that have been at work to produce them. Even if such ancient historical records of Bihar as we possess were to be swept away, it would still be possible, with the help of these landmarks, supplemented by the monumental inscriptions to be met with in the Province, to say with tolerable accuracy what different people have at various periods of its history held sway or exercised their influence in Bihar. Trench says, in his *Study of Words* :—“ Any one with skill to analyse the language might recreate for himself the history of the people speaking that language, might with tolerable accuracy appreciate the divers elements out of which that people was composed, in what proportion these were mingled, and in what succession they followed one upon the other.” From names of places to names of things is only another step. An examination of them also unfolds, in a marked manner, the various nations whose tongues have mingled to make the common Indian language what it is now. We have reminiscences of the Turks, Moghuls, Portuguese, Dutch, and French having been in India, in such words as ‘*bandūk*’ (gun), ‘*Khānsāmā*,’ (table servant *lit* : ‘Lord of the stores’), ‘*chābi*’ (key), ‘*godown*,’ ‘*tauliya*,’ ‘*verandah*,’ ‘*bajro*,’ ‘*bhaolio*,’ ‘*pāon roti*,’ (leavened bread), *girja* and many others. The names of cities, towns, wards, rivers, etc., would at first sight appear to defy classification by their diversified character, and to be almost bewildering in their multifarious nationality. But a little patient study will show that there are distinct and clearly-defined stratifications marking the different epochs in their history. The scope of this paper does not include this highly interesting phase of the subject. Our present concern is simply to point out a few interesting facts connected with the names of places, and their accepted origin and derivation.

The study of names of places is full of interest, as there has almost always been some reason for giving them. Apart from the importance of the subject from a philological point

of view, it has a historical bearing of no less significance than weight. In speaking of names of places, Archbishop Trench says : " Nowhere do we so easily forget that names had once a peculiar fitness, which was the occasion of their giving." The unearthing of such reasons often affords a clue to the discovery of important and interesting historical, physical and geographical facts, which throw considerable side light on a people's previous history. Taking the names of a few of the chief towns of the Bihar districts, we learn that *Darbhanga* was the 'gateway' of Bengal (*Dar-i-Bangāla*)* and was thus the eastern limit of Bihar proper. The main road from Darbhanga through Purneah was probably the high-way at the Bihar extremity of which stood this " Gate of Bengal." The other account, ascribing the origin of the name to one Darbhangi Khan, is, on the face of it, improbable, for it is not a Moslem name, and the probabilities are that the *Khān*, who either held the place or lived there, took his name from it. *Madhubani*, one of the sub-divisions of Darbhanga was the so-called 'Honey forest'—this being a fancy name given to a favourite wood. We have similar instances of the poetic element in such names as *Brindāban* (a collection of forests), *Nandanban* (the joy-producing forest), *Ashokban* (the forest free from sorrows), and *Pranodeban* (the delectable forest). The word *ban* (forest, wood) must not be interpreted too literally, and understood to mean a dense, uninhabitable jungle, but rather a woody locality, a pleasant tope of trees, such as we find even now in most of the Bihar districts. *Tajpore*, another sub-division of this district, no doubt takes its name from a Mohamedan, probably the same man (one of the two brothers) who gave the name to the tank in Hajipore called "*Tāj Bāj-ka pōkhra*." These were Afghan settlers in the district who, according to tradition, held *jāgirs* in various parts of Hajipur *Sarkar*, which included in those days the south of Darbhanga also.

Mozafferpur is of comparatively recent origin. The name does not appear in the settlements of 1790. Many years before the Company's accession to the Diwāni, "Mozaffer Khan, who was the Amil or Collector of Chakla" Nai, selected 75 bighas of land from the village of *Sikandarpur* on the north, *Kanauli* on the east, *Sayyidpur* on the south, and *Saryāgunj* on the west, and called the land after his own name." In 1817 it only contained 667 houses, of which 408 paid no rent, the total assessment amounting to £39-18s. *Sitamarhi* has a legend attached to it which associates it with the birth of Sita (also called Janaki), the devoted wife of Rama and daughter

* In Bengali Darbhanga is still spelt *দাৰভাঙ্গা* ।

of King Janaka, who was the ruler of the ancient kingdom of *Mithila*. It is said that one day, as Raja Janaki was ploughing the field on which certain rites were to be performed, he drove the ploughshare into an earthen pot from which sprang the lovely Sita. Another story points to a tank, still extant, as her birthplace, and a tradition is still current of how she arose from it one morning, while Raja Janaka was engaged in his ablutions. Several other temples, besides that dedicated to Sita, are still to be seen in Sitamarhi. Another village, however, called Panora, three miles south-west of Sitamarhi, also claims the honour. But *Sita*, in Sanskrit, is "plough-furrow," and this legend must give way to the "plough-birth" story. It seems to have been the custom in the days of the Ramayana, when a site was being devoted for any sacred purpose, to plough it as a purifying ceremony, and king Janaka was engaged in one of these pious acts. *Hajipur*, which was the head-quarters of *Sarkar* Hajipur in the reign of Akbar, and a most important place from its commanding situation, was founded by Haji Iliyās, known also as Shams-uddin and Haji Harmaen, from his great piety and frequent pilgrimages to Mecca. He was a servant of Alauddin, Governor of Bengal, and afterwards became the commander of his forces, and requited the kindness of his master by treacherously killing him. His grave is still pointed out to the south-east of the Gunduck Bridge, and held in great veneration by both Musalman and Hindu inhabitants of the town. It is visited by large numbers of pilgrims from the district, especially women, who, it is said, find a fulfilment of their wishes in propitiating this saint, and come in crowds with votive offerings. Annually, in January, a large gathering, or *mela*, is also held near the tomb of the saint presumably on the anniversary of the *Haji's* death. The old mosque, not far from it (and adjoining the present residence of the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent there), was built, not by the *Haji*, as mentioned in Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account, but long after him, by Maksud Shah, probably in 1587, as the Hindi inscription in Persian character on the stone gateway would seem to indicate.* This Maksud Shah

* From the following chronogram the date of the mosque is deduced :—

*Surpat lochan taen haro,
Alan math bān bichār,
San Masjid Maksūd kī,
Jadī naddī pur sār.*

i. e., "From 1000 (represented by the thousand eyes of King Indra, Surpat) take away 5 (represented by the five arrows of *manmath*, Cupid) the result will give the date of this mosque, built by Maksūd on the bank of the ancient river" (*i. e.*, the Gunduck). This gives us 1095 A. H. which converted into A. D., gives $1095 \times 97 \times 622 \div 5 = 1587$. It may seem curious that a Hindi inscription, with allusions to Hindu Gods, should be on a

also gave the name of Maksūdpur to the adjacent village now a part of Hajipur.

And here we may remark in passing, that the Hajipur Sub-division is studded with villages and towns bearing Muhammadan names, showing how completely they had identified themselves with the places of their conquest. They not only lived in them, but reparcelled the lands, giving them their own national names; they not only built new cities, towns and villages, but re-named those in existence. About 65 per cent. of the villages in the Hajipur Sub-division bear names of Muhammadan origin. Even the names of different *mahallas*, or wards, in the town of Hajipur (which was said, at one time, to be twenty miles across from east and west, and eight miles from north and south) have a Moslem ring, principally of Pathan origin. For example *Khatak Tola*, *Lodipur*, *Yusafpur*, &c., distinctly point to the *Khatak*, *Lodi*, and *Yusafzai* clans of Afghans living in them; while *Mufti-Mahalla* bears evidence to the large number of *Kasis*, or *Muftis*, necessary for the administration of the religious law. Similarly, the suburban wards of *Maniyarpur* (inhabited by those who set stones and carved on metals), *Jawāhir Tola*, (inhabited by jewellers), *Chhipi Tola* (inhabited by those who printed on country cloth, &c.), bear witness to the former wealth and fashion of Hajipur. It is not difficult to account for this preponderance of Moslem names. Before 1575 Bengal and Behar had not been fairly subjugated by the Moghuls, and were filled with Afghan settlers. Their number had recently received an accession by the retreat of those Pathans who had refused to join the service of the Moghuls. These had principally settled around the nucleus already formed in Hajipur. Then, again, when Daud Khān (usually called Bangālī), the son of Sulaimān Kulbānī (not 'Kerani' as some accounts have it) had raised the standard of revolt, and, after destroying the fort of Patna, had taken up his quarters in the Hajipur Fort, a *firmān* was sent from Akbar to Muniam Khan, Khan Khanan, ordering him to punish Daud and take possession of Bihar. At the same time a number of Pathan sardars (who had continued loyal to the Moghuls), along with many Moghul chiefs, were ordered down to assist Khan Khanan in the work of

Muhammadan mosque; but tradition has it that over each of the three doorways there was an inscription in a different language. The Arabic over the front door-way can still be read here and there, though very much defaced by time. Perhaps it was a conciliating policy that the Muhammadans observed in drawing upon the Hindu mythology for their inscriptions. This, at any rate, was the least return they could make for despoiling the Hindu temples of their rich materials and utilizing them for building Musalman mosques.

chastising the rebels. As frequently happened under the Muhamadan Government, these chiefs and sardars, who had assisted in establishing the Imperial authority, were granted lands and *Jāgirs* in the Hajipur sarkar, and they settled finally here with their followers. Subsequently (1579, on their revolting, Azim Khan (the successor of Todar Mal, the great financier), who was deputed to quell the rebellion, appears to have bought off the chiefs (Moghuls as well as Pathans) by continuing to them the lands they had hitherto enjoyed and granting fresh *Jāgirs*. Thus a host of petty Musalman chiefs, Pathans and Moghuls, with their followers, permanently settled round about Patna, but chiefly in the Hajipur Sarkar.

As well known, Akbar followed up his *firmān* to Khan Khanan (alluded to above) by coming down to Patna himself. A curious incident connected with his visit is related by the author of *Sair-ul-Mutakhirin*, which is not usually mentioned in English Histories of India. Awed by the presence of the imperial army Daud sued for peace, when Akbar, unwilling to gain a cheap victory over one who had aspired to independence, is said to have magnanimously sent an offer to accept one of the three following means of deciding to whose dominions Bihar should be annexed. He invited Daud to a single combat, or to depute a wrestler who should meet an imperial wrestler, or to send a fighting elephant which should cope with an imperial animal, and on the issue of this single combat, victory should be declared to the side whose combatant won. Whether this was done by Akbar really to avoid bloodshed, or to gain time, is not clear. The latter would seem to be the more probable surmise, as the *Sair* goes on to say that, while this parleying was proceeding, owing to Daud hesitating, Akbar took possession of the Hajipur fort by a sudden move, and at the same time invaded Patna. But an adventurous spirit was always present in Akbar, and personal prowess was highly valued by him. Besides, he never lost a chance of gaining the favour of the populace, and nothing would more effectually secure this than a proposal of the nature he is said to have made. This *coup-de-main*, however, seems to have decided the fate of the two provinces of Bengal and Bihar, and Daud fled to Orissa after his defeat.

It is a curious fact that hardly a river in Bihar bears a Muhammadan name. It is not difficult to account for this. Rivers are more ancient than towns and less plastic: they cannot be chopped and changed at will: names once given to them become stereotyped. There is nothing to be gained by naming and re-naming a river in the same way as it is found profitable to do in settling and re-settling lands. Hence perhaps the Musalman conquerors troubled themselves little about changing the ancient names of rivers. The same, we find, is

the case in regard to Indian mountains, hills and rocks : their names are mostly of a non-Persian origin, and have been borne by them as far back as ancient records can carry us, though they are very often corrupted and mispronounced, sometimes hopelessly beyond recognition, owing to the attrition of usage in passing through the heterogeneous media of varying tongues.

Champāran (*Champā-āranya*) is a forest of *Champa* (flower) trees, and *Motihāri*, its district head-quarters, is "a necklace of pearls." Both might have been poetic names, suggested by imagination and helped by their environments, but those who know Motihāri, with its pretty lake nearly encompassing it, like a pure, white garland, will not fail to appreciate the poetic sense that was brought into play in thus happily styling it "a necklet of pearls." *Bettiah* (its sub-division and the seat of the Bettiah Raj) was a place known for its cane (*bent*) jungle. Even now cane of a superior quality can be found along the banks of the *Chandrāwat*, on which the city stands, and the other hill streams that intersect the Sub-division; *Chapra*, on the surface, is from *Chhappar*, 'a roof.' A story is related of a *Jogi* who lived here in a tiled house and hence the name. Until lately it was unusual to see a tiled house in the north Gangetic districts; the riparian towns and hamlets especially were devoid of houses with tiled roofs. For this reason a village possessing a tiled roof was an object of note. Parallel examples of this are frequently to be met with in the north districts of Bihar, where it is even now not uncommon to see an entire village consisting of huts with only thatched roofs.* The two Sub-divisional head-quarters of the Chapra district, namely, *Aligunj* and *Gopalgunj*, bear their meaning on the surface, as being the two marts, or "collections of houses," called after Ali and Gopal, who most probably helped to establish them. Similarly *Patna* was "*The City*" (*Patan*). The site of ancient Patna is a real bone of contention among Indian antiquarians. All possible directions (in relation to the present situation of the city) have been affirmed to be that of the original site. Some have said it was to the north, some south, some east, some west, and some indeed (supported by excavations) have all but proved that the old city lies buried underground. There

* We have villages called *Dhūki chhāpar*, *Dain chhāpar*, &c. The reason that prevented the people in the north Gangetic districts from putting tiled roofs to their houses, was the liability of the country to frequent inundations from the many rivers that intersect it in their downward course to the Ganges from the Himalayas, especially from such rivers as the *Gunduck*, the *Bāgmatti*, &c., before their protecting embankments were constructed. The people lived in constant fear, and ready to shift their huts at the shortest notice. Compare with this fact the use of the word *Chhāpar band* ('with a tiled roof') which applies to "resident cultivators" (Grierson), i.e., those who have a fixed tenure with no intention of decamping.

is only one side of the imaginary cube remaining to be occupied, namely the "upper" side; and perhaps some imaginative archæologist may yet be found to assign an aerial habitation to this ancient city. Patna has been called at various stages of its history *Kusumapura*, *Padamvatī*, *Pushpapuri*, *Palibothra*, *Pataliputra* and *Patna*. Amidst all this confusion one thing seems certain, that there was an ancient town on the right bank of the Ganges, at the present site or somewhere near it. Whether the present site was exactly its situation when visited by Megasthenes (about 300 B. C.), or by the Chinese Pilgrims (in the 5th and 7th centuries), or whether it extended further in any other direction, cannot be satisfactorily settled now. Ruins are to be found on three sides of the town, which would indicate that at one time the city extended in all these directions. Not long ago the prow of a boat was found very deep underground in digging a well to the south of the city, which would, perhaps, indicate that a stream flowed past the city on that side. We know that *Rājgir* (*Rāja-grihā*, the same as the *Girivraja* of the *Rāmāyāna*) which was the ancient capital of *Māgadha*, was abandoned in the time of King Asoka, who removed his court to *Pātaliputra*. It continued, with some interruption, to be the chief town of *Bihār* during the Muhammadan period,* and in the early days of the British it contained one of their principal factories. It has thus a prescriptive right to claim the title of "the city."

Dinapur and *Bankipur* are comparatively very modern towns. The former, it is supposed, takes its name from a certain man called *Dīna* who lived there; and the latter (among other suppositions) is said to be derived from *Bānkepur*, or "the town of the fashionable," on account of its being the part of the town where women of ill-fame resided, and where coxcombs and gaily dressed men took their airing. This surmise would seem to be correct from the following common saying: *Gānthī men dām nān, Bankipur ka Sair* (a variation of it is *paisa nān kauri, Bankipur ka Sair*), i. e., "He has not a *damri* in his pocket (lit: waist-cloth), yet he would go to saunter about in Bankipur." In Dr. Buchanan's time a provincial battalion was stationed in Bankipur, and probably this may also have helped to make the town what it was, and earned for it its name of being a fashionable promenade for gay young men. *Bārh*, one of its Sub-divisional head-quarters, marks the spot liable to frequent inundations from the flood, or 'rise' (*barh*), of the Ganges. Here the river takes a sharp

* It would appear that during the early period of the Muhammadan rule, the seat of the local Government was in *Bihār*, and that it was *Sher Shah* who built the *Patna* fort and transferred the capital to *Patna* in 1541, see *Tewarikh-i-Daudi*, quoted in *Elliot's History of India*.

turn to the north-east, and, as usually happens at the windings and turnings of this mighty river, whenever it rises in flood, it overflows its banks. Within living memory the place has been so inundated, that residents of *pucca* two storeyed houses have had to step into a boat from the upper floor. *Bihar* (another of its Sub-divisions), which gives the name to the whole province, was no doubt at one time rich in Buddhist temples (*Viharas*.) Rajgir and Nalanda, the two strongholds of Buddhism were within a few miles of it, and the surrounding country abounded with Buddhist monasteries and temples. It is now called by the Muhammadans the "revered city" ("*Bihar Sharif*"), owing to the tombs of many venerated Muhammadan saints being there, especially that of Makhdūn Shāh Sharf-uddin. It is now the home of many respectable Muhammadan gentlemen, and contains many interesting ruins.

Gaya is said to be derived from a *rakshas*, or demon, of that name, who was rewarded for his devotion by Brahma with the power of granting absolution to the dead. This greatly interfered with the influence of the other deities whose legitimate function this seems to have been, and therefore they got Vishnu to slay him by placing a stone on his forehead and trampling on it. This stone, with the footprint of Vishnu ("*Bishunpad*"), is pointed out to every devotee who goes to Gaya on a pilgrimage. Thornton, in his *Gazetteer of India*, says that the present European quarters were included in the part of the town originally called Elahābād which, on being much enlarged by law, was named Sahebgunje. *Nawāda* and Aurangābād (the two Sub-divisional head-quarters) are of Muhammadan origin, namely, the town newly populated and the town founded by Aurangzeb. Jahānābād*, another Sub-division of Gaya, has a similar origin, "the city of Shāh Jahān.

Arrah (from *aranya*, 'jungle') bears testimony, as many other names do in Bihar, to the fact that it was reclaimed from the jungles, which extended much further north than the present wilds of *Palamow* and *Sarguja*. "A mythical account would connect the name with the legend that a great *Rakshas*, or demon, of the name of *Arak*, dwelt here as sentinel, whose business it was to prevent acts of devotion in this world, such as pilgrimages to the holy shrines of Gaya. *Shahabad* was the name given to it in Muhammadan times, when it became "a city of the king." *Shasserām* was, *Shah Serāe* or "the Inn of the king," *Sher Shah*, who made a "four months" road from Bengal to the fort of *Rohas* in the Punjab (called by

* Abad, which in Persian means "people," is used in composition in the sense of 'city,' 'town' or 'village.'

him after *Rohtās-gar* in the south of *Shasserām*). A part of this road is now known as the Grand Trunk Road. The author of the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, speaking of this road from personal knowledge in 1595 (about half a century after it was constructed), says that it was planted with rows of trees on either side for shade, and that inns were built at every stage for weary travellers, where both Hindus and Musalmans could find accommodation and suitable attendants, and the poor, free quarters and provisions. Pucca-wells were sunk along the road at convenient distances for the thirsty, and mosques were built at intervals for the pious wayfarer. A big kettle drum (*nagara*), at stated hours, announced to the hungry wayfarer that the great Shah had sat down to his meals, at which moment his repast was also served out to the traveller by proper caste attendants. The *Zubda-ul-Tuwārikh* mentions the great security that prevailed in travelling during the reign of this monarch, who made a law that the head man of the village in which a traveller was robbed, would be subjected to a heavy fine, and the fear of this caused the zemindars to keep a watch and to patrol the roads at night. The origin of the name of *Bhabhuā*, (another Sub-division of Shahabad) is not quite clear. Perhaps some adjunct is now left out. It might have been *Babua-gānon* or the village where the "Babus," or the high caste lived, as distinguished from the abode of the low caste, which is always separate.

Natural objects have always been a prolific source from which places have derived their names. Every nation has drawn on it in naming its places, but nowhere, perhaps, has this been done more than in India. To take one class of natural objects, namely trees and plants, we find that nearly all the trees to be commonly met with in the province are laid under contribution. For example, names derived from the following fruit and other trees will readily occur to all who are familiar with Bihar, *Am*, *Jāmun*, *Bar*, *Barhar*, *Pipar*, *Bair*, *Kathar*, *Māhuā*, *Bel*, *Tār*, *Khajūr*, *Sihōre*, *Bāns*, *Hardi*, *Jhauā*, *Sokhua*, *Sissu*, *Siris*, *Mircha*, and so forth, through nearly all the flora to be met with in the inhabited tracts. While rivers, hills and hillocks have contributed their share of local names, salient physical peculiarities of outward nature have also been laid hold of to identify villages; and though these peculiarities can hardly be said to form now the prominent features of the places, yet they must have done so at the time these names were given. Thus *Tānr*, or *Tār*, extensive waste, or unproductive land, *mehi* 'hollow,' *pokhar* 'tank,' *gar* 'fortress,' 'elevation,' or 'high mound,' *ghat* 'pass,' 'river bank,' *chak* 'a parcel,' etc., are usually joined as terminals with other words, forming self explanatory compounds. As examples of the above may be mentioned *Mahua*, a police station in the Hajipur Sub-division, the prominent feature of

which is still the *mahua* tree from the flower of which is distilled the country spirit, and *Sherghatti*, properly *shahr-e-ghati*, or 'the city at the end of the ghat, or pass.' As you descend the Chutia-Nagpore plateau, the first city you meet with after traversing the wild jungle scenery of the ghats, is the old city on the Grand Trunk Road, now abandoned as a sub-divisional head quarters, but at one time a very important place. *Harna-tānr* (in Champarun) bears testimony to having once been a small hamlet in the middle of an extensive prairie, or waste land, which was the home of antelopes and deer, as *Asadpur-mehibhara*, in Tirhut, shows that the original site of the place was a hollow, or the old bed of a river. The name of Tirhut itself bears testimony to the fertility of its soil, and the fact that it was considered its leading feature even in the days of old, when its sponsors felt justified in calling it 'Fertile to the very brink,' (*Tir bhukti*). The peculiar applicability of the name, derived from its geographical configuration, will be realized when it is remembered that this productive region was comprised in the ancient kingdom of *Mithila*, which was bounded on three sides by rivers—on the west by the Gunduck, on the south by the Ganges, and on the east by the Kosi. Thus to say that the land was fertile (literally capable of yielding food) to the edge of the above rivers, implied that every inch of it was rich and capable of sustaining life. Similarly, peculiarities of produce, of situation or physical history, are seized and brought into prominence in the names of places derived from natural sources. For example *Sāthi*, an indigo factory 15 miles north of Bettiah, in Champarun, takes its name from a peculiar kind of red rice called *sathi*, largely grown in those parts, because it ripens in 'sixty' days from sowing. This is expressed in the following Behar proverb :—

Sāthi pāke sath din
Barkha hokhe rāt din.

" *Sathi* (rice) ripens in 60 days if it rains night and day."

Lall Saraiya, the well known indigo factory of Mr. James Macleod, indicates its situation in the neighbourhood of the Red *Saraiya*, or *sareh*, i. e., the belt of land furthest from the village. *Khagoal*, the present Railway Station of Dinapore, records the fact that it was at one time the old bed of a river, which on changing its course, left the channel high and dry (*Khagoal*).*

* It is an ascertained fact that the river Sone flowed into the Ganges at a point very much further east than it does now. Some have even said that it discharged its waters into the Ganges below Patna. There can be little doubt that at a later period the former mouth of the Sone was near Dinapur, and its channel ran through *Khagoal*. There is a stream that flows past Dinapur to the west still called S one.

Next we will cite a few instances of names of places that embody some incident, circumstance, or aspect under which, at some former period, men learned to regard them. Some of these are as comical as they are laconic. For example, *Bagnochwa*, where the tiger or leopard mauled some body, *Kukur-bhukka*, where the dogs perpetually yelp (this name may be fitly applied to many villages even now) ; *Chatipakar*—*chichia*, the place where some robbers rudely laid hands on the person of a woman and caused her to scream in fright; *Jhajharpur*, the village of quarrels and fights. *Adh-Kaparia*, the village of "half a headache," probably from the founder having this complaint, the '*brow ague*,' a form of neuralgia which affects only one side of the forehead, etc. Some places preserve in their names the record of practices now obsolete, such as *Amarpur maraoti* (in Shahabad, south of *Dhamar*) which tells us that it was given as blood money, for some one who was killed, just as, in Persia, villages and lands that were given away as rewards or compensation to the relatives of those who were killed in the service of their masters, were styled *Khun baha* ('blood price'). This name, in its corrupt form (*Khuba* or *Kuba*), is still to be met with in Bihar. Thus, the two varieties of the same word in different languages tell us clearly what was the nationality of the parties concerned, or, at any rate, of the donor. Similarly the name *Inglis* (used now as equivalent to pension) records the custom, so foreign to India, and introduced by the English, of granting money pensions. These, in olden days, very often took the shape of grants of villages and lands free of rent, as rewards for service, instead of what we now call 'pension'. * Several villages of this name are scattered over Bihar, though in most cases their ownership has passed into other hands than those of the original recipients or pensioners. These were mostly sepoys or non-commissioned native officers who had worked well in the service of the East India Company. Sometimes a word will preserve, in its peculiar and restricted use, a certain fact of history, and hand it down from generation to generation without attracting notice. *Sheikh matha ki garri*, in Patna, now converted into a pleasant promenade round a pretty lake, and known as 'Mangles Tank, *Mangal Tqlao*,† was at one time literally what is implied by the name it bears—the 'hole' or 'hollow,' of one Sheikh Matha, a deserter from

* The strange assimilative faculty of the Hindi has assigned to this English name an appropriate meaning. *Mangal* in Hindi means 'enjoyment, 'pleasure,' hence it is appropriately called "The Pleasure Tank."

† Carnegie in his "Kachāhri Technicalities" thus defines, "Inglis, a pension, probably a corruption of English, as pensions were unknown among native governments, whose rewards invariably took the shape of land assignments."

the army of Sheikh Islam Makshud. This sepoy is said to have taken up his abode in the place, and levied blackmail from the potters who dug there for earth. He also monopolised the brick-making trade round about the 'hole.' Before his time it was a fine tank, according to local tradition ; but when the Muhammadans took Patna, many Hindus and their families drowned themselves in it. It was therefore abandoned and became filled up in course of time. This 'hole' is probably the same as the tank spoken of by Dr. Buchanan, as being "a huge pond in the rainy months and very dirty and offensive in the dry season."

Padri ki Haveli (the old Roman Catholic Church* in the city of Patna) was, no doubt, from its name, regarded by the people as a sort of seraglio of the priests. The nuns who lived secluded within the high walls of the church, were undoubtedly considered by the people as the "female belongings" of the 'padris.' The word *haveli* in Persian simply means a "building," a 'house ;' but in its Indian use it has been (by a similar restriction to that of the Turkish word 'seraglio') appropriated to signify the building, or part of the building, occupied by the women. So that now *haveli*, in popular Hindustani, has come to mean the female members of a native gentleman's family ; and it is the polite fashion, in asking a respectable native after the welfare of his family, to use the word *haveli*. This restricted use of the term is traceable in the names of certain pergannas, which are called '*Havelis*,' from the fact that their revenues were set apart for the use of the female members of the household. In Hindi we meet with an exactly corresponding use of the word *deori*, or 'gate,' which, in its current use, is entirely limited to the female department of a respectable Hindu's house.

It has been truly said that "poetry and passion continually preside at the giving of names." It would be highly interesting to draw together a collection of Indian names that embody poetry, that are quaint or fantastic in conception and romantic in their form : we should doubtless be struck by their number. We can only attempt to give a few instances of this poetry in names, *Doranda*, the well known military station of Ranchi (Chutia Nagpur), and separated from it by a hill stream which gives it the name, is an instance of the poetic name. It literally means, in the language of the Kols, "the singing waters," from the words

* The Catholic Mission appears to have been established in Patna in 1743 after the priests were expelled from Nepaul. The Patna Catholic Church has a bell presented to it by a Nepaul prince, Bahadur Shah, (son of Prithi Narain), who seems to have been favourably inclined towards Christianity.

dorang and *dāh*, reminding one of Longfellow's 'Hiawatha.' Those who have watched a hill torrent in those parts, will remember the rapidity with which it comes down all of a sudden, filling its pebbly channel almost brimful in a short time, and then as quickly subsiding. They will also remember that, as "the murmuring surge that on the unnumbered pebbles chafe" rolls over its uneven bed, the pebbles, shingles and stones keep on rolling with it, and, chafing against one another, cause the rippling noise which, to an imaginative people like the Kols, would sound "like many voices sweet" singing at a distance. There could be no better imaginative description of the action of this stream; and the man who first called it "the singing stream," was no doubt inspired with the true spirit of poetry. Similarly, he who named the hill (near the *Barābar* caves in Gaya), on the summit of which a piece of rock is held in suspension, looking for all the world as if it were placed there designedly, and the least touch would cause it to fall, "*Kāua dol*," or the rock that oscillates when a crow alights on it, must have been a man of some poetic imagination. The bad quality of the water of many places, especially in the districts north of the Ganges, is a frequent source of disease among the natives. Goitre and fever-producing places are known by such names, and regarded with superstitious awe. But it was left to the man who named *Bela-Moch-Pakawānī* in Darbhanga (or such a Bela as causes the moustache, that appendage of manhood which a native takes most pride in) to turn gray, to put a truly humorous touch to this feeling. The effect of unwholesome water in causing the hair to become gray is popularly believed in by the natives; and perhaps there is some truth in it, curious as it may appear to us. He who first called a natural channel in the north of Champarun, which drains the surrounding plain, by the quaint name of *Kaughichwā*, or "one that drags the surrounding water by the ear," must be acknowledged to have been possessed of at least a rude poetic genius, not without a touch of humour. Grotesque as the name may seem to us, its singular applicability, despite its bold metaphor, will be better understood when we say, that no name could be devised to express more fitly the absolute necessity of adhering to the natural gradient of the land in constructing artificial irrigation channels. Water taken on any other line but this natural outlet was forcibly dragged into it, as it were, 'by the ear'. Repeated failures in diverting the out-flow had taught the men this fact, that do what they might, the drainage of the surrounding country had to find its way into the adjacent river by this channel, which had been cut by the natural action of rain water. The intervening fields were annually cut up,

• their boundaries and ridges had to be repaired and put up after every rainy season. This annually recurring annoyance they attributed not so much to the water, which was simply led 'by the ear,' but to this demon of a channel, which dragged it towards itself; and they aptly termed it the 'ear puller'!

. Of superstitious names, and those with legends, we have almost a superabundance. Almost every town or city of any note has some popular story to account for its origin, some superstition connected with it, to give it an odour of sanctity. No matter how odd the story, or how extravagant the demand on popular faith, the legends are handed down from generation to generation and believed by the people. In many cases the name has suggested the legend, and not the legend the name. As an instance of this, may be mentioned the story accounting for the name of *Hazrat Fandahā*, a well-known town in the Sub-division of Hajipur. The revered Musalman saint whose tomb is still pointed out there, and who gave the name to the town and the river that flows past it, was known as Diwan Shah Ali. It is said that, one hot summer day, he felt very thirsty, and asked a by-stander to fetch him some water. The man was rude enough to reply that there was no water to be had close by; whereupon the Shah got very angry, and, in his anger, called on the waters to flow that way, saying, *Biah* (Persian) 'come.' Immediately a river began to approach the place, cutting furiously the intervening land, and causing devastation and ruin to thousands of villages as it advanced. This so terrified the neighbouring people, that they came in a body and implored the Shah to have pity on them and cause the river to cease cutting their lands. He then called out *Fandah* 'don't drown,' and the river stopped encroaching and began to flow quietly in its present channel. Thus the river was called *Bīyah* and the town *Fandaha*. Why the venerated saint should have invoked the river in Persian and forbidden its approach in Behari, is not explained. This Diwan Shah Ali was himself the subject of a miracle, performed on him in his infancy by his uncle, who was equally remarkable for his miraculous powers. His name was Makhdum Shah Abul Fateh, and he lived in Hajipur, where his tomb is still pointed out in *Tangoal*. It is said that, on one occasion, during one of his fits of ecstasy, which lasted for long periods at a time, he threw his nephew, Shah Ali, who was only six days old, into the river Gunduck, calling on the river saint, Khāj Khizar, to educate him and take care of him; that after six years, when he had recovered from his rapturous mood, his mother told him what he had done, and what a grievous injury he had caused to his brother and sister-in-law, who had never ceased bewailing the loss of

their only child. Whereupon Makhdum Shah told her not to grieve, and, going to the river, said "Khaje Khizar, pray give me back my nephew, whom I committed to your care six years ago." On this the river began to roll, and out came the boy, robed and jewelled like a prince. Though young, he was thoroughly conversant with all the religious laws, and afterwards became the famous Hazrat Shah Ali from whom Hazrat Jandaha got its name.* It is hardly necessary to point out that these legends were foisted on indigenous names during the Muhammadan period to account for their origin in a manner most consonant with popular ideas. They were intended to give an air of sanctity to the tombs of the Musalman saints, and earn for them that reverence which, without these appeals to the vulgar imagination, would never have been accorded to them. But under their spell they are respected alike by Hindus and Muhammadans to this day.

How far the popular imagination will stretch to invent an ingenious story to account for the name of a place, is shown by the tale connected with the five tanks in Durbhanga which give such a charming appearance to the place, especially during the rains. It is related that, in the time of Raja Siu Sing Deo, a fisherwoman, with a basket of fish on her head, and accompanied by her daughter-in-law, was on her way to the market. A kite from a neighbouring tree pounced down and carried away a fish from the basket. Instead of sympathising with her mother-in-law, the daughter began to laugh. Enraged at such unbecoming conduct, the mother-in-law gave vent to her rage, and a hot quarrel ensued. All this was witnessed by the Rajah as he sat at his window, and he lost no time in sending for the women. He asked the younger woman the cause of her unseasonable laughter; but she begged hard to be excused, saying that if she told her story it would be certain death to her. The Raja's curiosity being roused, he insisted on hearing her reason. "In the reign of king Yudasthir," said the younger fisherwoman, "I was a kite. During the war of the Mahabharata I carried away the arm of a woman, with a golden bracelet weighing 80 maunds, and brought it here and ate it (pointing to the spot). I laughed at the thought of the petty greed of the puny kites of the present time, who do not mind pouncing down on a paltry fish even," saying this, she expired. The Maharajah, who was no less astonished than curious to find out the truth of the story, ordered a series of tanks to be dug in the places pointed out. At last his perseverance was rewarded by finding the skeleton of the arm, as well as the

* Hazrat (Majesty, dignity) is a title given to the venerated. Applied to *Jandaha* and other places of pilgrimage, owing to their containing the tombs of revered saints.

golden bracelet ; and so the tank in which they were found was called *Harṛāḥ* or " the bone tank." The others are called by various names.

Rivers, brooks and streams have from time immemorial been assigned healing properties, and superstition has not unfrequently attributed to them other miraculous powers. There are two streams in Darbhanga, *Kamla* and *Jivach*, held sacred for their miraculous medicinal properties. A bath in the former during the full moon of certain months (*Kārtic* and *Māgh*) is believed to cure women of sterility, and in the latter to give a new lease of life to sickly children ; hence the latter is called *Jivach* or " the life giving stream." A tale of superstition and cruel wrong is unfolded in the name of *Dainmarwa*, a village in the north-west corner of Chumparan, and the scene, no doubt, of the sacrifice of a *dāin*, or witch, to the popular superstition. Several other villages with similar names tell the same story of cruelty, begotten of ignorance and superstition. Another phase of superstition, though a milder form of it, is the belief that the names of certain places, like the names of certain obnoxious individuals, if uttered in the morning will bring ill-luck to the utterer. Several villages bearing these inauspicious names are to be met with in Bihar, e. g., *Munshi-ka-Bazar* on the Segauli-Gobindgunje road and *Bhālūahi* (north-east of Bettiah, in Chumparan.) The names of notorious misers and of certain unlucky animals are also not taken in the morning, from the same superstitious feeling. The story is that the Munshi who established the above bazar was a notorious miser, and the name of the latter village corresponds to that of a bear, which is considered an unlucky animal. Sometimes, through the dense mist of antiquity, a ray of light shoots forth, and amidst a bushel of legendary and superstitious stories, a grain of fact is met with which repays the trouble of sifting. *Ramchura* and *Rambladr*, in Hajipur, are the spots at the confluence of two sacred streams, where Rama first set foot (*churan*) on his northward journey, and where he performed his toilet (lit : ' shaved' *bladr*), before setting out for king Janaka's court. And if the main facts of the story of the *Ramayana* are true (and there is no reason why they should not be), there was no more likely place for the hero to cross over (as he journeyed from his native country) than the spots indicated by these ancient names.

So many divers elements have, from time to time, united to form the Hindustani language now current, so many foreign and heterogeneous languages (with pronunciations so alien to the genius of the indigenous or naturalized tongue) have been piled one on another, that it is not surprising to find that corruptions and mispronunciations have crept in, and often mislead the enquirer in his endeavours to trace names to their right sources.

Some are, indeed, conspicuous and easy to detect ; but oftener they are to be met with so transformed, so assimilated, so pitched to the indigenous key, that it is hard to distinguish them. Who would, for example, easily recognise "the brilliant palace, the exalted dôme" (*Kaivan shakoh*) in the meaningless jargon, *Kaua Kho*, one of the so-called *mahallas*, or wards, in the city of Patna ? It is worth while enquiring how this name came to be introduced. It was the custom of the Moghuls to call their palaces by high-sounding names, the grandeur of which was oftener reflected by the noble tenant than by any excellence of architecture. *Shakoh* is a Persian word which means 'dignity,' 'grandeur,' 'pomp,' and *Kaivan* 'the planet Saturn.' We have a similar compound in *Dara shakoh*, or "in pomp like Darius." It was therefore the name of a palace, or residence of a prince, most likely of that name or title. Probably some prefix, such as *bārgah*, 'court,' or 'palace,' is now left out which would complete the sense. It is clear, therefore, how the locality came to be called by the corrupt name which it bears now : it is simply the place where stood this stately palace, rivalling the planet Saturn in grandeur and brilliancy. Then, again, who, looking as we usually do in our daily business, more with a practical than a critical and philologist's eye, could trace in the ugly contortion *Khaikalla* ghat, in Patna, the name *Khāje* or *Khawājā Kallān*, or the senior Khwaja, who gave the name to it ? *Khawaja* is literally 'master,' or a man of distinction ; but it was a title usually applied to a rich merchant. From the name, we learn that there must have been two such *Khawājās*, for one to be called senior. Similarly *Guzri*, or the central thoroughfare, the main road where the market is held daily in Patna (from a market, held in the 'afternoon'—*guzri*—by the roadside), is corrupted into the hybrid *gudri* and the dike, or masonry embankment, that the Dutch ('Hollanders') built in front of their factory in the 17th century, a few yards below the present Patna Opium Factory, is called *Olendāz ka posthā*. *Andar Killa*, or 'inside the fort,' in Hajipur, is turned into *Anar Kella*, and *Anwarpur*, the present railway station of Hajipur, on the Tirhut State line, is called and written *Anārpur*, as if the place at one time had contained a plantation of pomegranate trees. Going back into the dim past of Indian history, we find that *Bishākipuri*, mentioned in *Valmiki's Ramayana* (named after Raja Bishal, Rama's uncle), is changed into *Bassār*, in the *Pāro thana*, Mozufferpur district, and now identified by a big village close to it, called *Bannia*, and hence called *Bannia-Bassar*. There are, in this ancient village, relics of an old fort and a Buddhist convent, and it was most probably the *Bishālipuri* of the *Ramayana*. Many more instances of corruptions and mispronunciations might be cited, but we will only give another instance from

modern times to show how changes are effected. Colonel Dalton, who did so much for Chota Nagpur, also established the sub-divisional head-quarters of Palamow on the bank of the *Koel*, which was called after him *Daltongunge* ; but the name is very fast disappearing among the natives in its purity, the corruption, *Lalsaugunge*, taking its place. But indigenous names, too, would not seem to be altogether free from this corruption, arising principally from attrition of use. For example, the ludicrous turn given to the name *Ghorpakri* (a village in the Champarun district, would make it appear at first sight, as if the word was in some way connected with *Ghor* or *Ghora*, a horse, as indeed I have heard some natives derive it. But the name, no doubt, was *Ghūr Pakri*, or the village where the *Pakri* tree stood on the *ghūr*, which is the common fire place of the village, and where the villagers sit and gossip morning and evening in the cold weather, the fire being formed of the collected sweepings piled up in a place. The *Pakri* tree spoken of here, from which the village took its name, was no doubt the one under which there was the village fire-place (*ghūr*).

Some names have lost altogether their original meaning, the places no longer being what they were once, and are used without any reference to their former exactness and application, *e. g.* *Ramnā* indicates ' the place where the deer were kept,' ' the park ;' but is now often to be met with in the heart of a city and forming a separate word by itself. In most places where the Moghul nobles and princes took up their permanent residence, they established a park, and thus we meet with this name in many old Indian cities.

At the conclusion of this paper I cannot do better than point out, by a few examples of suffixes, the double and sometimes treble nomenclature in vogue, thus "unmistakably bearing the marks and footprints of great revolutions profoundly impressed on it." We have, side by side with *Nagar*, *nagari*, *pur*, *puri*, *grām*, *gaon*, *gao*, *tola*, *tol*, of Sanskrit origin, *ābād*, *ganj shahar*, *sarae*, introduced by the Muhammadans. The former set of words have lost much of their force and accuracy in modern times, but there must have been some distinction in the use of these terminals in an earlier period. *Nagar* and *Nagari* were no doubt first class cities and towns ; and probably *pur* and *puri* came next in order, although we find them used somewhat promiscuously in Sanskrit writings. *Grām*, *gaon*, *gao*, and all derivatives from them, were villages and suburban towns, and we have a distinction made between a *grām* and a *nagar* in the instructions laid down for the guidance of mendicants. It is said, "a devotee can tarry for five nights in a *nagar*, but only for one night in

"a *grām*, where the people are chiefly poor." *Tola, toli* (from 'tol, a class, a tribe, or clan, a division) was a division, or small part of a town or village separated from it, and forming a distinct hamlet, in which a separate class, or caste, had settled from the main village, to which it belonged.* It is now commonly applied to a ward of a city occupied by a particular caste, or class following a certain occupation. *Abad* was a place which any one had helped to establish and people: it is now used indiscriminately for a big city, as well as a small town or village. *Ganj* is literally 'a collection,' 'a heap,' and was applied to granaries, depôts, markets and marts; it is also now used for a town of any magnitude, the predominant idea of 'a cluster of houses' being still preserved. *Shahr* was, *par excellence*, 'the city' in Muhammadan times, as *Shahr-i-Delhi*, or *shahr-i-Patna*. *Sarāw* (literally 'a mansion' or 'house') was an inn where travellers halted, and indicates, usually in a compound, that originally an inn existed there. Other suffixes and their contractions are frequently met with which would repay study, e.g., *aoli* (and its various modifications) in such names as *Turkaoliyā* and *Misraoliya*, means 'a series,' 'a line,' 'a range,' i.e., a range, or collection of quarters or houses occupied by Turks and Missir Brahmins,* and hence a settlement or village of these castes or classes. It may be noted in passing, that *Turk* was a name commonly applied by the Natives to Muhammadans in general, doubtless from the fact that the original Muhammadan settlers were Turks; and the popular language still retains this trace in such words as *Turk-hajjam* and *Turk-dhobi*, for Musalman barber and washerman, in contradistinction to the Hindu followers of the same professions. *Bāri* and *Bigha* are also affixes commonly to be met with, the latter, principally in Gaya. The former means a homestead, with groves and lands attached thereto, and the latter is (as well known) a land measure, and means lands, or so many acres occupied by a certain class or caste of people, as for example, *Semarbari* (in Champaran), i.e., 'the homesteads amidst cotton trees,' and *goār* or *goāl bighā* (in Gaya) i.e., the land of village inhabited by milkmen. *Di Dih*, or *Dika*, is originally an elevated land, and then a village on such a raised spot, with surrounding low lands, and then any village. It is also applied to the old site of a village, now abandoned,† or the parent village in relation to its sub-villages and hamlets. *Chak*, principally to be

* The genitive particle *ā*, as a terminal, indicates to whom the village belongs, or by whom it is peopled. e.g., Turk aoli-ya-Missir-aoli-ya.

† Mr Grierson, in his excellent book on Bihār Peasant Life, the publication of which marks an era in Bihār literature, notes the three classes of soil according to their respective distance from the village site: these are *dihās*, *baharsī* and *tañr*,

met with in Tirhoot, means 'a parcel,' or portion of land divided off from the parent village. As fresh settlements are made, these 'parcels,' or 'shares,' of lands are 'sliced off' from the surrounding villages, and made into a separate village: these are termed, *Chak*, e. g., *Chaksaho* and *Chaksekandar* in the Tajpur and Hajipur sub-divisions. * *Ghat* is a 'pass,' or entrance into a country over mountains, or through any difficult pass, and hence an entrance to a riverside, a landing place. Such affixes as *gar* 'a high mound'; *pāhi*, 'a foreign cultivator' (i. e., who lives in one village and cultivates lands in another); *tānr* or *tand*, high extensive wastes of infertile land, or of hillocks and ridges, such as are found in the south of Gaya; *Chaunr*, low open, marshy country, mostly water-logged, *sareh*, or *sareya*, outlying lands, as distinguished from the *Dih* and *goenr*, or homestead lands, are sometimes found joined to other words, forming self-explaining compounds.

JOHN CHRISTIAN.

* This suffix, I am informed, is used chiefly to denote alluvial lands reclaimed from marshes and hollows or from rivers that have changed their courses.

ART. IV.—THE PLANTAIN: ITS HISTORY, CULTIVATION AND FOLK-LORE.

THE plantain tree is a native of India and the neighbouring regions, as far as China in the East, and along the sub-Himalayan tracts, as far as the valley of the Euphrates, on the West. From these countries it is supposed to have spread into the neighbouring islands, and the other equinoctial and tropical parts of the Globe; and it is now thoroughly at home in Africa, South America and the South Sea Islands. Numerous clumps of the wild plantain still cover the hill slopes north of Chittagong, where the Gāyal and the elephant nibble at their leaves and crunch their soft, succulent stems, and Dr. Roxburgh thinks that all the varieties now cultivated in this country are derived from the wild plant of Chittagong. The wild plantain is also found in Nepal and on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, the Nilgiris and the Eastern and Western Ghats. In the evergreen forests that clothe the hills of Malabar, Mr. Rhodes Morgan, a scientific traveller, found the wild plantain the most interesting feature in that woodland scenery. "A thousand rock-plantains (*Musa Ornata*)," he writes, "display their handsome leaves and curious bulbous-looking stems, whilst the common wild plantain (*Musa Superba*) grows in clumps in the ravine lower down. We cut down a bunch of the tempting golden fruit. There is nought inside them, however, but a mass of hard, black seeds, thinly covered with farinaceous pulp. Our attendant—Coorcha—munches steadily through them, finishing up with a handful of common figs (*Ficus glomerata*), which he has picked on our way up, and which swarm with a multitude of little two-tailed flies." In these parts the grass in the forests was in former times burnt down in the hot season, and the wild plantain was the first plant to show itself after the annual clearing.

Seeds have now disappeared from the superior varieties of plantain that are cultivated for their fruit. These thrive best on a rich, damp soil, surrounded by a steamy atmosphere, especially if the air is laden with the smell of the neighbouring sea. The plantain in its highest perfection is, therefore, found all round the Indian coast, and in Burma, Siam, the Straits and the Indian Archipelago. For the same reason it is now quite at home in the West Indies and the South Sea Islands. In the far West, among the sugar-plantations of Jamaica and Trinidad, it is an interesting sight to see the bapana hiding, with its smooth green leaves, the low cottage

of the Negro labourer, while above the cocoanut palm spreads its long feathery arms. Indeed, it is said that Jamaica would be scarcely habitable without the plantain, as no species of flour or bread could supply its place in supporting the health and strength of the Negro. It is also frequently the chief support of the American Indians, who cultivate it in the depths of their primæval forests, and, like the Karens of Burma, take it with them in their frequent changes of residence. Nor have the European planters neglected this valuable plant. Among the enormous sugar plantations of the West Indies, glowing with the fresh green of the cane, and marked off into small squares, now and again comes to view the planter's white homestead, embowered amid palms, palmettos, cocoanuts, bananas, laurels and ceibas. In Europe the plantain is not seen in the open air above southern Spain, although in Cuba it is said to grow even where the thermometer in winter falls below freezing point. In the Himalayas the plant ascends to an elevation of 6,500 feet. The superior kinds of plantain lead a poor existence in the dry climate of Northern India, and their efforts to bring forth fruit, when not altogether abortive, result in the production of an article much inferior to the real thing in a more congenial climate. The plantain had, therefore, no place of honour in the household economy of the early Aryans, who, coming from beyond the Indus, formed their first settlements on the banks of the mighty streams which have given its name to the modern Province of the Panjab. They chanted no song in its honour, poured no oblation to it on the sacred fire, and invoked no god to nourish it with rain and sunshine. But when, in course of time, they moved further east, they came to know its value. From that time forth the grateful Brâhmans called it by various endearing names, compounded from Sanskrit roots, expressive of the habits of the plant and the beauty and use of its products. Thus *kadali* the common Sanskrit name, means 'that which is nourished by water, and was given to it for its love of a damp soil and a moist atmosphere. *Rambhû* is that which is pleasant to the mind. *Bana-lakshmi* signifies the "wealth-giving goddess of the forests." *Bhânû-phala* means the "sun-fruit." *Vârana-vusa* and *Vârana-ballabha* signify the "beloved of the elephants." *Mocha*, the name commonly used for the fruit in ancient times, and now specially applied to the flower-head, means the "liberated," referring to the way in which the flowering spike emerges from the parent tree, like a child from the womb. *Mocha* was reduced to *Mauz* in the Pâli dialect of the Sanskrit language, which flourished in India in the Buddhist Period, when India had the greatest intercourse with the Arabs and the Ionian Greeks.

It is probable that from the last name, the Arabic word for plantain, "Mauz," is derived. European authors took the Arabic word and gave the name *Musa* to the genus, and the name *Musaceæ* to the Natural Order under which they classed the plantain tree. The close affinity of the Musads with the Gingerworts has, however, led later authors to put the plantain under the Order *Scitamineæ*, to which also belong ginger, turmeric and other plants of the same nature. The connection of the word *Musa* with the Arabic word *Mauz* was, however, doubted by Linnaeus. According to him, Plumier, a celebrated French botanist, gave the name to the genus in memory of Antonius Musa, the brother of Euphorbus and the physician of Augustus. Banana and plantain are the two common English names for the fruit, as well as for the plant which is of many species. Banana, according to some, is derived from the word *Vārana*, a contraction of the Sanskrit name *Vārana-vusa*, or *Vārana-ballabha*, or from *Bhānu-phala*, another Sanskrit name. It is said that the word was first changed to Ourana by the Greeks, and subsequently it assumed the form of *Arieana* in that language, which word has a close resemblance to Banana. Under the name of *Ariena*, Theophrastus described a fruit which he saw was the chief food of the Indian sages, and which has been identified with the plantain. The name plantain is supposed to have been derived from *Pala*. Copying from Theophrastus, Pliny wrote that the leaf of the *Pala* tree resembles "the wing of a bird, being three cubits in length, and two in breadth. It puts forth its fruit from the bark, a fruit remarkable for the sweetness of its juice, a single one (bunch?) containing enough to satisfy four persons." *Pala* seems to have its origin in *Phala*, the general Sanskrit name for fruit, or in *Vala*, the Malayalan name for plantain. A little herb of the genus *Plantago*, is also called plantain. It is found in the English meadows, and supplies seeds for cage birds. To this genus also belongs the plant which produces the *Isaghlul* of the Indian bazars, a valuable demulcent medicine, prized by both Hindus and Muhammadans. To distinguish the plantain of England from the plantain of India, the latter is generally called the plantain tree, while in the case of the former the name is used by itself.

Plantain has yet another English name which has now fallen into disuse. Gerarde and other authors called it Adam's apple, because, according to some, it was the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Paradise. There has been much controversy on this subject, some preferring to place the odium on wheat, while others blame the grape, the shaddock, the cherry, or the apple. In the West Indies the shaddock is commonly called the forbidden fruit. The authority for pointing to the apple as the forbidden fruit is the passage of the

Canticles—"I awakened you under an apple tree ; 'twas there your mother lost her innocence." The connection of the plantain with the Garden of Paradise is based on grounds equally indisputable. The violet cone at the end of a bunch of plantain is responsible for it. Sir George Birdwood writes :—"St. Pieræ in his way observes that the violet cone at the end of a bunch of plantain, with the stigmas peering through like gleaming eyes, might well have suggested to the guilty imagination of Eve, the semblance of a serpent, tempting her to pluck the forbidden fruit it bore as an erect and golden crest." Thus, seeing the important part which the plantain played in the destiny of man, learned men searched in the Bible for any mention of the fruit. Loudolf conjectured that the *dudom* of the Scriptures was the plantain ; but it has now been proved that it was the mandrake, which possesses virtues like those of belladonna, and by which the magicians of the ancient world used to produce hallucinations in their dupes. Again, Gesenius supposed that by *Teenah* was meant the plantain tree. But *Teenah* was the fig tree (*Ficus carica*). There is another legend to the effect that Adam and Eve clothed themselves with plantain leaves after they had eaten the forbidden fruit, whatever it may have been. It is also supposed that it was a bunch of plantains which the spies of Moses brought away from the Promised Land, for it required two men to carry, and a bunch of grapes could not have been so heavy. Some, again, instead of looking upon it as the forbidden fruit, give it the credit of being the original food of man in the garden of Paradise. Whatever may have been its connection with the Garden of Paradise, the tradition has given the specific name *Paradisiaca* to the species, which is most extensively cultivated, and which produces the best kinds of fruit. The name of its most important variety, viz., *Musa sapientum* has also an interesting derivation. The ancient sages of India abhorred the shedding of blood, and abstained from all kinds of animal food. They had even a reluctance to destroy vegetable life by eating seeds like wheat and rice, and the most austere among them went so far as to live upon fallen leaves. To such holy men the plantain was a great boon. Theophrastus, the Greek, as mentioned before, found it the principal food of the ancient sages of India, and authors therefore called it by the name of *sapientum*, which means "of the wise men."

Musa paradisiaca produces the fruit which is known as the *kanch-kala* in Bengal. It is plucked green and cooked as a vegetable. *Musa paradisiaca*, var. *sapientum*, is the Martabán of Bengal, and the common banana of the West Indies. But the names plantain and banana are often used promiscuously, the first being the term most accepted in India to denote all

kinds and all forms of the fruit, and in the general sense it is used in this article, and no distinction has been made between it and the banana. In the West Indies, however, the plantain is distinguished as the fruit of that variety which is plucked green and cooked as a vegetable, the banana being the fruit of the varieties that are eaten raw. *Musa sapientum* was formerly reckoned a separate species. There are many other varieties of *M. paradisiaca* and forms of *sapientum*, but they are still very much "mixed," as in the days of Voight, who vainly tried "to put them into some order." *M. sapientum* is, however, distinguished by its stalks, which are marked with dark purple stripes and spots. Its fruit is also shorter and rounder, with a softer pulp, and of a more delicate flavour. The other principal fruit-producing species of the *Musa* are the *Mr. rosacea*, the rose-coloured plantain of the Mauritius, and the red plantain of Bombay, Madras and Burma; *M. nana*, the dwarf-plantain of China; *M. Quercu*, another dwarf species of China; *M. coccinea*, a scarlet flowered species of the same country; *M. orientum*, the "Lady finger" banana, and *M. masculata*, the fig banana of the West Indies. In the Indian Archipelago, besides *M. sapientum*, the species mostly met with are *M. Simiarius* with its varieties. The principal forms seen in India will be described under their vernacular names.

Most of the common Sanskrit names of the plantain have already been given. The vernacular names are—Bengali, *Kalá*; Hindi, *Kelá*; Persian, *Mauz*; Márháthi, *Keli*; Tamil *Vala*, *Vela*; Telugu, *Aritu*; Singhalese, *Kalckang*; Burmese *Nepyan*, *Ng-hyet-proe*; Bali, *Biyn*; Javanese, *Gadang*; Malay *Pisang*.

The plantain tree is a very graceful plant, and its straight, succulent stem is a favourite object with Sanskrit poets with which to compare the lower limbs of a beautiful maiden. "Her limbs are like the *Rám-rambhá* plant," is a simile which no poet of any pretension will forget to apply to his heroine. With the stem of the plantain a beautiful comparison is made by Kálidása in "The Birth of the War god," but it has unfortunately been omitted in Griffith's translation. Sometimes the compliment is carried a little further, when the gracefulness of the heroine comes off victorious in comparison with the poor plantain. In short, anything thick and straight and graceful is compared with the plantain stem. Thus in the *Mahábhárata* :—

Kadali sunda sadrisam sarva lakshana sanjutam.

Gaja-hasta pratikásam vajra pratime gauṛavam.

"Like the trunk of a plantain, full of all good qualities,

Like the trunk of an elephant with the glories of thunder."

The stem is 10 to 12 feet high, and is formed by a succession of layers of the fibrous leaf-stalks, which, descending

from the head of the plant to the root, sheath the white cylindrical pith in the centre of the plant. This pith is as white as ivory, but is soft, and shows to great perfection bundles of spiral vessels, when broken across. Its resemblance to ivory, with its difference from it in strength and consistency, has given rise to the Malayalam proverb:—"Ivory and the heart of the plantain are equal to each other." This is as much as to say:—"All that glitters is not gold." The pith, is however, the main support of the plantain tree, weak as it is. Hence, Jāgnavalka, one of the greatest sages of ancient India, compared human life with a plantain tree without the pith, *i. e.*, empty, vain and fragile. The stem is from one to two feet thick at the base. The leaves are from six to eight feet long and two feet broad, and form a tuft on the head of the stem. The lamina, or the blade of the leaf, has parallel veins running at right angles from the midrib to the margin. These veins do not anastomose, or form a net work, as in the mango and jack. The blades are, therefore, easily torn, and often they are reduced to numerous shreds by a strong gale. But they remain attached to the midrib, and wave to and fro as the wind passes over them. The flower stalk is the continuation of the white cylinder in the centre of the stem. The conical flower-head looks like a red cabbage, and is about a foot long and six inches in circumference in the middle. When it has come out to a sufficient extent from the plant, it gracefully droops by its own weight. The flower-head is composed of numerous divisions, each division being enclosed in a purple, leathery spathe, or involucre.

Under them are arranged a double row of nine or ten elongated reddish flowers, the male lying at the base, while the female or the hermaphrodite flowers are at the upper end. As each row of the flower matures, the involucre falls off, and a line of fruit appears, looking like the slender fingers of a child. The spathe which has been shed, is like a miniature flat-bottomed country-boat, and children are fond of playing with it. The fruit, when ripe, is from three to six inches long and from half an inch to two inches thick. Clustering spirally round the stalk, it forms a large bunch containing from eighty to a hundred plantains, and sometimes even as many as three hundred. Some of the species of *Musa* are specially handsome, notably the Abyssinian species, *Musa ensete*. The flower-stalk being the continuation of the white cylinder inside the plant, the plantain can fruit only once in its life, after which the old tree, leading a useless life for a short time, dies down to the root, and its place is taken by the next large sucker, or suckers, growing from the parent root. The old plant is, however, cut down when the fruit is plucked.

Although the wild plantain fruit is full of small black seeds, the cultivated kinds are sterile and contain no seeds. In its wild state the plant soon exhausts the food stored in the place where it grows, and finds itself hampered on all sides by the competition of other plants. The encouragement to reproduce itself by suckers is, therefore, limited in its mountain home. There it fills its fruit with numerous black seeds, covered with a thin sweet pulp, so that birds may be tempted to come and carry them away for propagation to distant lands and fresh pastures. But the object of cultivation is to give it suitable land and nourishing food, and to prevent other plants from stealing that which is given to it. Here it finds every encouragement to throw out suckers, which grow faster than the young produced from seeds. It, therefore, devotes all its mind, so to say, to sending out new suckers, on which it exhausts all its organic power of reproduction. It gradually forgets to form seeds, and partly through long continued habit, partly through selection by man, the best kinds of plantain have now lost their power of making seeds. When food in one place fails, these plants find themselves quite helpless. Unable to call back their old alternative way of continuing the race, they gradually die, each family with its old ones in the middle and little ones clustering round. In some climates, as in Java, however, they soon succeed in regaining their power of making seeds. But what is most notable in Bengal is, that the form known as *Kántali*, which is the plantain cultivated for fruit from prehistoric times, has not yet forgotten its old instinct of reproduction, and the reversion in its case takes place more speedily and easily than in any other form. When a clump of this plantain has been standing in one place long enough to exhaust the surrounding soil, it immediately begins to reduce the number of its suckers and to make seeds in the fruits. Cultivation and abundance of nourishment in the soil, therefore, do not totally destroy the power of making seeds ; but only check it and keep it in a dormant state. A more radical change in the life of the plant than mere cultivation is necessary to bring about this result. This change was afforded it by its removal to distant parts of the globe, and there, simultaneously with the destruction of its power of making seeds, a great improvement took place in the fruit itself and its pulp. In China the plant of one sort got dwarfed and gave up all its vegetative strength to the production of the fruit. In the Malayan Peninsula the pulp of the fruit in several sorts assumed a delicate softness, and the plant producing it became the source of the modern banana, which travelled back to Bengal by way of Martaban, a name by which it is known in this part of the country. It assumed many other forms under different circumstances and under different treatment. While

in some places it is scarcely three inches long, in others it is as big as a man's forearm. In Java there is a plantain, called the *Pisang-tanduk*, which is about two feet long. In the mountains of the Philippine Islands a single fruit is said to be a sufficient load for a man. But this must be a monstrosity. Another form is said to grow in Java which produces only a single fruit inside the stem, from which it bursts forth when ripe. It is of such a size that four persons can satisfy themselves on one fruit. But even in these countries the ordinary forms of plantain have not yet entirely forgotten their instinct of making seeds, especially where they have a chance of running wild. This is particularly noticed in Java, where the *Musa sapientum* has shown an obstinate tendency to run to seed. This is said to be due to a curse which a king pronounced upon it in that ancient period when the Hindu religion flourished in the island. The legend is thus related by Mr Kurz :—"There was a Rájá who was very fond of this kind of plantain, at that time bearing no seeds. His subjects, however, were not less fond of it, and they ate so many, that finally none remained on the trees. The Rájá, asking one day for his favorite fruit, and seeing all his trees plundered, became very angry and took a handful of cotton seed, strewing them in all directions of his Empire with the curse, that his favourite plantain trees should bear only cotton seed. From that time no *Pisang batta* can be found in the whole country, which did not bear seed." It seems that a few fresh suckers of the seedless *Pisang batta* from the Continent are now necessary to remove the curse, at least till they again degenerate. In order to verify the plantains which he found cultivated in India, Dr. Roxburgh obtained some seeds of the wild plantain from Chittagong and cultivated them in the Royal Botanical Gardens. The plants that grew out of them exhibited all the characteristics of the cultivated kinds. "In the course of two years," writes Dr. Roxburgh, "from the seeds received from Chittagong, these attained the usual height of the cultivated sorts, which is about ten to twelve feet. They blossom at all seasons, though generally during the rains; and ripen their seeds in five or six months afterwards; the plant then perishes down to the root, which long before this time has produced other shoots; these continue to grow up, blossom, etc, in succession for several years." One form of *Musa paradisiaca*, called Dogre in the vernacular, is full of seeds. Its flower-head is, however, large, and is used as a vegetable, being specially cultivated for that purpose near Calcutta. Another kind with seeds, called *sayá*, is occasionally cultivated in Bengal. Its juice, is said to be a valuable remedy for eye-diseases.

All the cultivated forms of the plantain are now propagated

from the suckers. About six to eight suckers are thrown out by each mature plant during the year, and half of these must be removed in order to allow the others to grow at ease. So, to express their dislike of over-crowding, the people of Malabar quote the proverb—"A plantain tree that grows in a cluster of several others will produce no bunch."

In parts of the Bombay Presidency, especially in the Nasik District, only one shoot, *i. e.*, the "daughter" (*Kar*) is allowed to grow, but occasionally a second, *i. e.* the "grand-daughter," (*Nal*) is also left in the group. The suckers taken out are planted elsewhere, if a new garden is required to be laid; otherwise they are thrown away, or given to cattle. The land where the plantain grows best is of a rich, deep, porous soil, with plenty of moisture, but not water-logged. It also flourishes well in newly cleared jungled land and in the new soil taken out in the excavation of tanks. Upon the earth heaped all round the new tank the mango, jack and other orchard trees are sown, and in the neighbourhood of each seedling a plantain shoot is put in, which, growing up fast, affords shade to the young tree, and for six or seven years contributes, by its fruit, towards the cost of rearing the garden. While the plantain is absorbing all the nourishment lying on the surface of the land, the orchard trees are growing up and sending their roots deep down into the soil. In seven or eight years the plantain has exhausted all the nourishment in the upper soil, and the orchard trees are by this time sufficiently advanced. The plantain now dies, or is cut down, and the land is left in full possession of the permanent trees. In the south the plantain is made to afford shade to the areca and the cocoanut, the coffee and the betel-vine. In South America it affords shade to the cacao. In the case of the areca-nut the ground is first planted with rows of plantain trees at a distance of three cubits, between which the areca seedlings are set in holes. At the end of three years, the original plantain trees are removed, and a new set is planted between the areca beds. The greater part of the plantain trees are removed after the end of twelve years, when the areca palm has grown up, but a few are permanently retained between each bed of the plantain, "in order to preserve a coolness at the root of the areca." In Bengal the plantain is put into new land in June or July, after the rains have well set in. The following saying is common among the peasantry :—

Dák de bale Rávan
Kalá potoge Ashár Srávan,
Sát háth antar savá háth bái
Kalá pute Kháo chásá-bháí.

Exclaims Rávan—

Sow plantain in Ashár, Srávan.

Two feet hole ten feet distant,

Put, brother, each plantain plant.

It is not known why Rávan, the ten-headed giant of Ceylon, is cited as an authority on this point. Probably his name has been taken for want of a better rhyme for "Srávan." Wise instructions have also been given in the matter of planting the banana by a West Indian negro. "In the fus place, we chops down the trees, and burns all of day that we can; then we cuts de banana sprouts into pieces wid an axe and makes little holes wid a mattock above so far apart (the distance pointed out to the listener by stretching out his long arms), den we chucks them in, and *away dey* goes." In Bengal, after the young plants are once put in, no care is taken of them, except that the soil near the roots is loosened once a year, and a number of the suckers are removed to prevent overcrowding. Only in very rare cases manure, in the shape of rotten cowdung or other vegetable matter, is applied to the root, and that for the best kinds of plantain.

In the south of India the plant is more carefully cultivated, being frequently hoed, manured and watered. So there is a Tamil proverb :—"Hoe for the plantain and water for brinjals." Although hoeing and digging are also practised in the West Indies, where the banana is treated just as a crop of corn, this mode of disturbing the roots is not generally recommended by scientific authorities on the subject, as "the plant is a surface feeder, and cultivation with hoe or plough, however shallow, will in every case take most of the roots and retard the growth of the plant rather than hasten it." On the other hand, in the opinion of the cultivators themselves, a good hoeing all over the ground would keep down the weeds, keep the soil underneath light and friable, and furnish fertilising material as it decayed. In the Madras Presidency two modes of growing the plantain are followed, distinguished by the site of the land and the distance at which the shoots are planted; that on the upland being known as the *Pakka Valai*, and that on the lowlands *Thuru valai*. Sweet potatoes and other crops are frequently put between the plantains, by which plan a second crop is obtained for a year or two. The plantation is destroyed after four or five years, when the land is hoed up and other crops are sown.

On the Bombay side, too, great care is taken in the cultivation of the plantain. After the land has been carefully prepared, pits are dug, in which the new shoots are put, with manure, earth and dry leaves. The plantain is irrigated once or twice a week. In some parts of the

Western Presidency it is cultivated in rotation with sugar-cane or betel-leaves. Sugar-cane is planted immediately after the betel vine is taken out of the land. A year of fallow then succeeds the cane, and the fallow is followed by either plantain or sugar-cane. The most careful system of cultivation is, however, followed in the Thāna District, the produce from which finds a ready market in the town of Bombay. The cultivation pursued here is so different from that of any other part of India, and is attended with such good results, as any one can see from the abundance of the fruit in the Bombay market, that an account of it may be quoted here with advantage. Mr. James Campbell thus describes the process:—"The soil, which must be light and sandy, is burnt in April or May, and ploughed when the rains set in. It is then carefully cleared and levelled, and the young plants buried in holes about half a foot deep, manured with a handful of mixed oilcake, rotten fish and cow-dung, and the whole covered with grass and dry leaves. The distance between the plants depends on the kind of plantain, about 1000 of the *Basrai*, and only 500 of the *Tambadi*, being grown in one acre. The other kinds are generally set about seven feet from one another. For the first four months the plants have to be manured once a month oilcake being used the first three times and fish the fourth time, if it can be got. Each layer of manure is covered with a thin coating of earth, and the earth is again covered with grass and tree leaves, *Sathan*. Fish manure is cheaper, wants less water, and gives a better return than any other manure; but it is apt to breed worms, and the plants must not be watered for eight or ten days, until the worms are dead. When the third dressing has been given, the plants are watered every third day for twelve days, and afterwards every sixth day, till the rains set in. All plants but those of the *Basrai* kind have to be propped. Except the red, *Tambadi*, which does not come to fruit until the tenth month, the plantain yields fruit after eight months, and three months after that the fruit is ready."

Plantains are cultivated in Burma in a most careless way, although the soil is extremely rich, and in every way suitable for the best kinds of the fruit. This is attributed to the habit of the Burmese of eating the fruit green, cooked as a vegetable. They do not much care for the ripe fruit, and have therefore no inducement to improve its flavour, as in their opinion one kind of plantain is just as good for curry as another. But they cultivate it very largely. "No Burma or Karen house is to be found without a plantation of plantains. As the latter leave their abode every three years,

in order to migrate to fresh localities, they are of course obliged to leave their plantain gardens behind them, and therefore these may be found growing luxuriantly in many uninhabited places, until they became choked up by the growth of the now vigorous jungle trees." So wrote Dr. Boyle. The plantain is, however, very carefully cultivated in the Indian Archipelago. The principle followed there is to change the locality every two or three years, to remove the superfluous suckers, and to use the old stems as manure. If sufficient care is not bestowed, the fruit soon becomes seed bearing. In the Fiji Islands, however, the old stems, though used as manure, are not reckoned a good one. One authority, writing from there, says :—

"As is well-known, the trunk of this plant is cut down immediately after the ripe fruit has been gathered ; and, up to the present time, no use has been made of it other than a doubtful manure, having a strong tendency to make the soil sour, owing to its moisture retaining propensities."

The plantain grows rapidly. It is said that in favourable places its growth can almost be seen with the eyes. If a line of thread is laid across on a level with the top of a leaf when it is expanding, the leaf is seen to have grown an inch in the course of an hour. A plantain tree therefore yields fruit in a year, and sometimes in eight months. After it has once thoroughly established itself, and if well cared for, a group of plants produces seven or eight bunches in a year. Each bunch contains from 80 to 300 plantains, the value of which may be put down at four annas. The annual yield per acre in favourable places, and under careful cultivation, is estimated as high as Rs. 200 for three or four years. The great enemy of the plantain is the strong wind which blows in the country in the dry and the rainy months, and which lays low the most mature plants in a group, especially those laden with fruit. Thus, the fall of a plantain tree before a hurricane, is pathetically compared with the untimely death of a human being, in the Coorg funeral song :—

As the raging storms in June
Break the fruitful plantain trees
In the garden round our house,
Thus, wast thou cut off, O father !

In Bengal, the two forms cultivated from the most ancient times are *Kanch-Kalá*, the fruit of *Musa paradisiaca* itself, and the *Kántálí*. It seems that it took a long time for the ripe plantain to get rid of its seeds and become fit for human food. Its value in ancient times was therefore chiefly confined to its use as a vegetable, as it is with the village Burmese of to-day. The *Kanch-Kalá*, which is plucked green, is considered

a very valuable vegetable, especially for those who are troubled with indigestion. Simply boiled with rice, it is one of the purest vegetables, from an orthodox point of view. To flavour the insipid rice, it is almost the sole reliance of the most orthodox Bráhmans, the ascetic widows and dutiful kinsmen who mourn the loss of a near relative by leading, for a prescribed time, a simple, frugal life. In the hot season, when other vegetables are abundant, and *Káñch-Kalá* is not so much in demand, the heat ripens the fruit. As a ripe fruit, it is sweet, but the pulp is flabby. Ripe *Káñch-Kalá* is considered very cooling, and given to lunatics and those who complain of heat in the brain. The *Kántáli* is equally pure. It is a form of *Musa sapientum*, and is eaten raw when ripe. Though very sweet, the pulp is coarse. It is, however, considered nourishing, especially when eaten with milk. The *Chatim*, or *Martabán*, is, however, the kind most liked by the natives of the country. It is a form of *Musa sapientum* brought probably from Martaban, as its name implies. The pulp of the *Chatim* is white, soft and buttery, though possessing the same consistency as the *Kántáli*. The *Chámpa* is, however, the favourite of the Europeans in Bengal, probably owing to its sub-acid taste. The rind is thin and of a golden yellow, and the pulp as soft as that of the Martaban, but a shade more delicate. The inside of the pulp, when broken across, shows a beautiful reddish tint. There are other varieties in Bengal, though not very common. Thus—

Mánikyamarthyámrita champakájá

Bhedá kadlyá bahavīp santi.

"Manik, Martta, Amrita, Champá,

"There are many varieties of plantain."

On the Madras side the principal varieties are *Rasthali*, a superior table plantain; the *Gandi* kinds, which are in great request, as they can be stewed down like an apple; *Pachhá*, a long, curved, green fruit; *Pevala*, a pale ash-coloured, sweet fruit; *Monden*, a three-sided, coarse fruit; and *Shevelle*, the large, red fruit. The other kinds found there are *Bontha*, *Bengala*, *Yamei*, *Pe*, *Serva*, *Yenne pannyan* and *Pidi Mothe*. Nine kinds of plantain are grown around Bombay, chiefly near Bassein, and their names are *Basrai*, *Mutheli*, *Tambadi*, *Rajeli*, *Lokhandi*, *Sonkeli*, *Beskeli*, *Karanjeli* and *Narsingi*. *Tambadi* is the red plantain. The *Beskeli*, dried and made into meal, is esteemed a light and nourishing food for invalids and for women after child-birth. In Burma the golden and the yellow plantains are generally seen in the bazars. In the Straits Settlements the most approved varieties are the royal plantain, the milk plantain, and the golden plantain. The Malays say that they can produce new varieties of

On Casbins' hills ;—pomegranates full
 Of melting sweetness, and the pears
 And sunniest apples that Caubul
 In all its thousand gardens bears.
 Plantain, the golden and the green,
 Malaya's nectared mangausteen."

No fresh plantain is sent out from India to any foreign country, except what is taken by ships for consumption during the voyage. Considerable quantities are, however, sent from the West Indies to New York and other large cities in the United States. The export to Europe is also growing year by year. Jamaica, where the banana forms "the most extensive and the most valuable fruit interest," is highly exultant at the development of the trade. In 1875 she exported ripe plantains (bananas) of the value of £5,590; in 1880, £38,566; in 1884, £191,972. Figures for later years are not available. The Director of the Public Gardens in Jamaica wrote, about this time, that "the development of the banana industry has brought into cultivation large tracts of land formerly lying useless or in ruinate, and it has also been the means of circulating nearly £200,000 per annum in ready money amongst all classes of the community." The net profit of banana cultivation in Jamaica is said to be £15 per acre. Fiji annually exports more than 40,000 bunches of banana. Although the supply is abundant in this country for export, and capable of almost unlimited expansion, there is no immediate prospect of an export trade being established with Europe, the heat in the Indian Ocean, and especially in the Red Sea, being a serious impediment in the way.

There is, however, a little internal trade in dried plantains on the Bombay coast. The industry is carried on in several villages around Bassein, and it supports about 85 families of Samvedi Bráhmans, 15 of Pachkalshis and about 75 families of Native Christians. They grow the plantains as well as dry them. It is only the *Rajeli* variety that is preserved in this way. The process is very simple:—"When the fruit is ripe, the bunch is taken from the tree and put into a basket filled with rice straw. The basket is covered for six or seven days to produce heat, and then the plantains are taken out, peeled, and spread on a booth close to the sea-shore. After lying all day in the sun, they are gathered in a heap in the evening, and left all night covered with dry plantain leaves and a mat, the heap being each time smeared with clarified butter. This is repeated for seven days, when the dried fruit is ready." At one village, Agashi, the annual yield of dried plantains is estimated at 160 tons, valued at Rs. 2700. Dried plantain is mentioned as a nourishing and antiscorbutic article of food

for long voyages. For home consumption the fruit, after being peeled, is generally cut into longitudinal slices and then dried in the sun. It is kept in well covered jars and used as dessert. An excellent jelly is also made from it. It is made thin if to be immediately used, and thick in order to be preserved for a length of time. In Mauritius, the West Indies and South America, the fruit, after being dried in the sun, is ground to powder and given as a light nourishing food to infants and invalids. Large quantities of the banana are also dried in Mexico. They call the article by the name of *Plantado pasado*. Fresh plantain, boiled and beaten in a mortar, is a favourite food of the negroes. They call it *Foo-foo*. Large quantities of meal are made in Africa, the West Indies and South America, from both the green (unripe) plantain and the ripe banana. The former, is specially known there as plantain meal. It is called *conquin-tay* in Guiana. "It is whitish with dark red specks, a fragrance like orris-root, and a taste like wheat flower, and is made into excellent and nourishing dishes." The fruit is peeled and sliced with a bamboo knife, as a steel knife injures the colour. It is said that a bunch, on an average, yields 5 lbs of meal, and the annual outturn per acre is estimated at 450 bunches of plantain and one ton of meal. In the warm parts of America this meal, as well as the fresh plantain, are used as the staple food. The meal is made into biscuits, but the green, unripe plantain, as has already been stated, is chiefly used as a vegetable, and is eaten cooked. The green plantain, (i. e. the plantain eaten in its green state, not ripe, for some plantains are of green colour in their ripe state) is the principal article of food of the negro peasantry in British Guiana, and its production is next in importance to that of sugar. The juices of the green plantain, when unripe, contain very valuable salts, and probably for that reason it has been a favourite vegetable with the Brahmins of India. It contains :—Potash 25·27, soda 9·52, lime 15·85, magnesia 5·0, alumina 0·87, chlorine 6·3, sulphuric anhydrid 0·96, phosphoric anhydrid 0·87, silica 0·81 and carbonic anhydrid 34·17. In South America a fermented liquor is made from the plantain. An excellent temperance drink is also prepared from the dried fruit. The pulp of the ripe fruit, after being pressed and passed through a cane sieve, is first wrapped in the green leaves and then dried in the sun. When required, a little portion is taken out of it and dissolved in water, the result being a refreshing and nourishing drink which is also very pleasant to the taste.

In the West Indies, a good and wholesome starch is obtained from plantain by rasping and washing. In Hindu medical books the properties of the ripe plantain are stated to be astringent, sweet, cooling, antibilious, heavy for digestion, aphrodisiac,

vermifuge, and also worm producing, &c. The unripe plantain is cooling, astringent, &c. ; the *chāmpā* form is antibilious, heavy, aphrodisiac, very cooling. It should be eaten with milk, curd, whey, or with the pulp of the palmyra palm fruit, made into cakes. The meal of the *chāmpā* form is said to be good in diabetes.

Mahomedan doctors and Yunáni Hakims consider the ripe plantain "sweet, cool, moist and heavy ; increases flatulence and mucus ; useful in disorders of bile, blood, wind, and heat of the chest." Dr. Playfair, who tried the medical virtues of the plantain, stated:—"This I have found very effectual as an aphrodisiac and as a tonic to the brain. It weakens the stomach and is heavy—its corrector is cardamum seed. The Yunani physicians say, that its correctors are honey, gum and ginger."

The next most useful product of the plant is its fibre. But, with various other fibre-sources abounding in India, sufficient attention has not yet been paid to this point of its usefulness. As a paper-material it has already been utilised, though on a limited scale. With the demand for paper increasing in the country, and with the opening of new paper mills to meet the demand, it is expected that a time will come when old rags, jute-cutting, *Munj*-grass, and *Bhábar* grass will so rise in price as to make the manufacturers look about for a cheaper stuff. The plantain stems, now rotting in villages and jungles, or given to cattle when better fodder is not procurable, will then command such a price as to make it worth the while of the cultivators to bring them to the mills. It has been proved by experience that paper of superior quality can be made from the plantain fibre. As late as 1846, one Mr. Clay showed Dr. Royle some note and letter paper of excellent quality made from this fibre. In 1851 Dr. Hunter prepared some specimens both of raw fibre and paper. "The fibre was about four feet in length, and also dyed of several colours, as well as twisted into fine cord and into rope. Some plantain rope was, moreover, sent in a tarred state. A portion of the tow was sent in a state fit for packing and stuffing, and some converted into paper ; of the latter, some was almost as thin as silver paper, and some of it seemingly as tough and tenacious as parchment, well fitted for packing paper, as being apparently little affected by water." Mr. Liotard, in his "Memorandum on the materials in India suitable for the manufacture of paper," mentions other specimens of fibre and paper which were made and exhibited from time to time. For cordage purposes the fibre of the different species of the Indian plantain, (*Musa paradisiaca*, *Musa Ornata*, etc.) is said to be not much inferior to the Manilla hemp, the product of *Musa textilis*. In 1822,

a cord, made out of a small sample of fibre from *Musa ornata*, was exhibited before the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, and was pronounced by experts "in no way inferior to English whip cord." The strength of the plantain fibre was compared with others by Dr. Royle. He found a cord made of Madras plantain bore a weight of 190 lbs., while one made of Singapore plantain bore 390 lbs. A "salvage" of Petersburg hemp of the same length and thickness broke with 160 lbs. A thicker rope, made of Indian plantain fibre, viz., a twelve-threaded rope, broke with 864 lbs., while a similar rope made of pine-apple fibre broke with 924 lbs. But the fibre of the *Musa textilis*, i. e., the Manilla hemp, or the Abaca of the Philippines, of which ship cordage is made, is certainly superior to the ordinary Indian plantain fibre. It is said that a delicate cloth is fabricated from this fibre. "The fine grass cloth, ship's cordage and ropes, which are made and used in the South Sea fisheries, are made from it." *Musa textilis* is a native of the Philippine Islands, where it grows best on hilly lands, in soil containing decayed vegetable matter and plenty of moisture. The fruit is not edible. The climate of many parts of India is suitable to its growth. Indeed, it is now growing in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, especially in the last-named Presidency. Government experiments are now being made with this plant in the Andamans, and the despatch of an expert to Manilla to study the subject, is under contemplation. It would be premature to say yet what the result will be, but *Musa textilis* seems to be worth the attention of European planters in India. It may be useful to give here shortly the manner of producing the fibre in the Philippine Islands. The plant can be grown from seeds, but suckers are preferred. They are placed six to nine feet apart, the intervening space being soon filled up by new shoots. In two years the plantation begins to yield fibre, but a full crop is not obtained until the fourth year. The trees should not be allowed to bear fruit, as in that case the fibre would be worthless, but should be cut down when the first stems are thrown out, and the leaves of the plant, instead of spreading out on all sides, are close together. The layers of the leaf-stalks are then separated from the stems, cut into strips of about three inches wide, which are drawn through between a blunt knife and a board to remove the pulpy matter. The strips are then dried in the sun, and when thoroughly dry, they form the Manilla fibre for the market. More than 40,000 tons of this fibre are annually produced in the Philippine Islands. The price is about Rs. 16 per cwt. It has been written in some books that a kind of cloth is usually woven at Dacca from the plantain fibre; but this is

not the case. A piece of cloth is sometimes made as a curiosity. A gold bordered handkerchief, made entirely from the plantain fibre, was exhibited by the Dacca weavers at the late Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883-84. This sample cloth can now be seen in the Art-ware Court of the Indian Museum. It looks almost like a tusser-cloth from a distance. The gloss is good, but the toughness of the fibre can be felt by touch. The price is high, Rs. 50 for a piece only 33 inches square. It is, however, certainly a work of art.

Besides the fruit, as a valuable food-product, and the fibre, which seems to have a prospect before it in the distant future, every part of the plantain tree comes to the use of man. The flower-head, called *Mocha* in Bengal, is an excellent vegetable. It is nourishing, and is said to have a salutary effect on the action of the kidneys. In former days no feast could be complete without a hotch-potch of the plantain-flower being served after the distribution of the rice. A special variety of the plantain called *Dogre* is cultivated in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, solely for the flower-head and the pith, for its fruit is full of seeds and is not eatable. In Hindu medical books plantain flower is described as possessing about the same qualities as the fruit. Thus in the *Bhāvaprakāśh*—

Kadalyam kusuman snigdhām madhurantivaram gurū.

Vāta-pitta haram sitam raktapitta kshaya pranut.

The pith, called *Thor* in Bengali, and *Kalicha gavha* in Mārghāthi, is also largely eaten cooked as a vegetable. It is said to counteract the excess of saline matter in the blood which people, living near the sea, in a swampy country like that of the Gangetic Delta, are believed to contract. The pith of the *Musa textilis* is also eaten on the Bombay Coast. In some parts of Africa, the seeds of the plantain are eaten fried in butter, specially those of a species called the "horse-plantain," which grows plentifully in Ethiopia and South Africa, and bears a fruit a foot in length, full of hard, black seeds. All parts of the plant are given to cattle as fodder. The leaves and the leaf-stalks are excellent green fodder. But the stem, which is given chopped very fine, contains too large a proportion of water to be very nutritive or wholesome. It comes useful, however, when other cattle-food fails. The root is more nourishing. Cut into fine pieces, it looks like sea-biscuits, and is liked by the cattle. As a valuable remedy for diabetes, the juice of the root forms one of the principle ingredients in the preparation of the medicine known as the *Kadalyādi-ghrita*. It is also described in the Hindu *Materia Medica* as strengthening, a corrector of wind and bile, and heavy. The rind of the ripe fruit is also a favourite food

with them. In short, every part of the plant is cattle-food. In many parts of the country the stem also comes to use in games and amusements, as a mark to shoot arrows at, or to exhibit dexterity of hand or sword practice. In Coorg it "is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the Coorg knife." There is a curious custom among the Muhammedans of Aligarh, of cutting several plantain trees from a garden on the last day of the Muharram festival. The rind is employed in some parts of India as a dye, to impart to leather a black colour. During the last scarcity in Southern India, the rind of the fruit was largely eaten by the people in the Belgaum District as a famine food. In preparing the wafer-biscuits, called *Pápar*, the juice of the inner part of the stem is used in some places to moisten the dough. In Kolhapur the juice is also used by the peasantry to stop bleeding. A similar use is made of this astringent juice in Jamaica. It is made to ooze out from the body of the plant by thrusting a knife into it, and "is given with great success to persons subject to spitting blood, and in fluxes." In Java, the leaves of certain species exude so large a quantity of a waxy substance on their under-surface, that the people there collect it and make it into candles. It is not seen in such large quantities in India, where it appears only as a very thin layer of chalky dust on the under-side of the leaves. In time of sudden floods, in places where they are not usual or expected, several stems of the plantain are joined together and made into rafts on which the people float up and down, visiting their neighbours. If the story of Benlo is to be believed, the people in former days used to go to distant places on such rafts. The story of Benlo is a simple one, and may be shortly related here :—

Benlo was a poor widow, the wife of Lakhindar, the son of a rich merchant named Chánd Saudágar, living somewhere up the Bhágirathi. Proud of his wealth, he would not pay homage to the snake-goddess Manasá. But, with the usual weakness of a divine being, and a female into the bargain, she, on her part, evinced a strong desire to taste all the good things which it was in the power of such a wealthy man as Chánd Saudágar to offer. Every other means having failed, she at last went in person to the rich man and begged him to worship her. But all her entreaties and threats were in vain; the old man was inexorable. So she threatened him with the death of his seven sons, but still the old man would not yield. One by one, she caused his sons to be bitten by her snakes, and one by one they died, except the youngest; but still the old man remained firm. At length, the turn came for the seventh son, Lakhindar; and it was foretold that he would

die of snake-bite on his marriage night. As a precautionary measure, Chánd, the old obstinate father, caused an iron room to be built, which he thought would be quite snake-proof. Lakhindar was married to Benlo, a maiden of exquisite beauty. On the marriage-night, Lakhindar and she went to sleep in the iron room, and, notwithstanding that she remained awake and tried her best to save her husband from the curse, Lakhindar was bitten by a snake and he died before day-break. The poor widow, however, resolved to get her husband back to life. So she prepared a raft made of plantain stems, and, taking the bones of her husband upon it, floated down the river, down, down, till she met the goddess somewhere near the mouth of the Hugli. The goddess, seeing her devotedness to her husband and her faith in her goodness, promised to bring Lakhindar back to life if the old man would only worship her. With this promise Benlo returned home, fell at her father-in-law's feet, and, with tears in her eyes, begged him to worship Manasá, the queen-goddess of the snakes. The old man, stricken with age and grief, and sufficiently humbled by this time, reluctantly consented, but on condition that, if he did worship at all, he would do it with the left hand and not with the right. This was not very respectful, but the goddess saw that she must either accept that or go without any worship. So she agreed to the compromise, and when she was thoroughly satisfied with the offerings, she gave back the life of all the sons of Chánd, and there was peace and harmony ever afterwards between the goddess and the man.

This is a very old story of the plantain stems being used as a raft.

In the indigenous village schools of Bengal, plantain leaf is used by advanced students as a substitute for paper. At the beginning they learn to write the alphabet on the floor, or on a wooden board, with a piece of chalk. When they have had sufficient practice in this mode of writing, they next use palm-leaves. Writing on palm-leaves, they learn the alphabet and make some progress in arithmetic. The next step is the plantain leaf, and lastly paper. The *Bidi*, or the cigarettes of Western India, are often wrapped with dried plantain leaves. Plantain leaves are also used for packing purposes. New tender leaves, which have not yet unfolded themselves, form an excellent cooling cover for blister-surfaces. To dress a blister, "a piece of the leaf of the required size, smeared with any bland vegetable oil, is applied to the denuded surface, and kept on the place by means of a bandage. The blistered surface is generally found to heal after four or five days." In ophthalmic diseases, a piece of the leaf forms a good shade for the eyes. In some parts of Africa, houses are thatched with

plantain leaves. In the villages of Bengal, dry plantain leaves are burnt, and the alkaline ash thus obtained is used to wash clothes at home. But the most important use of the leaf is as a ready-made plate off which to eat rice and vegetables. As such it is largely used in times of feasts and festivals, when a large number of guests are fed and sufficient plates are not available. It is specially so when low-caste men are feasted, whom no high-caste man will allow the use of his brass plate. The leaf is thrown away after the food has once been eaten off it. In Bengal the plantain leaf is not ordinarily used as a plate, at least not so much as in South India. In Madras it is extensively used, and in Kanara and Malabar the plantain is not more cultivated for its fruit, than for its leaf, to be used for this purpose. The custom of eating off plantain leaves is well illustrated in the *Tachcholi* ballad, a popular song in Malabar, narrating the thrilling adventures of Tachcholi, a Robin Hood of South India:—

“Tachcholi Meppayil Kunti Odenam
Took an oil bath, and rubbed over his body
A mixture of perfume, sandalwood and musk,
And sat down for dinner.
A Kadali plantain leaf was spread.
His sister Tachcholi Unchira,
Served him the dinner.
Fine lily-white rice,
A large quantity of pure ghi
And eleven kinds of vegetable curries.

Both the fruit and the tree are used for various sacred purposes. It is a fruit acceptable to both gods and men. On fast days nothing could be a purer food than plantain and milk. In the worship of all the gods it is an indispensable article. The goddess Shashthi, the Protectress of infants, is specially fond of this fruit. So the proverb runs: Shashthi, *Kālā Khābār Goshthi*: “Shashthi is a host by herself to eat plantain.” An entire cluster of the fruit is absolutely necessary for her worship, which takes place on the twenty-first day after child-birth, if the infant is a boy, and the tenth day if a girl. Plantain fruit is also absolutely necessary in the marriage ceremony. Plantain and rice are the two ingredients for making the balls offered to the ancestral manes. The Muhammadan saints (*Pirs*) are also fond of the fruit. An offering made to them called the *kancha-sinni*, made of wheaten flour, milk, sugar, and plantain are specially acceptable to the *Pirs*. The plant itself is an emblem of happiness and plenty, and one with a bunch of the fruit is, therefore, planted on each side of the gate, and in other conspicuous places, on all auspicious occasions. In the great festival of Bengal, the *Durgā Pujā*,

a plantain tree is tied together with a branch or a shoot of eight other plants and worshipped. These eight other plants are pomegranate, rice, turmeric, arun, bel, *Asok Jayanti* and *Bijreya*. They, together, form what is called the *Nava patriká*, or the "nine leaves," and are looked upon for the time being as the arborified symbol of nine goddesses, *Brahmáni*, *Rudráni*, &c. This is vulgarly known as the *Kalábau*, or the plantain-wife of Ganesh, the god of success and wisdom. With his elephant-head, it was not likely that he could win the good graces of any of the numerous divine maids of heaven; so he had to be contented with a plantain tree, as some kind of wife, is better than no kind of wife, that being the universal opinion in the country where he is a god. In the marriage ceremony the plantain tree is also highly useful. A square is made by planting four trees at the four angles, in the middle of which the bridegroom is made to sit and bathe, after his body has been smeared with turmeric paste. On the Bombay side, the plantain tree is worshipped by dutiful wives. It is said, in a book called *Vrata-ráj*, that the devotion paid to the tree prolongs the lives of their husbands, and saves them from the curse of widowhood by their being called away before their husbands. In symbolic funerals, in which the effigy of a Hindu is burnt for want of the real corpse, the plantain leaf is used to represent the brow, while the head is made of a cocoanut, and the body of the sacred grass, the *Palás* leaves (*Butea frondosa*) and other articles. At a funeral ceremony, when offerings are made to the souls of the dead, the lower part of the long leaf-stalks, which by their layers make the spurious stem, are made into oblong, convex vessels, in which the various kinds of articles required for the rite are placed. The family priests are experts in making such vessels, and for that reason they are nicknamed by the irreverent laymen as the "*Kholá-Kátá* Brahmins", or *Bráhmans* fit only to cut out the funeral vessels. Toy-boats are also made from these lower leaf-stalks. Adorned with the marigold flower, and filled with sweets, one such boat is offered to the gods by every mother in Bengal on the last day of Pous, or about the middle of January. The boat is then given to the boys to float in a neighbouring tank or river. This is said to be in memory of the maritime voyages of *Srimanta Saudagar*, a rich merchant, who took his ships to Ceylon and other places, and by this means acquired fabulous wealth. In offering the toy-boat, the mothers pray to the gods that their sons may be blessed with similar wealth. Although the Buddhists did not worship the plantain tree as they did their sacred "Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) it was too graceful a plant to be omitted from their architectural details. It is therefore seen carved on stones in the Sanchi Tope, in the garden

scene near the lake, of which an illustration has been given in Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship."

Human beings are not alone fond of the plantain. It is a favourite food with birds, apes and all graminivorous animals. As the plantains in a bunch gradually ripen, the upper ones first and the lower ones last, birds and squirrels may be seen flocking near a tree on which the fruit has commenced to mature. The bunches are, therefore, cut in their green state just before the fruit begins to ripen, as otherwise birds, squirrels and bats would go on eating the fruit before it was half-ripe. They gradually ripen at home, their colour changing from green to yellow, or red, as the nature of the fruit may be. Sometimes artificial means are resorted to to hasten the ripening, especially in varieties in which the rind is tough and leathery. This is done by placing the newly cut bunches in a conical heap, which is covered with a thick layer of clay, a small opening being left at the bottom. Through this opening smoke of burning cowdung is blown inside the heap, by means of a tube. When the inside is full of smoke, the aperture is closed. This is repeated for several days until the plantains are ripe. Bats are very destructive to the plantain if it is not plucked from the tree before it is ripe. In Borneo, the horse-shoe bat, a formidable creature, about four feet broad and one foot long, is particularly fond of this fruit. Snakes are also said to be fond of plantain. "I cherished the black serpent with milk and plantain" is a proverb current in this country to express the perfidy of a friend, or the bad conduct of a child. But the animal most fond of plantain is the ape, and this fondness has almost run into a proverb. To call a man a lover of plantain is to call him an ape. Apes exhibited the love of plantain from pre-historic times. When the great conflict of *Rámáyana* was over, and Hanumán, the monkey-god, became immortal through the blessing of Sitá, an extensive plantain forest was given to him as a freehold for his support. Here, an age after, he was found by Bhima, one of the heroes of the *Mahábhárata* and the brother of the monkey, he, too, being the son of the god of the wind.

*Athá pashyamahábahur gandhar
mádana sannishá.*

*Suranyan Kadali shandan bahu .
yojana bistritam.*

etc. etc.

"The Mahábáhu, (*i e.*, Bhima), afterwards saw large numbers of beautiful plantain trees in the Gandhamádan mountain," &c. &c. Indian ghosts are no less fond of plantains. Indeed, no ghost can be invoked without a sufficient supply of milk, plantain and sweets being kept ready for his refreshment.

Some ghosts are even so gluttonous that they take possession of a man or a woman with the object of extorting a good dinner. A case of this kind occurred a short time ago in Kolhapur. A woman named Sitá, tripped and had a fall. The ghost of an up-country sepoy, who was loitering about, finding her at a disadvantage took possession of her. For a long time afterwards the woman was very much troubled by the ghost, and her husband, after vainly trying the local exorcists, brought one from a distance whose reputation was great over the country. By his charms and incantations he at length made that ghost confess. He said—"Don't do that ; don't use your charms ; I am leaving the woman. I am a Pardeshi Sepoy. I was a soldier in the 27th Regiment, and was killed when the Regiment mutinied. I saw the woman passing the Ponlay pond, and I wished to take possession of her. I am now leaving her. But give me a dinner of rice, wheat bread, clarified butter and *plantains*." The dinner was of course given, and the ghost never troubled her afterwards.

The plantain is also credited with many wonderful attributes. For instance, the thunderbolt is said to stick on a plantain tree, if by chance it falls upon it, and cannot go back to heaven. Every one knows that thunder is the weapon of Indra, the king of the celestial regions. He is often very much troubled by a demoness of surpassing beauty. Her name is Bidyut, the English synonym for which is Lightning. Whenever there are black clouds in the sky, she takes advantage of the shelter afforded by them, comes out on the open field of heaven for a moment, flickers for a while before the face of Indra, and when the wrathful god throws his thunderbolt upon her, she evades it, and hides herself between the clouds. But a terrible momentum has been given to the thunderbolt, and it therefore pursues its course downwards and falls upon houses, trees, men and cattle, and then retraces its course to Indra. But when it falls upon a plantain tree, it cannot go back, and there it sticks. The burglar, who is always on the look out for this precious article, hails it as a valuable "find," takes it, and in the depth of night, when everybody is asleep passes it through the window of the blacksmith (who always keeps it open for this very object), along with the fee for his labour to make it into a burglar's tool. The blacksmith turns the thunderbolt into a jemmy and leaves it on the window. The burglar comes back as before, in the depth of night, and takes it away. This has given rise to the proverb : "The thief and the blacksmith do not see each other," which is quoted when the employer and the employed, or two parties in a work, do not meet. This jemmy made of a thunderbolt possesses the wonderful virtue of piercing a hole in the wall as soon as it is

touched with it, without making the least noise, or awaking the inmates of the house. This is how the burglars manage to plunder. But the crow-bars which the police shew are not the real *sindh-kati* (jemmy) of a burglar. .

In former times, in Northern India, it was also popularly believed that camphor is produced from the plantain tree. The author of *Táhf Shrif*, a Persian Materia Medica, says: "The people of India have said that camphor is produced from the best kind of the plantain fruit, called the *Imrut bián*, but those who say so are ignorant; the camphor tree is a different one." Abul Fazl, in the *Ayn-i-Akbri*, also mentions this and another curious belief current among the people. He writes: "The vulgar believe that the plantain tree yields camphor; but this is wrong, for the camphor tree, as shall be hereafter explained, is a different tree, although it has the same name. They also say that pearls originate in plantain trees, another statement upon which the light of truth does not shine." •

T. N. M.

ART. V.—THE BEGINNINGS OF DUTCH COMMERCE IN INDIA.*

ON the 4th November 1605, the Factor, Paul van Soldt left Bantam, in the Island of Java, for the Coromandel Coast, and other parts of India. † Having landed, and remained some time, in various ports, especially in the Island of

Voyage of the Factor, Paul van Soldt, from Bantam to India.

Sumatra, he arrived, not sooner than the 24th April 1606, at St. Thomas, where anchor was cast. A Hollander named Martin Tielmanssen van Neck, in the service of the Portuguese, came on board the ship as soon as it had cast anchor, to request the Hollanders not to destroy a gallion, two-thirds of which belonged to him and his brother-in-law, Antonio de Taide. He offered to present the factor with a gold chain and a handsome ruby, and to pay the crew a reasonable sum of money, but the Hollanders replied that nothing would induce them to neglect their duty towards their country and spare its foes. They nevertheless invited him to spend the night on board, and he agreed, sending his boat back to inform the people that nothing untoward had befallen him, but that there was no hope of saving their vessels. The next morning they sent back the boat loaded with provisions; and in return, Antonio de Taide received an ell and a half of scarlet-cloth, six small glass vases and three mirrors. The same boat also took back Martin Tielmanssen, who had spent the night in exalting the power of the Portuguese, narrating that the new Viceroy of Goa had started, six weeks previously, for India, with 20 ships and as many fustas; and that this year nine ships had arrived at Goa, with several fustas and caravels; the Hollanders however discredited these assertions. The town contained some 600 Portuguese, who kept slaves. The following description is given of Mount St. Thomas, near the present Madras, and Maliapoor:—

“At the north-end of the town there is a mountain of some height, with a church built by the King of the island in honour of St. Thomas. The Portuguese go there every day for prayers, and appear to be very devout. Between this mountain and the town there is a river, the mouth of which is barred by sands. This is the same river from which St. Thomas, according to the report of Huygens, is said to have taken

* Concluded from No. CLXXXI, for July 1890, page 70.

† T. V. p 105, *seq.*

a big tree of which the doors of the church were made. From this river, for a distance of two musket-shots from the town, on the north side, another little river flows, and by these two rivers the whole jurisdiction, or rather franchise, of the Portuguese is enclosed; inasmuch as all the vessels that stop outside it, either north or south, are forthwith seized by the natives. To the north of the small river is situated Maliapor, or Meliapur, where the idolaters and Muhammadans reside, the inhabitants of St. Thomas being all Armenians, Portuguese, or Mestitzoes. The people there live in a strange and barbarous manner. They have neither Magistrates, nor laws, nor police, but administer justice themselves. When they have a quarrel, they fire their muskets at each other without ceremony; and if a man's enemy passes through the street, he shoots at him from his window. They are the strongest who have most friends, and they glory in committing violence, murder and treachery. Tiellmanssen boasted of having got rid of two men whom he did not like."

After a sail of scarcely a day, the ship cast anchor at Pulicat, and, the next day, which was the 27th April, the Naik, or governor of the place sent a pirogue with provisions, asking who the foreigners were and what they wanted. A reply was sent that they were Hollanders, and demanded liberty to trade, with a request that some merchants, or other respectable men, might be sent on board, to treat with them.

In the afternoon the Sabandar and a Turkish merchant, who had resided a long time at Meliapur, brought a letter signed by the Naik, giving the Hollanders permission to send people on shore, and to sell their goods, on payment of 4 per cent. duty at entering and at departing, which appeared reasonable enough, considering the assurance that had been given that his word might be trusted.

The Hollanders informed the Sabandar that they would gladly leave wares in the town if they were assured that they would not be deprived of them by the Portuguese, who, after the departure of the ship, would make offers of purchases and promises of payment, but were not to be trusted; wherefore a document to that effect would be required from the great King. They replied that they would report this condition to the Naik, who would, that very evening, despatch a courier to the said prince.

The people of the town seemed much pleased with the arrival of the Hollanders, telling them that in less than two months they could procure cloth enough to load their vessel, and undertaking that, if they would trade honestly and treat the people well, they would do them no harm, and they might enter and leave the harbour and anchor freely without apprehension.

At the same time they admitted that they could not suppress their natural bent, when offended or deceived, to avenge themselves if an opportunity presented itself.

Contrary to the promise made, nobody came on board on the 21st, but in the afternoon one of the principal Brahmans, with the secretary of the town and some other persons, who brought entirely different samples of cloth from those which had been promised, came with an invitation from the Naik to come on shore and converse with him. The Hollanders demanded hostages, and, as they had seen fires along the shore during the whole of the previous night, and heard discharges of swivel guns and muskets, they demanded an explanation of the cause, and were told that it was to celebrate a marriage which was taking place. On their asking to see the goods of the Hollanders and wanting to fix their price at once, they were told that, if they brought acceptable cloths, the goods would be shown and sold to them. Thereon they insisted that some persons should come on shore, but, on being told that this could not be done unless the Brahman, and a merchant, Mustafa by name, remained on board, they promised to make a report to the Naik, and bring an answer the next day.

When the Brahman and his company had departed, one of the blacks of the ship, who had been spending the preceding night on shore, reported that some treachery was brewing. The door-keeper, or sacristan of the Muhammadan mosque, he said, had recommended him to inform the Hollanders, that, on the very evening on which they arrived in the roadstead of Pulicat, the inhabitants had sent letters to St. Thomas calling for 150 or 200 Portuguese, and to warn them not to come on shore. He further reported that, besides the Portuguese vessels in the river, there were also three fustas, and that he had seen from six to seven vessels; that the slaves of the Portuguese were forcibly taking victuals, fish, betel and other things from the inhabitants; that they had erected a cross in the public square, and that he had seen in the town the Turkish merchant Mustafa, who was alleged to be absent. All these things were quite contrary to what the visitors to the ship had stated; namely, that the Portuguese had no authority whatever in the town, and that they had been so frightened at the approach of the Dutch vessels that they had all retired.

The Brahman now came on board again, with three or four others, who offered to remain until the persons who might be sent on shore, should return. Immediately afterwards a pirogue arrived, with some merchants, who brought samples of Sarassas, or painted cloth of Patan; they also expressed a wish to

purchase sandal-wood and other goods, and showed the gold they had brought to pay for them. On being told that painted cloth was wanted, they replied that they would get it prepared in six weeks or two months, according to the samples they had shown; and that this was the month in which work of all sorts was commenced, so as to have it finished by the end of July, which was the time when the ships began loading. Though the Brahman made a great point of some Hollanders being sent to the Naik, the council, after a consultation, decided that none could be sent, unless two Portuguese would serve as hostages. The Brahman now expressed his astonishment at the unwillingness of the Hollanders to keep their promise, though he had brought two or three more persons than were required, all of whom were prepared to remain, and there was no use in asking for Portuguese, since it was well known that the Naik had no power to send any. Finally, he observed, that it would appear very discourteous on the part of the Hollanders not to wait for the reply of the King who had been written to at their solicitation.

He reiterated his request and adjured the Hollanders to send at least one sailor, or a ship-boy, on shore, to speak to the Naik and note the state of affairs, adding that they were all ready to remain on board as hostages for a single individual till his return. The Hollanders thereupon informed him that they had only too just cause for suspicion, and told him what they had heard. Upon that all protested that they had no knowledge of the matter, adding that such reports were not to be credited hastily, as they might have been propagated by the Portuguese themselves in order to induce the Hollanders to retire.

The ship sailed on 30th April and arrived on the 3rd May, 1606, in the roadstead of Pettupouli, where anchor was cast. The same evening, a letter was sent to the town, demanding permission to trade, and on the 4th an interpreter came on board with a note from the Governor, inviting the Dutchmen to land without fear, and confer with him.

Dirck van Leeuwen and Peter Warkyn were thereupon deputed to land and see what kind of cloth the place contained, whether any men ought to be left there, and whether the duties to be paid were not excessive. The Governor and the chief merchants afforded them every facility on these points, and said that if the factor of the ship would confer with them, they would explain things more fully; meanwhile they might return on board with the assurance that only what was reasonable would be demanded.

On the 6th, about 2 P. M., the factor entered the town, and was

received with much courtesy and conducted to the custom house. He had scarcely arrived there when the Governor, accompanied by the principal merchants, who were Persians, and followed by an escort of about 200 men under arms, made his appearance. He told the factor that he was pleased at the arrival of his ship, and hoped the trade which might arise would prove profitable to both sides, he offering to do on his part all that was reasonable for that purpose.

When everything had been arranged, and an agreement come to with the factor concerning the duties to be paid, the Governor sent for fencers, who combated according to their own fashion, as well as for courtesans, who performed several dances. After that he made the factor enter a sumptuous palan-keen and the others mount horses, and promenaded them through the town, where flowers were thrown before them.

The factor was then taken to a house which had been assigned to him to live in.

On the 7th, the factor paid a visit to the Governor, and presented him with four ells of scarlet-cloth, four ells of velvet, four glasses, mirrors, nutmegs, nutmeg flowers and cloves, which were accepted with much pleasure. On his asking permission to buy a piece of ground for the erection of a counting-house, a commodious locality was promised him. On the 8th, he had an interview with the two Persians, who enjoyed the greatest power, and made them presents. They promised to summon all the workmen of the town and neighbourhood to produce samples of the various kinds of cloth manufactured there.

On the 9th, the goods that were to be left at Pettapouli were landed, and Dirck van Lecuwen was authorised to reside there, and take charge of them, Peter Warkyn being associated with him as sub-factor. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th, bargains were struck with the Governor and the two Persians, for cloths to be manufactured according to samples; and they made workmen come to their houses, who drew the designs furnished them, and ordered them to do the work as quickly as possible. At the same time a plot of ground, to build upon, was purchased for 12 pagodas.

After completing the necessary arrangements, and leaving the two men abovenamed at Pettapouli, the ship sailed, on the 14th, for Masulipatam, where it arrived on the 17th, after encountering a kind of hurricane blowing from the coast.

On the 19th May, a sloop put off from the shore, sent by the Governor and by the Subandar of Masulipatam, to take the factor and the master of the ship on shore. On reaching the custom house, they were received with great courtesy by the principal citizens of the town, who had assembled

there ; presents were given them, and public women were made to dance for their entertainment, according to the fashion of the country. Noticing that the factor had a sore foot, the Governor sent for a palankeen, the merchants mounted horses, and all marched in the midst of a crowd of armed men, to the sound of trumpets and fifes with great pomp, preceded by the dancing women, through the streets of the town, till they reached the lodging which had been prepared for them.

On the 20th, they paid a visit to the Governor, to arrange about the payment of the customs dues before taking their goods into the town. As the dues had been agreed upon at Nasanpatan and Pettapouli at very reasonable rates, the same were proposed here also, but, as some belonged to the Governor, he would not consent to their being reduced, but insisted on charging 4 per cent. duty on entering, and 16 on leaving. At last he agreed to a reduction to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in the former case, but would not consent to any in the latter, and the Hollanders, being unwilling to submit to so heavy an impost, determined to see the king himself and make their representation to him ; meanwhile they began conveying their goods into the town.

The reason of the very friendly relations between the Hollanders and the natives at Pettapouli and Masulipatam is not revealed in the work from which I draw my information, but there seems to be no doubt that they must have known each other before, or the Hollanders would not have sent their own people on shore to treat with the natives, without receiving hostages on board, as they had done at the places previously mentioned. The arrangement to settle their difference by a direct appeal to the king also, shows that they entertained no apprehension of being ill treated. On the 25th May, the council of the ship actually resolved to send two deputies to wait upon the king at Bisnagar, in order to confer with him on the subject of the dues. The first of these deputies was Paul van Soldt, and the second his assistant Peter Willemsz, sub-factor of the depôt. On the 9th June, all the goods that were to be left at Masulipatam had been landed ; and Peter Isaak had given a receipt, and taken charge of them. On the morning of the 10th, the two deputies left in palankeens for Bisnagar, with forty men to wait on them, besides bearers to carry the presents, two interpreters, and four sailors, all of whom rode on oxen.

Our narrator is altogether reticent about the journey to and reception at Bisnagar, and only states that on the 30th, while they were there, the factor, Paul van Soldt, was informed that his people had met with a very disagreeable adventure at Masulipatam, owing to an inundation which had befallen the town.

On hearing this, he decided to take leave of the chief men at the Court, the more so as every thing had been arranged, and he was merely waiting to get the signature of the King to the document by which permission to trade and a reduction of duties were granted to the Hollanders. This document was to have been issued after a festival in the celebration of which the Court was just then engaged; accordingly van Soldt left Peter Willemsz behind to wait for it, as it was merely a second Firmân, they having already received the first one sealed, and the second being required merely for form's sake.

Thus, on the morning of the 1st August, 1606, van Soldt left Bisnagar to return to Masulipatam. On the 8th, he arrived at Condepili, to treat with the governor of the fort about the ransom of three Dutchmen who had deserted in the previous year with the intention of joining the Portuguese, but had been taken prisoners, by the inhabitants of Condepili. An agreement was made with the governor, to lend him the sum of 1,000 pagodas, without interest, for six months, to be repaid at the end of that time in cloth, according to the current price.

On the 10th, van Soldt reached Masulipatam, where he was received by the son of the Subandar and several of the chief inhabitants, who congratulated him on the favour shown him by the King. He found John Gerritsz, the master of the ship, who had been attacked by dysentery immediately after his departure, on the point of death. Immense havoc had been committed among the provisions in the store-room of the ship by worms [white ants?], and when a quarter-master desired to examine whether the biscuit bin had also suffered, he sank into it up to his waist.

On the 15th, the master of the ship died, and was buried at Masulipatam, and on the 19th, Peter Willemsz returned from Bisnagar, bringing with him the Firmân signed and sealed by the King. The privileges granted were as follows :—

The import and export duties to be 4 per cent. in all the ports of the kingdom which the Hollanders might enter, as well as in those in which they were at present. Weavers, painters, smiths, and other artisans or tradesmen who might be working for the Hollanders, or had received money from them for the purpose of doing so, could not be taken away or employed by the King, or any one else, until they had completed their jobs. All agents and brokers to be allowed to go to the house of the Hollanders, who were to be allowed to employ any brokers they liked, without being compelled to take those whom the Government might give them. The King also abolished in their favour the right of Shappa Dellalla, or seal, with which cloths were marked to pay a duty amounting to 12 per cent.

The cost of this journey, including presents, wages of servants, transport, food, &c., amounted to 3,800 livres.

On the 1st September 1606, a country vessel arrived from Nasanpatan, from Dirck van Leeuwen, with 22 packages of cloth and handkerchiefs which had been purchased by him; and on the 4th Peter Isaaksz conveyed those which he had procured on board, and on the 11th, 130 pieces more. On the same day the prisoners who had been released from Condepili, arrived on board. On the morning of the 15th, the Hollanders went to the custom house to take leave of the Governor and the Subandar, who were waiting for them, and who conducted them to the ship; and in the afternoon they set sail in company with a vessel belonging to the Governor, loaded with rice and 2,000 pounds of steel, and arrived off the coast of Sumatra,* on the 2nd November, 1606.

The whole fleet, a portion of which had started from Texel on the 20th April 1606, had assembled by the 3rd June, when the final start was made. It was composed of eight ships, viz. the *Banda*, of 600 tons, commanded by the Admiral Paul van Caerden; the *Bantam*, of 700, the *Ceylon*, of 340 tons, all equipped at Amsterdam; the *Walcheren*, of 700 tons, the *Terveen*, also of 700 tons, and the *Ziericsee*, of 500, all fitted out in Zealand; the *China*, of 420 tons, the *Patane*, of 340 tons, the former having been equipped at Hoorn and the latter at Enchuisen. The crews numbered altogether 1,060 men; and the cost of the outfit amounted to 1,825,135 livres.

On the 17th June, the fleet met a Dutch cruiser, whose crew stated that 28 vessels had sailed from Lisbon in search of her, in the direction of the Azores, and that of these vessels six were galleons, or Spanish men-of-war. On the 1st January 1607, the Cape of Good Hope was passed, and on the 29th March the Portuguese fort of Mozambique was sighted. The fleet attacked the place and did some damage, but was unable to capture the fort, which fired some parting shots, when it at last sailed away again on the 16th June.† On the 30th of September, the coast of India was first sighted, and on the 17th October anchor was dropped at the mouth of the Goa river. As, however, several ships of war were lying near the fort, the Hollanders did not venture to approach or make any demonstration.

The description given of Goa and its people ‡ corroborates

* T. V. p. 804.

† T. VI. p. 335.

‡ T. VI. 362 seq.

those of Pyrard, and Pietro della Valle, who were there somewhat later, the three accounts agreeing in most respects, though, quite independent of each other. Nevertheless, it will, perhaps, not be altogether irrelevant to give in this place, an abridged sketch of Portuguese life in Goa, as it was nearly three centuries ago. The Dutch, being at enmity with the Portuguese, and unable to converse with them, considered them extremely haughty. They state that, from their strutting gait, the Portuguese might have been mistaken for princes, if it had not been known who they were; that their overbearing manners were displayed not only among the nobility, but also among the lower classes, so that they became insupportable. This sweeping assertion is, of course, erroneous, as Mandelslo, with his English companions, was most affably received and treated with the greatest hospitality, during his stay of ten days at Goa.* Our Dutch narrator states that nearly all the Portuguese had titles. Some were called *Fidalgos da casa del Rey nosso Senhor*, or gentlemen of the King's house; others were *Mossos Fidalgos*, sons of gentlemen, or raised by the King to that dignity; others again were qualified by the title of *Cavalleros Fidalgos*, as having distinguished themselves by some exploit in war, or by some service to the King. Some, however, obtained the title for money, when they took military service, if they were natives of Portugal, although they might have been of low extraction. There were also *Mossos da camara e do servizo*, gentlemen and servants of the chamber of the King, which title was held in the highest esteem, although the *Escuderos Fidalgos*, or equeerries of the King ranked with them. There being no Royal Court at Goa, these titles smacked somewhat of the absurd. All others were called *Homes honrados*, honoured men; except common soldiers, who were of the lowest class.

The Portuguese lived in great style, keeping from ten to twenty slaves each. When they walked in the streets, a servant held an umbrella over their heads, while another carried the cloak, and a third the sword of his master. When they went to church, another servant carried a silk-cushion for them to kneel upon, and when gentlemen met one another, they made low and prolonged bows, and even kissed each other's hands. In mutual visits the etiquette in the houses was still more punctilious, and any neglect of it was resented by the offended party, even if it consisted in nothing more serious than offering the guest a lower, or worse chair, than that taken by the host.

The merchants of Goa usually traded with Bengal, Pegu,

* See *Calcutta Review*, 1882 July, No. CXLIX, Vol. LXXV, p. 67—105, Mandelslo and Thevenot, &c.

Malacca, China and other countries. They had a kind of bourse, or exchange, where goods were exposed daily for sale, as well as slaves, who were sold like cattle. Many of the inhabitants made a point of keeping thirty or forty of them on hand, whom they hired out, and whose wages constituted their income, just as was once the practice in the Southern States of the American Union, as witnessed by the writer at New Orleans and other places.

The fleet sailed from Bardez and from Goa on the 20th October, 1607, but cast anchor again the next day near the *Ilhas Quemadas*, or Burnt Islands. On the 31st, two frigates arrived from Goa, with an envoy, to treat about the ransom of a Portuguese Admiral whom the Dutch held a prisoner. As there was also a Dutchman captive in Goa, they demanded his release, but, the envoy stating that this could not be granted without the consent of the council of Malacca, he was allowed to depart. The fleet sailed back to Goa, and cast anchor in the river, on the 4th of November; but, finding that a number frigates and galleys which they desired to capture, had found shelter under the guns of the fort, they left again on the 5th, and cast anchor at Calicut on the 14th. The Zamorin not being in town, but in the country, near Pinanni, the fleet set sail for the latter place on the 15th of the same month, and cast anchor six or seven leagues from Calicut. People came on board the Admiral's vessel with the information that the Zamorin was not there, and the fleet consequently sailed four or five miles further to the southwards, where the army destined to operate against the Portuguese was encamped. On the 17th, two envoys of the Zamorin paid a visit to the Admiral, to whom they exhibited Letters Patent signed by Prince Maurice of Nassau, from which it appeared that some treaty had been concluded between him and the Zamorin. The Hollanders accordingly considered it necessary to remain a few days, to negotiate with this Prince and to offer him presents. Being, however, in want of water, they informed the interpreter that they could not stay long, whereupon he promised to provide them with what they required.

The fleet had been at anchor five or six days, waiting for rice, and the opportunity to take in water, when several Portuguese fustas were seen passing near the vessels and approaching the coast, which roused a suspicion in the mind of the Admiral that there must be some secret correspondence between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. This suspicion was increased when the Zamorin demanded the extradition and delivery into his hands of a Portuguese Captain and a carrack which the Dutch had captured. The Dutch refused to comply, but continued to send presents, in order to avoid offence ;

they, however, neither obtained rice, nor were allowed any opportunity to take in water, and, finding that the Moors could not be trusted, they set sail on the 24th, after firing a parting salute. On the 8th December, the fleet anchored near Point de Galle, and on the 13th, it sailed for Bantam.

In 1607, thirteen vessels were sent out by the Dutch East India Company. Of these four large vessels and two yachts were equipped by the Chamber of Amsterdam, and one ship of 800 tons burden by the Chamber of Hoorn and Enchuisen, while

Expedition of the Ad-
miral Peter Willemsz Ver-
hoeven in 1607.

the Chamber of Delft furnished a ship of 1,000 tons, with a yacht of 200, and that of Zealand a ship of 600 tons, and a yacht of 200. Peter Willemsz Verhoeven, of Amsterdam, was appointed Admiral, and Francis van Wittert Vice Admiral of this fleet, which sailed on the 22nd December from Texel.

On the 5th October 1608, it anchored near Montedelle, where the sloops which had been sent to take in water, found the inhabitants under arms. They were nevertheless allowed to draw water on payment of a small sum of money for each vessel, and also purchased provisions at cheap rates. The merchants brought opium to the Hollanders, as well as some wretched precious stones, such as rubies, agates and spinels, in return for which they wanted gold, silver, coral, and scarlet cloth, commodities with which the vessels were none too well provided.

In the evening of the 8th of October, the fleet cast anchor in the roadstead of Calicut, where it found the ship *Red Lion*. On the 9th, van Driel, who had been sent to the Zamorin, reported that that Prince had received him very well and hinted that a visit from the Admiral would greatly please him. Meanwhile one of the Zamorin's captains and two Arabs waited on the Admiral. This captain was quite naked, except for a piece of cloth wound several times round his waist and hanging down to his knees. His hair was long, and knotted on the top of the head; ornaments of gold, pearls, and precious stones hung down to his shoulders, and on his arm, above the elbow, he wore, a bracelet of gold, an inch thick. The captain, on behalf of the Zamorin, requested the Admiral to come on shore, with any kind of retinue he might deem proper, and the interpreters explained to him the customs of the country concerning the audience, so that he might meet with a good reception at the Court.

The presents to be offered to the Zamorin consisted of a piece of scarlet-cloth, a few packets of small corals, half a dozen large mirrors, two small cast-iron cannons, taken from a Portuguese ship, two beautiful muskets, a sabre

with a silver hilt, and 200 mats of a special manufacture. The captain further requested the Admiral, on embarking, to fire a salute with the whole artillery of the fleet in honour of the Zamorin, whereon the latter would despatch officers to receive him on shore. After the departure of the captain, arrangements were made that the Admiral should be accompanied by eight factors, 150 musketeers and 50 pikemen. On the 11th, in the morning, some councillors of the Zamorin made their appearance on shore to receive the Admiral, who disembarked under salvoes of artillery and to the sound of trumpets. About 1,000 men were awaiting him under arms, whilst the special envoys, who were on a raised square place, approached him with umbrellas, and conducted him to the palace.

The Hollanders found the Zamorin richly adorned with necklaces of fine diamonds and other precious stones. One of his courtiers supported his right arm, which was heavy with gold bracelets and precious stones; the fingers of both his hands being loaded with costly rings, as also the elongated lobes of his ears. On his body he wore nothing but a very fine white cloth wound about it. His forehead, shoulders, and breast were dyed yellow; his long hair was knotted on top of the head, and he was munching betel. By his side sat the young King, with his buckler, sword, and other arms in his hands, and around them were courtiers, holding gilded boxes containing betel.

The Admiral approached the Zamorin, and saluted him according to the Dutch fashion, and the Zamorin received him courteously, presenting him his hand to kiss. When the Admiral had also saluted the young King and the court, the Zamorin took his hand, and, placing it on his own, said.—“In the same manner as our fingers are now joined, so will be the people of Calicut and Holland.” Then, looking towards the Dutch civilians and soldiers who were present, he continued :—“It is with pleasure that I now see the Hollanders and the people of Calicut united in friendship, and they seem to me henceforth as one nation.” After some conversation, he took the Admiral to visit the palace, in the lower apartments of which a lunch of sweetmeats and fruits was served, the Zamorin presenting some to him with his own hands. Drink, too, was presented in silver bowls and cocoa-nut shells; what kind, is not mentioned. Then the presents which the sailors had brought, and the two pieces of cannon which arrived on an elephant, were made over and received with pleasure.

The Admiral wore a gold chain by which a medal of the same metal, bearing the head of Prince Maurice, was

suspended. After it had been handled and examined closely several times by the Zamorin, the Admiral presented it to him, and received in return a gold ring set with very fine diamonds. Van Driel and Fieff, two of the factors who had accompanied the Admiral, also received each a gold chain with a ring attached to it; while Obelaar and Groenewegen got a ruby each, and Hertsin a ring, encrusted with rubies and sapphires. The Zamorin also introduced the Admiral to his wife and children, and to his concubines, who were all adorned with bracelets, gold earrings and jewellery, and were guarded by eunuchs. After that the Hollanders retired, and were promised an audience of the council the next day.

The next morning, the interpreter came on board the Admiral's ship, and suggested that presents should be sent also to the Empress, the young King and the other children of the Emperor [Zamorin]. Accordingly pieces of scarlet-cloth, mats, sabres, and a small pistol were got ready for the purpose and taken to the palace, on which occasion also John Simonsz Hoen received a gold ring. The Admiral, with three or four officers, was then conducted to the Council Chamber, where they found the six councillors seated in a circle, like so many tailors. When the Hollanders had squatted down in the same fashion, the interpreter addressed them in a low voice, as if he feared to be heard. He told them that the King of Cochin, who had made an alliance with the Portuguese, had several times solicited the Zamorin to do so likewise; but, as this monarch had met only with dissimulation and faithlessness at their hands, he had refused to comply, and preferred to make friends with their enemies the Hollanders, whose ally he had been for four years, as would appear from the treaty concluded with Admiral Verhagen, and from two letters of Prince Maurice which could be produced. In spite, however, of the promises made to him by the Hollanders, they had sent him neither men nor ships to fight the Portuguese, whereat he was much astonished, but he hoped that at least the fleet now present in his harbour would render him the service he required. He accordingly requested that two ships might be employed in cruising near Goa, two near Calicut, and two near Cochin, he being ready to aid them with as many frigates, and men as might be needed to prevent the Portuguese from defying him any longer, and enable him in time to chase them from his coasts.

To these proposals the Admiral replied that the States General, Prince Maurice, and his masters, the Directors of the Company, had greatly recommended the interests of the Zamorin to him, and instructed him to aid him against the Portuguese as far as possible, since all Hollanders must respect

him for his virtues, and be grateful for the friendship he had shown them. At the same time the Zamorin knew in what state the affairs of the Moluccas were, and that the most pressing necessity was to provide for them. If they were not put in order, all that could be done for the Zamorin would be useless, since, as long as the Portuguese remained masters of the South, no hope could be entertained of reducing their power. The Admiral therefore begged the Zamorin to accept his excuses once more, and allow him to sail with his fleet to the Moluccas, with the promise that, if affairs there should be placed on a good footing, he would not fail, on his return, to do everything he could for his service. If, however, the Zamorin liked, matters could be so arranged as to send two vessels from Bantam to Calicut, to complete their cargo of pepper and indigo, and, while this was being collected, they might render any services demanded from them. He also requested permission to send one or more factors with money to make purchases of goods in various localities, and the grant of a lodging where they might be safely stored.

It was admitted, at the same time, that the complaint of the Zamorin was not without foundation, as he had a treaty by which the Hollanders were bound to aid him.

The council of the Zamorin replied, that the Hollanders could not make much profit in the kingdom of Calicut till they had lent their aid to free the coast from Portuguese vessels, inasmuch as the Moors who came from the Red Sea, from Persia and from Cambay, were not allowed to sail to Calicut, but compelled to sell their goods at Goa and at Cochin; so that, in order to revive the trade of Calicut, it would be necessary to close at least the port of Cochin. They concluded by adding that they would make their report to the Zamorin and communicate his reply.

Meanwhile, however, they demanded the ratification of the treaty made with Admiral van der Hagen, and the drawing up of a new document of alliance, declaring the Portuguese and the King of Cochin to be the common enemies of the two nations, and promising the Zamorin the aid of the Hollanders. The Admiral having consented to this, the President of the council stretched out his hand, desiring him to place his own upon it, whereon another councillor did the same thing, and another Hollander reciprocated, and the ceremony was repeated with two other councillors and as many Hollanders; this being their form of solemn oath. The councillors then demanded that the agreement should be written down in Flemish and in their own language, after which they departed to make their report to the Zamorin.

On their return, the councillors said that, on their making their report to the Zamorin, he had resolved to assemble his general council the next day in order to take its advice. The Hollanders were told that they might return on board, but were requested to present themselves at the court the next morning to take leave. On the 14th of October the Hollanders learnt that Martin van Domburch was cruelly detained in prison at Cochin, and they sent to the Zamorin the Portuguese prisoners captured from the ship *Bom Jesus*, which they had taken before their arrival, and requested him to exchange them for Domburch, which he promised to do.

When the Admiral returned to the court on the 15th, and was introduced, with the same factors, to the Privy Council, he was informed that the Zamorin understood very well the importance of the affairs of the Moluccas, and, having no objection to their arrangement, which he hoped would turn out successful, would be satisfied for the present with the vessels and factors who might be sent to him from Bantam.

When taking leave, the Zamorin took the Admiral aside, and told him how to behave in the East Indies, and "*above all to be on his guard against all frauds, to venture but seldom on shore, and by no means to trust those who made fine speeches.*" On the 16th a factor delivered the treaty, signed and sealed, with some more presents to the Zamorin, who, in his turn, sent the duplicate treaty, written by him on a palm-leaf.

The goods which the Hollanders brought from their country in those times for sale at Calicut and along the whole coast of Malabar, consisted of tin and silver-work, round and branched coral, ivory pencils, scarlet cloth, fine crimson and also coarse broadcloth, mats and saffron, in exchange for which they obtained pepper, indigo, very fine cotton-cloth, which was rather cheap there, rubies, sapphires, spinels, garnets, topazes, cats' eyes and rock-crystal.

On the 16th of October, the Admiral set sail, and on the 5th November he sighted the coast of Sumatra.

The ship *Nassau* was one of the fleet commanded by General Reynst, with whom Peter Van den Broeck embarked, as first factor, with a voice in the ship's council. The ship sailed from Texel on the 2nd June 1613;* and on the 26th August 1614, cast anchor

Voyages of Peter van den Broeck, as first factor of the ship *Nassau*.

half a league from Aden. The sub-factor, who was sent on shore in a boat with a white flag, to inform the Governor, of the arrival of the Hollanders, was very kindly received by the Turks, who promptly sent him back with

* T. VII, p. 463 seq.

some fish and fat sheep, as a token of welcome. The next day the ship anchored under the fort in seven fathoms of water.

The Captain who was sent by the Governor to inspect the ship, brought from him an invitation to Van den Broeck to dinner, which he accepted, as he wished to obtain permission to trade. After the Governor, whose name was Hassan Aga, had received the presents intended for him, he asked to what nation the strangers belonged, and, on being told that they were Hollanders, subjects of the States General and of the Prince of Orange, and had come to traffic as friends, as their countrymen did in all the possessions of the Sublime Porte, he replied that full liberty to trade would be granted them, but that it would first be necessary to inform the Viceroy of Yemen. Meanwhile he assigned a commodious house to the Hollanders. After dinner, Van den Broeck returned on board to unload cloth and merceries of Nuremberg, which he sent on shore in charge of a subfactor. The next and last port (worth noticing in this place) of Southern Arabia, that was visited, was Shihr. There Van den Broeck was conducted by a number of soldiers and Arab merchants, to the King's house, where a grand repast was served, and he asked for permission to trade, which being granted, he left two men to study the language of the country till his return from Bantam. A good house was obtained, in which an assistant was left, with two men, provided with money and a small quantity of Nuremberg merceries.

After leaving the coast of Southern Arabia, the *Nassau* sailed to Java, where Van den Broeck received orders to embark on the *Old Zealand* and sail to the Moluccas with Admiral Verhagen. On the 1st June 1615, he arrived in the island of Ternate, whence he sailed to Bantam. There the President, Coen, by order of General Reynst, caused Van den Broeck to embark again in the ship *Nassau* and proceed as President to the coasts of the Red Sea.

Shihr was again reached on the 11th January 1616, when the two Hollanders, left there on the former occasion, came to meet them. One of them having been relieved by a substitute, the ship sailed for Mokha, where it cast anchor on the 5th of the same month, to the great amazement of the inhabitants, who had never seen a European vessel, though thirty others, small and large, belonging to Indians, Persians and Arabs, were in the port. The Governor sent some Turks on board to make enquiries, and on the 27th, Van den Broeck went on shore and was conducted to the Governor's palace to the sound of flutes and drums. After the customary questions, the Governor presented Van den Broeck with a jacket of gold brocade. Having had several interviews with the Hollanders, and feasted

them well, he assigned them a commodious house, prepared specially for them, for which they were to pay a rent of 140 Spanish dollars for the season of six months. Van den Broeck then made arrangements for the payment of the duties levied by the Government of the Viceroy of Yemen, and agreed to pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. export and import duty for goods. Accordingly goods were landed the next day, and sold extremely well, being paid for in Spanish dollars and gold ducats.

On the 6th March 1616, a caravan of about 1,000 camels from Aleppo and Suez, arrived at Mokka, bringing about 200,000 Spanish dollars, with 100,000 ducats, partly Hungarian and partly Venetian, besides other money not declared at the custom-house. It brought also velvet, satin, damask, armoisin, Turkish stuffs, camlets, cloth, saffron, quicksilver, vermillion and Nuremberg merceries. These caravans usually made the journey in two months, their goods being Arab, Indian, and Persian manufactures, which were bartered for coarse and fine cotton-cloth, indigo, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace, and China goods. On the same day Van den Broeck also obtained permission from the Governor to hoist the flag of the Prince of Orange on his house in the town of Mokha, whereat the foreign merchants grumbled considerably. The heat was so great that it could only be supported by frequently sprinkling the body with water.

As Van den Broeck wished to visit the interior as far as Sanaa, the capital, the Pasha of Yemen, on the 21st of April, provided him with a passport to all the officials under his jurisdiction, with orders to treat him respectfully. Accordingly he started on horseback with the sub-factor, John Arentz, and a trumpeter. The distance from Mokha to Sanaa, 55 leagues, was traversed in eight days; and, on their nearing the town, the Pasha himself, accompanied by more than 200 horsemen, was seen approaching. No interview, however, took place; the Pasha contenting himself with sending two good looking boys dressed like women, to tell the Hollanders to follow him quietly to his palace, where he would wait for them. On their arriving in the town, the multitude of people was so great, that it would have been impossible to pass, had not the Secretary and the two abovementioned pages on horseback gone in front of the foreigners to keep off the crowd.

When Van den Broeck reached the palace, two grooms took hold of the bridle of his horse and led it to a hall, with carpets spread, upon which he alighted, and walked towards the Pasha, between two lines of soldiers. When Van den Broeck had made his salutation, the Pasha made him sit down, whereon the interpreter said:—"May it please

your lordship, the captain must not sit in this manner," and he had a handsome chair brought for him. Then the Pasha asked him, with an air of severity, for what purpose he had come, and, being answered, placed his hand on Van den Broeck's head, saying:—"Be welcome." Then he told Van den Broeck to go and rest himself; but, to mark his satisfaction with the visit, he caused his Secretary to give him a coat of gold-brocade. Van den Broeck thereupon mounted his horse and was taken to the house of the majordomo, where a dinner was given him, and afterwards to the lodging prepared for him, where he found a goodly store of provisions, such as sheep, chickens, wine and everything necessary.

After making presents to the Pasha, and to others to whom it was necessary to give them, Van den Broeck was invited to a banquet in the garden of the Secretary, where he found a large company and a grand repast. In the garden were various fruit trees, including almond, peach, orange and lemon trees, as well as vines, all in flourishing condition. There were also rose-bushes of various kinds, elegant alcoves, and fountains, and the building was very pleasant. Whilst the guests were at table, a leopard of enormous size made its appearance, as tame as a dog, and picked up what fell under the table, without harming any one.

The Pasha lived in a castle, where he detained more than a 1,000 persons, men, women, and children, as hostages, all of them being the brothers, sisters, or children of notables in certain provinces, which he kept in subjection by this means. The place also contained various antiquities, and among them a large edifice, said to have been built by Noah, in which the wives of the Pasha were guarded by eunuchs, besides several beautiful mosques, in one of which were more than a hundred columns, each a monolith.

When Van den Broeck was preparing to depart, he requested permission to leave a factor at Mokha, which the Pasha refused, alleging that it could not be given without the order of the Sultan of Constantinople, the more so as the Muhammedan doctors apprehended that the Hollanders wished to extend their trade as far as the Sanctuary of Mekha, representing that they had first gone to Shihr, then to Aden, Mokha, and even Hodidah, whence their yacht was preparing to advance further into the Red Sea, although no Christians were allowed to go there. Thus Van den Broeck, owing to the action of the people of the yacht, who had acted without his orders, could obtain nothing more than a confirmation of the treaty by which the Hollanders were to pay only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

export and import duties, whereas merchants from India and Persia paid 15 and 16 per cent.

Van den Broeck departed from Sanaa on the 16th May 1616, and reached Mokha again on the 24th. There he found the native and foreign merchants equally jealous of the agreement which he had made concerning the duties, and they presented a request on the subject, being indignant that infidels should enjoy immunities which they themselves were denied; but it was rejected, the Pasha telling them plainly that such was his pleasure.

When Van den Broeck was at Mokha, the Turkish garrison consisted of not more than 300 men, and the bulk of the population were Arabs. There were, however, also many very cunning Jews, Indians, Persians and Armenians, and the number of Banians amounted to 3,000, who were merchants, goldsmiths, bankers, and artisans. The vessels in the harbour were one from Surat; one from Gogo; five from Diu; two from Touweh; two from Dabul; one from Goa; two from Calicut; three from Cananore; one from Acheen; one from Masulipatam; 16 from Negená, Promiens and Cadts; one from Mozambique; two from Melinde; three or four from Ethiopia, all laden with goods, which were afterwards carried away by caravans, or by the great ship of the Turkish Government which came annually from Suez, either to that town, or to Jeddah, Mokha and Cairo. These same vessels also brought multitudes of pilgrims who were bound for Mekka. They usually arrived at Mokha in the middle of March or the end of April, and departed at the time of the monsoon which begins in August, with good cargoes of European wares, and much ready money. The Turkish Government vessel, mentioned above, brought more than 350,000 Spanish dollars and 50,000 Venetian or Moorish ducats, a quantity of broadcloth, and other stuffs, of wool and silk, tin, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, Nuremberg merceries, Russian leather, Fouwa for dying scarlet, and coffee, which at that time had not yet received a European name, and had been seen for the first time by the Hollanders at Mokha, and which Van den Broeck accordingly calls "*Kahawwa*, a kind of black berry which they put in boiling water, so that it also becomes black, whereon they drink it."

When Van den Broeck returned from Mokha to Shihr on the 16th July 1616, he closed the counting-house which he had established there, and withdrew his men, with the goods, whereat the King was much displeased, as well as many of his subjects. This prince offered Van den Broeck various advantageous conditions to induce him to leave some of his people there, but, having neither instructions from his superiors to that effect, nor sufficient funds, he excused himself and continued his voyage to India.

On the 2nd August 1616, the ship anchored in the river of Surat, and Van den Broeck went at once to the Governor, who received him well, and granted him liberty to trade. Thereon he asked for a house, in order to establish a factory as the English had done. This, however, the Governor could not venture to permit without the sanction of the Grand Moghul, his master. The journey to Agra, where this monarch held his court, occupying two months, and the season for it being nearly over, Van den Broeck was unwilling to undertake it; but "meanwhile," he says, "the English made every effort, sparing neither presents nor promises, to get us sent away," and continues:—"I had detected this intrigue, and, being with the Governor, who had sent for us, told him that I was prepared to retire, and to return on board immediately, whereat the merchants were a little astonished, and, fearing that I might attack the ship which I had seen at Mokha, and the arrival of which they were daily expecting, they went to the Governor, and requested him to call me back, and to grant me, this once, the same favour which he had granted to the English. I returned to the shore, and he allowed me to rent a house till the time of my return, for which he would endeavour to obtain the consent of the Emperor." •

He accordingly rented a house, and left in it a factor with three other men and goods. The Governor shook hands with him, assuring him that he would guard these men as the apple of his eye. He also made Van den Broeck a present of nine small pieces of cloth, a change of behaviour which surprised the English and the natives equally.

Soon after the Hollanders had sailed from Surat, and arrived opposite to Bassein, which was in the possession of the Portuguese, they sighted an entirely new frigate, which they captured and took to Bantam for the service of the Company. On the 10th of October 1616, they cast anchor in the roadstead of Calicut, where two Englishmen came on board, who had been left there by their countrymen to trade in the guise of Hollanders. The next day, Van den Broeck landed, with the view of speaking to the Zamorin. He happened, however, to be absent from town, and Van den Broeck accordingly explained the object of his visit to the Prince, his son, who told him that they had been deceived by the English, who had come there as Hollanders, and that nothing could be done without the Secretary, who was with the Zamorin. He requested Van den Broeck to weigh anchor and seek his father on the coast, for which purpose three or four gentlemen would accompany him; but, the weather being too rough, this could not be done.

The next day, the Prince feasted the Hollanders and

accompanied them back to the shore with his escort. There a message arrived from the Empress [the wife of the Zamorin], requesting Van den Broeck to pay her a visit. After receiving him in a gratifying manner, she requested that arrangements might be made to carry out the treaty concluded with Admiral P. Willemsz. She also presented Van den Broeck with a ring set with two fine rubies, and stipulated that the Hollanders should return the next year. When Van den Broeck embarked, the prince fired a salute of seven guns, and sent him three pirogues full of provisions.

On the 18th November 1616, the ship cast anchor at Bantam, where the president informed Van den Broeck of the death of General Reinst. On the 7th January 1617, the President ordered him to take command of the ship *Middelburg* and the yacht *Pigeon*, and sail to the islands of Maurice and Madagascar, to the coasts of the Red Sea, and as far as Surat, and annoy the Portuguese wherever he could.

On the 8th, Van den Broeck sailed with the two vessels, and on the 9th April 1617, cast anchor in the roadstead of the island of Maurice. On the 23rd May, he left again for Madagascar to purchase rice and slaves. Reaching the coast on the 4th of July, he sailed along it till he discovered a beautiful bay; but, the wind being strong, the pilots did not venture to enter it. The gale increasing, and the currents becoming so strong that it was impossible to approach Madagascar, he resolved to make for the island of Pemba, near Zanzibar, which he sighted, but could not approach. Here the Hollanders lost the big sloop which the ship had been towing, and the ship got separated from the yacht. The rudder, moreover, broke, and the ship made so much water, that they had to keep the pumps constantly going. At length they reached the roadstead of Monte Felix, in the Red Sea, short of provisions and in a dismantled state. Here things were put in order, as far as possible, and Van den Broeck went on shore in search of provisions for his sailors, most of whom were ill and exhausted with the labour of pumping. He failed, however, to obtain provisions, and it was resolved to steer for Socotra; but eventually they made for Surat. The same gale continued and, on casting the lead, on the 16th of September, bottom was found at a depth of 50 fathoms. Sea snakes were also observed, which the pilots took to be a good sign. On the 18th, anchor was cast off Daman, a town belonging to the Portuguese. The next morning, at low tide, the water was found not to be deeper than four and a half fathoms; the rudder again broke, and after the mainmast had been cut, the ship drifted till she ran ashore, and two sailors were despatched across the breakers, which were terrible, to ascertain what locality they were in.

Gradually the tide receded so much that, at dusk, Van den Broeck walked on foot to the shore to superintend the erection of a barricade, as both the town of Daman and the frontiers of the Grand Moghul were near. The next day the Hollanders learned that their yacht, the *Pigeon*, from which they had been separated, had likewise stranded, a day before them, at a distance of one league from the ship. Both the crews now joined in entrenching themselves with large barrels of cloves and other spices, so as to protect their other goods, which were to be transported to their depôt at Surat. As soon as the barricade was finished, they burnt the ship, in order to collect its iron, and marched to Gandevce, where their own people lodged them in a good house. Van den Broeck, however, hastened alone to Surat, to inform the factor, Petre Jelis, of the shipwreck, and arrange for the safety of the goods that had been left in the barricade. On the 30th September 1617, seven English vessels cast anchor at Surat, and Van den Broeck requested them either to take his people to Bantam, in Java, or to sell him a Portuguese vessel which they had captured. They, however, refused with great harshness, as he says, but probably because he would not agree to their terms; to avoid which, he resolved to march with his people by land to Masulipatam.

After leaving the necessary orders at the depôt at Surat, the travellers, who consisted of 103 Hollanders and 29 natives, started on their journey, the details of which it would be difficult to follow, owing to the mangled state of the orthography of the localities through which they passed. Being well-armed and partly mounted, the Hollanders defended themselves when occasion required, and generally came off victorious; but when they encountered bodies of Muhammadan troops, Van den Broeck usually produced the passport from the Governor of Surat, and made presents of swords or other articles to the officer in command. In this way the Hollanders traversed a part of Khandesh and the Nizam's dominions, and reached Daulatabad, easily recognized in *Dolatabat*, which is spoken of as the capital of the kingdom of the Dekkan. This being a fort, the Hollanders were not allowed to enter it, but they saw three guns of extraordinary size near the ramparts of the town, which was walled. Van den Broeck paid a visit to the General, whom he calls Melic Ambaar, a Habshi [Abyssinian], from the country of Prête-Jan [Prester John]. He is described as black, tall, of severe aspect, but beloved and revered. He offered a seat to Van den Broeck, who presented him with a Japanese sword and poniard, and obtained, in return, a coat of gold-brocade, as well as a passport

Crossing India from Surat to Masulipatam.

for some of the Hollanders who had fallen ill, and who were to follow the company later on. During the same visit, this General invited Van den Broeck to enter his service on a salary of 100 pagodas per month and the revenues of a village.

The Hollanders did not enter Aurangabad, but passed on to the Godavery, which is not named by our traveller, but merely called a branch of the Ganges, and which was so shallow that it was crossed on horseback. At Gandaar, spelt in our maps Kundahar, some distance from the river, they found the frontier of the kingdom of Golconda guarded by Manssor Gaan [Mançúr Khán], a renegade Portugese, with 6,000 horse. Eventually the Hollanders reached the fort of Golconda, which they were not allowed to enter. On approaching the city of Haidrabad, they pitched their camp at a distance of half a koss from it. Here Van den Broeck first sent the sub-factor to the Governor of Masulipatam, who happened to be at the Court of Haidrabad, to inform him of the arrival of the Hollanders, and next day he himself paid the Governor a visit, and they parted very good friends. Van den Broeck was consequently not a little astonished when the Hollanders were suddenly stopped on the march. Ultimately he was informed that so many people could not be allowed to go to Masulipatam, but they must take the route to Pettepoli and thence to Pulicat; and, considering what country the Hollanders were in, they offered no objections, but obeyed, or rather pretended to do so.

After a march of five days, they arrived at a village situated on a river which it was necessary to cross to go to Pettepoli, and a letter from Haas van Haas arrived, inviting them to come to that place. They, nevertheless, resolved to proceed to Masulipatam, which Van den Broeck was the first to reach. There he was joined by his troop, on the 24th December, after a march of seven weeks and three days from Surat. The next day news arrived that the sick men who had been left behind, had been arrested at a village called Normot. Accordingly Van den Broeck started at once for the place, where he found his men in arms and fighting with the inhabitants. Seeing that they were likely to get the worst of it, and fearing to injure the trade of the Company by brawls with these people, he requested them to allow the Hollanders to continue their march, but in vain. Mr. Van Haas, who enjoyed the rank of Governor on behalf of the Company, also made his appearance on the spot; but they refused to listen even to him, so that they were obliged to retrace their steps to Badora and thence to go to Pettepoli. Van den Broeck, nevertheless, succeeded in sending six sick men with the baggage to Masulipatam. During their retreat, nobody would sell any victuals to the Hollanders, and Van den Broeck rode all night to see whether

any aid could be looked for from the depôt at Pettepoli, to which place a Persian merchant, Mirkamal-ud-din by name, was kind enough to accompany him. They were unable, however, to enter it and returned to Montepoli, not without much danger, which would have been still greater had not the merchant already named stood security for the Hollanders, who, not being able to procure shelter there either, and not finding the yacht promised by Van Haas, were obliged to spend the night in the open. The next morning, the yacht arrived, but without a boat, and, the natives refusing to let the Hollanders hire one, they had to swim to the yacht through the breakers, with their arms on their shoulders. As soon as they were on board, they weighed anchor and sailed for to Pulicat, whence Van den Broeck marched with 63 men to the fort of Gueldres.

On the 28th January 1618, Van Haas sent the ship *Der Goes*, with three frigates and one sanguesselle, to cruise against the Portuguese along the coast, and Van den Broeck embarked with him on board the first-named ship, to go as far as Tirpopelliar, where the Company had a depôt. Having arrived off St. Thomas, the frigates approached the town as near as possible and anchored, but retired beyond range after two shots had been fired at them. During the night Van Haas called the officers of the frigates on board, and Van den Broeck landed with him at Tirpopelliar the next morning, at day-break, to visit the depôt. Whilst there, they made an excursion to Polosera and to the fort of Bardanwa, where they were well received. In the latter place they saw a very pretty Hindu woman, of about 20 years of age, who was preparing to burn herself the next day with the body of her deceased husband, and manifested the greatest firmness in her resolution. When the Hollanders endeavoured to dissuade her, she mocked them, telling them that she must follow her husband to the next world, or be exposed in this to the scorn of her relatives and of all men, not one of whom would marry her. She requested them, however, to intercede, after her death, with the Naik, for the support of her children. They offered, if she changed her resolution, to take her to another country, where nobody would know what had happened; but she refused steadfastly. When she was about to be burnt, she put on her best clothes and jewels, moistened her eyes with lemon-juice, and leapt into the fire, uttering only the words, "*Ram Ram.*" The priests around her then made such a noise with drums that it would have been impossible to hear anything. The pile was composed of wood, with several basins of oil, and in the centre there was a hollow into which she leapt. The people

around heaped fire brands on the pile, and howled and beat drums.*

After cruising a long time without taking any Portuguese vessels, the two Hollanders returned to Pulicat, where they witnessed the arrival of a factor, named Gysbert van Suylen, who was ill, and had come from Ceylon in a catamaran—a wretched little vessel consisting of two logs of wood tied together. He complained bitterly of the King of Candy, who would not observe the clauses of the treaty. Van den Broeck now embarked on board the *Golden Lion* for Masulipatam, leaving Adolphe Thomasz, as first factor in the fort of Gueldres, which was garrisoned by 130 Hollandish soldiers and mounted with 30 guns. Van den Broeck arrived at the end of March 1618 at Masulipatam, where the Governor received him courteously, presented him with a jacket of good brocade, and had him conducted with a procession of public dancing women to the lodging of the Hollanders. The goods they had brought were sold for ready cash, which some persons even paid before the goods could be delivered, for fear of not obtaining them.

Thence Van den Broeck sailed with Samuel Kint, who had been Sub-Governor of Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast, to Bantam. They, however, first spent some time at Acheen, where the pepper trade was considerable; and, after having completed their transactions, continued their journey through

the Straits of Malacca to Jaccatra,
 Voyage to Bantam, return to India, and conclusion. where they landed on the 7th November 1618, and learnt, to their

great surprise, that General Coen was at war with the king of Bantam, who had made great preparations. On the 11th December 1618, Van den Broeck embarked on board *The Angel* to return to Surat, but learnt near Capé Pontam, in Java, which was held by a Hollander, that the English had taken possession of one of their ships, called the *Black Lion*, on its way from Patan. He accordingly returned with this piece of news to Jaccatra, and put the depot there in a state of defence.

On the 4th January 1620, Van den Broeck had renewed his engagement in the service of the Company for three years, and, a fleet having been despatched to the Straits of Sunda to intercept three English ships which were expected from Europe, he was on the point of joining it, in order to obtain a share in the booty. But, seeing the English ship *Bull* at the entrance of the Straits, he immediately

* Van den Broeck had often been invited by the natives to witness spectacles of this kind, two more of which he describes, but he was so horrified that he wished to see no more.

approached it with the *Old Sun*, in which he sailed, and with a galliot, and demanded its surrender. The English, however, replied that peace had been concluded between them and the Dutch Company, and, producing letters to that effect, stating that a yacht of the Company was also bringing the same news. Accordingly these vessels sailed together to Batavia, where they arrived, to the great surprise of General Coen, and anchored on the 20th March 1620.

On the 13th April, the General sent the English ship *Bull* and the Hollandish yacht *Chief* to carry the news of the peace to the fleet, ordering Van den Broeck to accompany them as far as the Straits of Sunda, and not to allow any English vessel to come to Bantam, unless accompanied by some Hollander. The vessels sailed on the 15th, and about midnight they met the English fleet, consisting of eleven vessels; but it was not considered expedient to approach them in the night, as they had not yet heard of the peace. In the morning, they were joined by the *Bull* and the Dutch yacht; but, as the fleet did not hoist the white flag, Van den Broeck took his course towards Bantam to apprise the General of their arrival. Seeing that he was retiring, the English made all sail after him, but were obliged to cast anchor at Pulo Panian before they could overtake him. He thereupon fired five guns and the Admiral replied with nine, on which he sent his first factor on board to inform the Admiral of the treaty.

The next day General Coen arrived with 13 vessels, so that the fleet now amounted to 17 vessels, besides the ships which had been left at Batavia, and that of the English to 12. The two fleets exchanged salutes and anchored together in the roadstead of Bantam, after the English had sent three factors on board the Dutch General's vessel to congratulate him. People were sent on shore two or three times to speak to the Pangoram, but he would grant them no audience. Thereupon their General resolved to retire to Batavia and to take with him the greater portion of the fleet.

The treaty of peace between the English and the Dutch Company having been published on the 9th June 1620, rejoicings took place on that day in the fort and in the vessels. A few days afterwards, Van den Broeck received his "commission," as Chief and Director of the factories of Arabia, Persia and India, as well as commander of the ship *The Arms of Zeeland*, to the Red Sea, and, sailing on the 26th June, arrived at Aden on the 22nd August. The men sent on shore with the interpreter having been very well received by the Aga, Van den Broeck himself also paid him a visit, and was at once promised a house. Then he assembled his council, and explained to them that the monsoon for going to Surat was

about to terminate, and that, according to all appearances, the time consumed in sailing to Mokha would cut short the opportunity of going to Surat. Accordingly, it was resolved to send the factor, Herman van Gil, on shore, with some goods, that he might embark them in Arab vessels on the first opportunity and take them to Mokha, and that Van den Broeck should at once sail to Surat to take up his appointment of Director. Thereon van Gil, a sub-factor, two assistants and two sailors, were left on shore with the necessary funds, after having been duly recommended to the Governor, and the ship sailed again on the 20th August 1620.

Van den Broeck touched at the island of Socotra, where the best aloes in the world were to be had, and where the sub-factor, John van den Dussen had been very well received on a former occasion, because he had brought with him the shipwrecked crew of a vessel which had belonged to the King. Provisions and a quantity of aloes and other goods were procured by barter; but the people would not allow any Hollanders to enter the town; and, the weather being very stormy, the ship continued its voyage to Surat, and cast anchor at the mouth of the river on the 1st October 1620. A pilot was sent for to take the vessel up the river, and on the 4th Van den Broeck went on shore, where he was well received by the Governor and the inhabitants. After taking up his appointment, he went to Broach, Cambay and Ahmedabad, inspecting the depots previously established there, and meeting everywhere with the greatest kindness at the hands of the gentry of those places, who took him on hunting expeditions for antelopes and hares, the former being chased by means of tame leopards and the latter by dogs. On the 20th November 1620, he sent back the ship *The Arms of Zeeland* to Batavia; then he appointed the factor Wouter Heute to be chief of commerce at the Court of the Moghul at Agra, where he sent him to reside. On the 7th February 1621, a frigate just built at Gandevce, and named the *Good Luck*, cast anchor in the roadstead of Surat, and, after exciting the jealousy of the English and of the Moslems to a considerable degree, was, on the 7th April, despatched with a small cargo to Batavia.

On the 1st of October, six ships from England cast anchor at Surat; and on the 20th they were followed by the Dutch vessel *Samson*, from Mokha, where it had left the yacht *Weesp*. Considering that the Hollanders pretended to be only peaceable traders, enjoying the protection of the Moghul Government, it is astonishing how many acts of piracy they committed on the high seas. As the *Samson* particularly distinguished itself by making prizes of vessels of Indian nationalities with whom the Hollanders

were on the friendliest footing on shore, it may be worth while to give some account of its piratical exploits. The first vessel taken, robbed, and sunk, in spite of a Dutch passport, belonged to Cadts [Cueh], a place under the Moghul Government. Two more vessels from Calicut, in the possessions of the Zamorin, were taken, with 2,000 ducats and several women; and a fourth, which was coming from Helick on the coast of Ethiopia, was likewise sunk, after being plundered of its cargo, consisting of gold bars and ivory, with other goods of less consequence. Lastly, two richly laden ships from Dabul were taken, after they had landed a portion of their crews—probably pilgrims—on the coast of Arabia.

These hostilities naturally exasperated the Moghul Government, and exposed the capital of the Hollanders, amounting to more than six tons of gold in their Indian depots, to the greatest danger. Van den Broeck, however, was adroit enough to overcome all troubles, probably by a device which never fails in the East, namely, large bribes. This he does not state, but merely mentions that he was successful, in spite of the English, who were bent on ruining the Hollanders, and had, on this occasion, represented at the Court that their assertions had been fully verified, and that experience had proved whether the Hollanders were really merchants, or thieves and pirates.

On the 10th February, Van den Broeck despatched the *Samson* to Batavia, with a valuable cargo destined for the south, and for Europe. He then made a tour on horseback, with a number of his people, to visit and establish depôts for the Company at Broach, Baroda, Sirsha, Ahmedabad and Cambay. Proceeding first to Broach, he found that the English had been purchasing cotton cloth there for a long time. Then he went to Baroda, and to Ahmedabad, where he established a depot. He next visited Sirsha, a small town where indigo was manufactured, and Cambay, a port formerly much frequented by the Portuguese, whose commerce there had, however, been annihilated.

The trip lasted twenty-five days, and, when Van den Broeck arrived in Surat, he found that a Dutch caravan from Agra, consisting of 300 loaded camels, had reached the town on the same day. The goods were immediately despatched to Batavia. On the 29th April 1622, one of the ships of the Grand Moghul, named the *Tokoli*, arrived from Mokha and cast anchor at Surat; it brought 250,000 rupees, mostly consigned to the merchants of Ahmedabad, Cambay, Surat and other places.

On the 4th October 1622, Admiral Jaques Dedel, who, with

the aid of some English vessels, had taken and destroyed three large Portuguese carracks near Mozambique, cast anchor at Surat, but sailed afterwards to Goa. On the 4th December 1622, the yachts *Heusden* and *Weesp* arrived from Batavia, well laden; and the latter, with the newly built frigate, *Mokha*, was sent to join the Dutch fleet before Goa, the *Heusden* being despatched with a valuable cargo to Batavia and to Holland.

On the 15th February 1623, a Dutch caravan arrived from Agra, after a march of 61 days, with 358 packages of indigo. During this year also arrived the first vessel which came direct from Holland to Surat; its name was the *Schoonhove*. The *Heusden* afterwards returned from Persia, where it had left a factor with funds for trading. The *Peace* and the *Weesp* also arrived from Batavia, with a large quantity of specie and goods. On the 19th September, *The Dordrecht*, which was the second vessel that had come straight from Holland to Surat, brought out a large cargo; and on the 5th October, three ships arrived from Batavia with cargoes.

Although the Dutch and English traders were not always on good terms, their enmity suddenly turned to friendship whenever there was a chance of plundering Portuguese ships. Thus, when it became known that eight galleons of that nation were in the Persian Gulf, the two rival Companies forthwith made a treaty, each furnishing four ships, to which some others were subsequently added. This expedition, which sailed on the 18th November 1623, and returned on the 17th March 1624, was, however, disappointed in its hopes of booty, for, though it encountered the Portuguese galleons and chased them, it failed to capture any of them; and moreover, Albert Becker, who commanded the Hollanders, was killed in the very beginning of the action by a cannon ball. These ships brought, however, from Persia, Mr. John van Hassel, with Moosa Begh, who were going as Ambassadors from the King of Persia to the States General, and to Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau.

A caravan which arrived from Agra, with 450 camels, brought also a curious one horned antelope, as well as another tame one, by means of which the Hollanders caught several others during their journey to Broach.

On the 1st April 1626, Van den Broeck consented, under some pressure, to remain in the service of the Company. On the 4th November the new Governor of Surat, Mir Moosa by name, presented him, on his accession, with a horse, eighteen gold mohurs, and a cloak of broad cloth lined with velvet. On the 6th November, news arrived that the Grand Moghul had died, which produced such confusion in the place that the Governor sent the Hollanders six of his soldiers, with

a barrel of gunpowder, and warned them to be on their guard.

On the 14th, Van den Broeck went on board the *Dordrecht* to give orders for her departure to Holland. There he heard that Prince Khorrem was approaching with his army; that some troops had already arrived at Surat, and that 10,000 rupees were demanded from the Hollanders. He returned promptly to the factory, and, leaving again the same night, went to meet the Prince with a present, and was the first of the inhabitants and strangers of Surat to arrive and salute him. The Prince made him a present of a fine horse, and offered to confer high rank on him if he would enter his service. He asked for a fresh passport, which was promised him; and when he returned to Surat, it was delivered to him, as well as a horse, a gift from Mohâbet Khân, the General of the army, and the next day the castle of Surat was surrendered. On the same day also a Persian ambassador asked and obtained permission to embark in one of the Dutch ships which were just about to sail for Persia.

On the 9th May 1672, a Dutch vessel which had arrived from Shihir, brought a present to Van den Broeck, with a request from an Arab Chief to return to that country and trade. On the 8th October 1677, John Van Hassan arrived with his family from Europe, to relieve Van den Broeck of his post as he had to go to Persia.

On the 22nd, an Englishman, a gunner's mate, having been killed by a Dutch sailor, the English seized the criminal, and were about to execute him, but Van den Broeck sent them a message, that, if the man were convicted, justice would be administered as impartially under the flag of his sovereign as under that of their King; and the prisoner was accordingly sent back. Van den Broeck wished justice to be done; but, foreseeing that the English would not like the punishment to be capital, he condemned the man to be thrown into the sea alive. When the English saw that sentence had been pronounced and was about to be executed, they all came on board to intercede for the man, and he was pardoned.

On the 5th December 1628, Moosa Begh, the ambassador of Persia, who had returned from Holland, arrived by land from Masulipatam, and Van den Broeck took him on board to convey him to Persia. Van den Broeck sailed, in the capacity of Admiral, on the 23rd of the same month, with six Dutch and as many English vessels, on an understanding that they should jointly attack the Portuguese fleet, which consisted of nine galleons, in case it should be encountered; but, after reaching Cape Jask, they ascertained that the galleons had passed five days before with 23 frigates. An English barque and a Dutch

yacht were sent to the shore to enquire about the affairs of Gomeron [Bandar Abassi], and they brought information that no vessels were in the roadstead, whereon the united fleets anchored in it on the 5th February 1629, to the consternation of the inhabitants, who had not recognized the flags. On the 7th, Van den Broeck landed, and was invited to dinner by the Commandant; then he sailed with three vessels to Ormuz, to take in salt and red earth, and to procure wood. The Governor sent his compliments on board, and Van den Broeck paid him a visit, receiving a salute of nine guns, as well as a good dinner from the Governor, and a present of a beautiful horse. To the surprise of everybody, the Governor, the next day, honoured Van den Broeck with a visit on board, and afterwards the latter returned on shore to transact business and be entertained at a banquet at some distance from the town, in the gardens, to which the Governor had invited some of the gentry of the place. There a performance was given by public dancing girls who could ride as well as men, and at his departure, Van den Broeck again received a horse, with other gifts, as well as thanks for the entertainment he had a few days previously given the Governor on board. After embarking a thousand bales of silk, he again sailed for Surat on the 5th May 1629, and cast anchor there on the 22nd of the same month. Then he bade farewell, for the second time, to his friends, and sailed on the 20th April with a fleet and a valuable cargo to Batavia, where he arrived on the 19th June.

After that Van den Broeck did not return to India, but sailed for Holland, arriving in Amsterdam on the 8th July, 1630. He had been more than seventeen consecutive years in the service of the Company, which presented him, on his arrival, with a golden chain worth 1,200 livres. He gave an account of the affairs of the East Indies to the Prince, narrated his adventures to the gentlemen of the States General, and had the pleasure, of meeting, everywhere, with the warmest reception.

E. REHATSEK.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

ART. VI.—REMARKS ON PROFESSOR DRUMMOND'S
SCIENTIFIC CHRISTIANITY.

THE other day I took up, a second time, a volume by Professor Drummond, called "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," and was surprised to find it in its 29th* Edition, completing 100,000 copies. A book of this character, which has commanded, in a comparatively short time, such an enormous demand, must have had a large influence upon the religious attitude of the time. The 100,000 copies that have been sold, probably represent not less than twenty times that number of readers: and twenty hundred thousand persons is an extraordinary proportion of the whole educated and enquiring body of the Christian Church. It can scarcely, therefore, be out of place to examine the general bearing of what the "Aberdeen Free Press" characterizes as Professor Drummond's "discovery": to analyze his methods, and point his conclusions. The subject of religion, the spiritual destiny of man, has in all ages not wholly barbarous, engaged the profoundest attention, the choicest ability, the most indefatigable enquiry of all that was highest and best in contemporary intellect. Nor is it to be supposed that in the present generation, when the sceptics and agnostics, the scholars and the men of science have relinquished further efforts to reconcile dogmas with truth, religious systems with scientific discoveries, unreasoning belief with logical demonstration, that there is, on that account, a less lively longing in the breasts of thousands to meet and repel, with improved and adequate weapons, the assaults which they feel, uneasily, have gone far to undermine the fabrics of their childhood's faith.

It is this class, by far the largest section of modern Christians, who have hailed their new champion with transports of joy and triumph, and look upon his remarkable book as a complete and satisfactory answer to the difficulties which Science and Reason appear to have thrown in the path of Faith. These earnest, good souls, are but little in the habit of thinking for themselves. They have long wrung their hands, and impotently deplored the spirit of daring and impious criticism that overthrew their strongholds and exposed the tenuity of their beliefs: they were incapable for the most part of understanding the arguments of their adversaries, and wholly unfitted by

* The references throughout this article are from the XXIXth Edition.

their peculiar prepossessions for devising arguments that could be used with effect on the real battle ground. Constant appeals to the teachings of inspiration, where inspiration was denied, were their principal, if not their only, weapons: they assumed all the points chiefly disputed, and were amazed that reasoning so derived failed to convince their active opponents, or satisfy their wavering friends. To people so hard pressed, so conscious of a great change, the nature and tendency of which alike they could scarcely realize; panting to renew the combat, though desperately aware that it could result only in a more disastrous repulse; to them, in their hour of gloom and deep despondency, Professor Drummond was suddenly raised up, as a gifted and capable champion, trained in the use of the new weapons; willing and anxious to lead their battle in all the added power of the triumphant enemies' own equipment. Is it surprising that the whole body of earnest, uninstructed Christians rallied as one man round the Professor's banner? If the matter be considered in this light, no one, perhaps, ought to feel any astonishment that Professor Drummond has already found 2,000,000 readers, and will probably find as many more before many years have passed. But since it is so, it follows that the subject must possess a strong fascination for our countrymen and countrywomen; and it is in the belief that where so many have read the book, a moderate and popular criticism of its teaching can scarcely fail to be of general interest, that I propose to make a few remarks upon its more salient theoretical features, and the arguments which Professor Drummond has used. For there can, I fear, be little doubt that, of the millions who have read or may read the book, those who will do so at once with intelligence and total freedom from bias might compendiously be reckoned in tens: while the bulk of orthodox men and women who read with passionate avidity such a book as this, upon their side of the old dispute, are scarcely likely to possess either the capacity or the impartiality to detect possible blemishes. And yet parts of Mr. Drummond's creed, pushed to their logical conclusions, are likely to startle a great deal of complacent and ignorant orthodoxy.

It is to be premised that I am not by profession a theologian or a scientist. I read Professor Drummond's book with a keen and dispassionate interest; I frankly admired both his courage and his originality, his great erudition, and the admirable style in which he imparts it. In the present paper I aim at nothing further than offering to thoughtful men and women a brief statement of the difficulties that must, I imagine, occur to any independent and educated layman who reads this book with the object rather of enlarging his view of truth than of obtaining

support *ex cathedrâ* for a doctrine which he will not allow, under any conditions whatever, to be untrue. If, in fact, my difficulties are chimerical and my objections groundless, the cause of truth will be a gainer by their exposure : if, on the other hand, they serve in any degree to indicate blemishes and weak spots in a fine constructive effort, and to excite in even half a score of readers a spirit of rational and wise suspense, in place of an immediate surrender of personal judgment to high authority, this paper will not have been written in vain.

The whole of Professor Drummond's preface deserves careful attention. It is not only admirably written, but it throws an interesting and useful light upon the author's mental bias and the attitude in which his mind stood on the threshold of his work. It is, however, impossible, within the limits of reasonable space, and with so much before me, to dwell at length upon any portion of the preface. I shall merely invite attention to one or two passages in it. At p. xi. he says : " It might be charged, nevertheless, that I was all the time, whether consciously or unconsciously, simply *reading my theology into my science*.* And as this would hopelessly vitiate the conclusions arrived at, I must acquit myself at least of the intention."

We may all cheerfully concede that the Professor had no intention of permitting this vitiating bias to warp his conclusions, but whether, in the result, his work has not largely suffered from the very causes he endeavours to guard against, is a question which cannot be so lightly and satisfactorily answered. It is hardly possible to read the book without an uneasy consciousness that Professor Drummond *has*, in fact, allowed his legitimate scientific conclusions to be freely tinged, at least in their practical application, by theological prepossessions.

For, on the very same page, and at a distance of only two sentences, there is this passage : " These I conceive may be there actually studied at first hand, and before their purity is soiled by human touch. We have truth in nature as it came from God. And it has to be read with the same unbiased mind, the same open eye, the same faith, and the same reverence as all other Revelation."

Now bearing in mind that Mr. Drummond uses ' God ' and ' Revelation ' in the ordinary Christian sense, it may well be objected that here at once is evidence of a strong theological bias ; of a tendency to " read theology into science." This book appears, from its very terminology and the scheme of its composition, so far as its theory is concerned, to be addressed, partly

* The italics in all quotations are my own.

at any rate, to men of science and philosophers, to evolutionists, agnostics and sceptics. Unquestionably some of these persons would deny that what Mr. Drummond calls "truth in nature," *did* come from God, in the sense in which 'God' is used throughout this book, while, it is perfectly clear that, in speaking of scientific discoveries as "Revelations," with a capital *R*, and distinctly alluding to their connexion with theological revelations, the author is very subtly insinuating an altogether false analogy. It is equally clear that his intentional or unintentional confounding of terms is due to Mr. Drummond's disposition to read theology into science. And it is an inaccuracy which can scarcely be accidental, since it is repeated more than once. It appears to me to be an inaccuracy and a disingenuous inaccuracy for this reason. In arguing with persons who deny the inspiration of Scripture, Professor Drummond must perceive that there is an appreciable difference between the truths of nature which lie at our doors for any man with ability and patience to discover, and those Scripture revelations which were *ex hypothesi* forced upon the notice of a few individual men without any co-operative exercise of intelligence on their parts. It has long been tacitly conceded that the day of direct Scripture revelations has passed away: but there is no reason to suppose that any talented person of our acquaintance may not at any time hit upon a latent natural truth. To treat of two things so distinct in essentials as though they were practically identical, is an error in reasoning which can be attributed, only to the influence of theological bias.

Mr. Drummond, after stating the basis of his theory to be "the common principle the continuity of law," proceeds to defend the intrusion of the principles of natural science into the field of spiritual thought, by an analogy drawn from the useful application of natural law to political economy and social science. He argues that, since success has attended both these experiments, it is reasonable to infer that success ought to attend any attempt to extend the natural laws into the spiritual world. The objection which I feel to this proposition is that in political economy and sociology enquirers have abundant data, recurring phenomena, and facts which may be said to be proved by generally accepted testimony, to guide their researches. But, apart from the verbal ambiguity surrounding the 'spiritual sphere,' it cannot be pretended, I think, that here are to be expected materials either uniform, universally accepted, or known to be recurring. Each man's imagination colored by emotion is the medium through which the human race receive their concepts of a spiritual sphere.

The chief objects of this criticism will be best attained by

an examination, in some detail, of those portions of Professor Drummond's work which are addressed to the development of his theories, in contradistinction to the chapters intended to inculcate practical maxims. These he has himself stated to be the subjects dealt with in the Introduction (which is more especially recommended to the philosophic reader); Biogenesis: Death: Eternal Life. So far as his method is concerned, the Professor's case rests chiefly on the Introduction, which is the most important, if not the most interesting part of his work. In dealing with that, it is my purpose to examine critically so much of the author's reasoning as may appear open to some objection, or at least to some reasonable doubt.

In treating of the other subjects, my object will be, not so much to show that Mr. Drummond's conclusions are wrong, as assuming them to be correct, to press these conclusions a little further and exemplify the actual religious lessons to be learnt from them. For I am persuaded that thousands who have accepted Mr. Drummond's advocacy with boundless gratitude, may well be alarmed at perceiving clearly the drift of the doctrines they have so cheerfully applauded.

Section II. The Introduction.—Mr. Drummond thus defines natural law, p 5: "The fundamental conception of law is an ascertained working sequence or constant order among the phenomena of Nature," and again "the laws of Nature are simply statements of the orderly condition of things in Nature—*what is found in nature by a sufficient number of competent observers.*" Nothing could be clearer or more satisfactory than the author's definition of law: and it is important to bear it in mind while following his arguments for the projection of this natural law into the spiritual world. Because it is precisely at the point where, in a scientific enquiry such as his, we have every right to expect the greatest clearness, the most scrupulous observance of the terms of his definitions, that the author is apt, as it seems to me, to lose sight of these indispensable details. As an illustration of my meaning, I quote from page 11: "The laws of the *Invisible* are the *same laws*, projections of "the natural, not supernatural." It is difficult to understand how, upon the author's own definition, there can be any laws of the Invisible: since a law is nothing more than a "constant order among the *phenomena* of nature." They are "mere statements—of what is found in nature by a sufficient number of competent observers." Yet we are immediately told that the laws of the invisible are not similar or analogous, but the *same laws*: that is to say, they are statements of what a sufficient number of competent observers have seen in the

invisible. I am aware that possibly Mr. Drummond's meaning may be slightly different: but, in his eagerness to transfer at once the fruit of tested science to the domain of religion, he is occasionally very oblivious of his own definitions and unfortunate in his use of terms. And I allude to the point, rather as an illustration of the author's bias, than a serious attack upon his theory. At page 6 he thus writes of the natural laws; "They are drawn for us to understand a part by "some Hand that drew the whole: so drawn, perhaps, that "understanding the part, we too in time may learn to understand "the whole. Now the enquiry we propose to ourselves resolves "itself into the simple question: Do these lines stop with what "we call the Natural sphere?—Is it probable that the Hand "which ruled them gave up the work where most of all they "were required?" Considering the character of the 'Introduction' and its professedly scientific form, an agnostic or sceptic may very justly complain of such language in enunciating the object and basis of the enquiry. In the two or three sentences quoted, it is easy to point out more than one veiled *petitio principii*; that most insidious, vicious and captivating argumentative fallacy. We are not surprised to meet, in the common talk of comparatively unlearned churchmen, frequent instances of the kind; but Professor Drummond is a man of science, and ought to be keenly alive to the danger of employing such methods. Yet, as soon as he allows his mind to pass for an instant from the domain of science proper to that of religion, he is as profuse and careless of this unworthy error as though, instead of a scholar and profound thinker, giving to the world the deliberate fruits of a ripe mind, he were himself the merest neophyte of logic. It is evident that by 'the whole' is meant not the whole of the Natural world (which in this connexion would be its only legitimate sense), but the Natural world *plus* the Spiritual world, the very existence of which is first to be proved before it is to be assumed that the laws drawn by some Hand for the world we know, will certainly be extended into the world of which we know nothing. And again, most of those whom alone Mr. Drummond could have desired to *convince* would naturally demur to the assumption, that any laws were required at all, much less "most of all required" in any particular state of being, until we had been supplied with good and conclusive evidence that the state existed. The Professor immediately clinches his argument, by enquiring whether we can suppose that the great Hand divided the world into two, a cosmos and a chaos; and whether, while recognising nature to be the symbol of all harmony and beauty that is known to man, we are still to talk of the supernatural as a different order of world, a world where the reign

of Mystery supersedes the reign of Law? In spite of the authorities quoted, Plato, Christ, Plotinus, Swedenborg, Bacon, Pascal, Carlyle and Tennyson (surely a most remarkable collection), to establish the proposition that "it has been all but a commonplace with thinkers that the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made," I demur both to the truth of the proposition and more especially to its applicability in the narrowed theological sense in which the author would apply it. The sceptic would simply reply to Mr. Drummond's question about the natural and the supernatural, that, as far as he was aware, or, indeed, as human *knowledge* had gone, there was no division into chaos and cosmos; natural and supernatural. That, so far from using "supernatural" as a convenient word to express a different order of world, he would not use it in any sense, or even admit the existence of a 'supernatural' world. Nor is there much point in informing a body of well informed and scientific opinion, which has so far been quite unable 'to see clearly the invisible things of God,' that it is almost a commonplace with thinkers that such invisible things are, and have been always clearly seen. What is essentially requisite before any such arguments or assertions can be profitably considered, is a clear definition of the ambiguous terms used. 'The invisible things of God' surely requires some precise explanation: as the phrase now stands, it is hardly likely that persons brought up in opposite schools of thought will attach any common meaning to it. And it is this extremely lax and unscientific method of basing arguments on the connotation of wide and disputed terms, which leaves the mind vaguely dissatisfied with almost every one of Mr. Drummond's principal positions. Here, and in all that follows, Mr. Drummond speaks of the "phenomena of the spiritual world" as though it were universally conceded, and in fact axiomatic that the Spiritual world afforded phenomena, that these phenomena were strictly analogous with the phenomena of the Natural world. That a large proportion of Mr. Drummond's opponents would decline to make such liberal concessions, is, I think, indubitable. They might well ask to be told in what sense he understands the 'Spiritual' world; and what phenomena he appropriates peculiarly to it. It is singular and significant that the Professor should state a great many of his most essential premises in terms that usually involve the old *petitio principii* fallacy, without appearing to be conscious that he lies under any obligation to "define* his terms and prove his propositions." It is not, however, difficult to trace the workings of our author's mind, and so understand the persistency with which he overlooks all the

* Pascal.

requirements of a scientific enquiry, in bringing the language of science to the support of Religion. "For one thing," he says, "we do not demand of Nature directly to prove Religion. That was never its function. Its function is to interpret." That is to say, in other words, "Religion (*i.e.* my religion) is infallibly true; let me see what support I can derive from Nature for it."

And if this remarkable book were intended solely as an exhortation to the faithful, and so understood by them, Mr. Drummond would be in the right. But Christians have regarded "Natural law in the Spiritual world" as a triumphant scientific vindication of Religion: a book which ought not only to sustain the believer, but carry conviction to the sceptic. So far from fulfilling either of these expectations, it appears to me that Mr. Drummond, by the curious confusion he has introduced in his methods, has left untouched the unbelief of the sceptic, while in his perfected doctrine, the outcome of this quasi-scientific treatment, he has infinitely narrowed the creeds and paralyzed the energizing hopes of all believers. And this is Mr. Drummond's scientific explanation of the mental attitude of a religious agnostic. "It is the want of the discerning faculty, "the clairvoyant power of seeing the eternal in the temporal, "rather than the failure of the reason, that begets the sceptic." This is a sentence which has a great show of positive meaning and yet means nothing. What is the test of the possession of this clairvoyant power? Is it the *ipse dixit* of every religious enthusiast, every complacent pharisee? Nothing can be easier than to assert that I have this singular power: nothing can obviously be more impossible than to detect the fraud of such an assertion. Mr. Drummond is quite right to attribute scepticism to such an evasive and intangible cause, rather than "to any failure of the reason." Since, curiously enough, it is the cultivation and high development of the reason which, as a rule, produces the sceptic. But no one could attempt to combat the proposition as it stands. Sceptics are sceptics because they are dissatisfied with sonorous and meaningless words like "the "clairvoyant faculty of seeing the eternal in the temporal;" because they desire to be informed what this faculty is; how it comes to be wanting in some men; how it may be cultivated; whether it is within the reach of all, or whether, like the talent of music, it is absolutely unattainable by those who are obliged to confess with sorrow that they have it not. Everyone probably comprises in his acquaintance a certain number of men and women who are prepared to accept Mr. Drummond unconditionally as their spokesman and advocate against the free thinker: persons, therefore, who will, without hesitation, lay claim to the possession of this characteristic faculty. When it

appears nevertheless, as it unfortunately too often does, that a large proportion of these exceptionally gifted beings are narrow-minded, bigoted, petty, wanting in tolerance and liberal knowledge, above all, wanting in charity and humility, perhaps I may be excused for doubting whether there is any real and demonstrable truth in the assertion that they are, by the gift of a particular faculty, brought into direct correspondence with a God who is the source and repository of Knowledge, and Charity and Love. I am able to judge by results of the presence or absence of natural faculties: there can never be any dispute amongst intelligent men whether a person be blind or has sight: whether he be deaf or have hearing; whether he has or has not a musical ear. But if we apply the same test here, it would often seem that the noblest, most expansive, most liberal and charitable minds are absolutely without capacity to correspond with the fount of Knowledge and Love, while the ignorant, the uncharitable, and the bigoted are in direct and privileged communication with it. And we are to take such a startling proposition to be true on no other guarantee than the vague professions of individuals that they see the eternal in the temporal clairvoyantly. It is very easy for any person to say that he believes this, that, or the other: but to profess a belief, and to *have* a justifiable belief, are mental conditions widely dissimilar. No man in science has a right to believe anything in support of which he cannot advance sound and cogent reasons. I wonder how many good men and women who profess a faculty of perceiving by second sight the eternal in the temporal, have the faintest conception of what they mean, or of the arguments by which they may reasonably hope to defend the faith that is in them? But if the case is different with religion, and there are points upon which belief is to rest upon other grounds than intelligible reasons, I think we have still the right to insist, that persons professing these arbitrary beliefs should make plain by their conversation and conduct that their faith is operative in them to produce a corresponding exaltation and enlargement of character. A man in common life who says that he *believes* a house is about instantly to fall upon him, would be altogether irrational and unintelligible in the eyes of other men, if he nevertheless continued carelessly to live in it. In that case we should treat his assertion as purely frivolous: he might *say* he believed in the impending danger, but we could positively infer from his conduct that he believed nothing of the kind. We should have greater reason to trust in the sincerity of another, who, without making any vain professions, took measures to secure himself against the possible or probable consequences.

So with those who profess an intimate correspondence with

the God of wisdom and charity, while their conduct compares very unfavorably, in respect of the active operation of wisdom and charity, with that of others who make no parade of settled convictions upon points that admit of no reasonable proof. The former may upbraid the latter with the want of an additional and (*pace* Mr. Drummond) supernatural sense, but we are not on that account to take their verbal testimony as concluding the matter.

In speaking of Butler's Analogy, at p. 16, Mr. Drummond observes: "though he pointed out direct analogies of phenomena, "such as those between the *metamorphoses of insects and the "doctrine of a future state, κτλ.*" Here I feel again the constantly recurring difficulty that embarrasses the author's reasoning. The metamorphosis of an insect certainly *is* a phenomenon: it can be seen and observed by any body with eyes. But in what sense is the "doctrine of a future state" a phenomenon? The future state has never been seen, and never will be seen by mortal eyes. The *doctrine* of it cannot be accurately called a phenomenon: it is nothing more or less than a very warmly disputed conjecture. From a passage on page 17, it appears at last that Mr. Drummond would instance miracles as phenomena of the spiritual world. But even *he* disapproves of a too rigid adherence to this test, since, logically considered, it would make of Religion a thing apart from all Natural Laws and in conflict with them: and Mr. Drummond knows very well that science will have none of this "great exception." This is well; for until miracles are as universally accepted as they are at present almost universally rejected by scientific sceptics, it is clear that their value for argumentative and probative purposes is at a minimum.

At p. 20 there is this striking passage: "If there is any truth "in the unity of Nature, in that supreme principle of continuity "which is growing in splendour with every discovery of science, the

* That Theology can be brought within the domain of Science. "conclusion * is foregone. If there is any "foundation for theology, if the phenomena of the spiritual world are real, in "the nature of things they ought to come

• "into the sphere of Law." Everybody is aware, or prepared with caution to admit, that there is Truth in the unity of Nature: but the precise point of difference between doubt and orthodoxy is whether there *is* any foundation for theology; whether there are any phenomena of a spiritual world; whether, if so, those phenomena are real or illusory; whether, in short, there is a real spiritual world at all. All these questions should be answered affirmatively with intelligible and convincing proofs; instead of which Mr. Drummond merely puts them interrogatively, as being the

strongest form of affirmation. He ignores the possibility of anyone answering them all in the negative. Leading up to the position through analogies drawn from the sciences of Botany and Geology, Mr. Drummond, says of Theology: "But if it has a basis in the constitution and course of Nature, that basis has never been adequately shown. It has depended on authority rather than on Law: and a new basis must be sought and found if it is to be presented to those with whom law alone is authority." Now this is a distinct challenge to scientific scepticism which demands laws as its authority: and it holds out a reasonable expectation that the author is in a position to establish the fundamental truths of theology without any assistance from authority. Those who have attentively perused his book will be obliged to admit that if he ever seriously contemplated such an attempt, he has altogether failed. It is only by constantly falling back upon scriptural authority that he is enabled to give a superficial appearance of cohesion to the system he endeavours to evolve from natural laws. On p. 25 Mr. Drummond, after quoting Mr. Frederic Harrison's well known challenge to orthodox religion, and declaring that "we think religious truth, or at all events certain of the largest facts of the spiritual Life can be stated in terms of the rest of our knowledge," begins to feel some uneasiness about the mysterious spiritual world. "We do not say," he writes, "that the proposal includes an attempt to prove the existence of the spiritual world. Does that need proof? The facts of the spiritual world are as real to thousands, as the facts of the natural world, and more real to hundreds. But were one asked to prove that the spiritual world can be discerned by the appropriate faculties, one would do it precisely as one would attempt to prove the natural world to be an object of recognition to the senses, and with as much or as little success. In either instance, probably, the fact would be found incapable of demonstration, but not more in the one case than the other."

Now this appears to me entirely misleading and sophistical. In the first place, considering the nature of Professor Drummond's enquiry, the existence of a spiritual world does most emphatically demand proof. To pretend that it is a fact universally conceded, is merely shirking an imperative obligation. Mr. Drummond evidently felt this, and by way of showing how easy it would be to prove his most essential postulate, he tells his readers that the fact is as easily to be proved as facts in the natural world, which cannot be proved at all. And his inference is that since all the world accept the latter without proof, they ought to be equally ready to accept the former. But there is a plain distinction between the cases. It may or not be capable of demonstration, but if you show a tree to ten hundred

millions of rational human beings at any period in the world's history, each and all of them will agree in admitting that there is a tree ; so with light and darkness, and every fact properly so called in the natural world. But no two persons, let alone two hundred millions, will exactly agree through twenty-four hours, let alone all time, upon the conceptions they may have of so-called facts in the spiritual world.

In this province each individual's imagination, colored by emotion, is the medium through which he receives impressions, concepts and ideas of what may or may not be facts. There is no unanimous consensus of opinion. If there be a spiritual world at all, our knowledge of it is dependent upon our untrained imaginations ; we can never test our opinions by experience ; where the facts of the natural world are certainly recognized by every sentient being, the facts of the spiritual world are liable to the distortion of every individual's passing emotions. It would be equally pertinent to say that dreams are as real to thousands as the facts of every day life, but no wise man would recommend an enthusiastic dreamer to treat his night fancies as substantial facts and regulate his conduct accordingly.

Mr. Drummond proceeds : " Science deals with known facts, and *accepting certain known facts* in the spiritual world, we proceed to arrange them $\kappa\tau\lambda$." Again there is this vicious abuse of language ; if the author would only tell us what facts are *scientifically known* in a *scientific spiritual world*, instead of taking it for granted that there are many such, it would be much easier to follow his reasoning.

There is something very baffling in the author's style throughout. There is scarcely a sentence, and never a finished argument, which does not give rise to some obvious objection. As an instance, on page 30, "no single fact in science has ever discredited a fact in Religion." Facts do not and cannot discredit each other ; and yet the comfort which the writer means to convey in this emphatic sentence, to those who shrink from confronting Religion with science, is surely offered in an extremely misleading form. For it is certain that if by Religion the reader is to understand (as 990 out of every 1,000 do understand) the Bible narrative and teachings, a great many details and accidents to be found therein, and which were formerly called and believed to be facts, have been discredited by science and the scientific methods. Put in plain and honest language the meaning of this sentence is 'that which is true in religion need not fear the truth of science,' which is a very comforting assurance, or otherwise, in proportion as we can be sure how much is true in religion. And again at p. 33, after speaking of scientific discoveries as "revelations of truth," we are told that "revelation *never*

volunteers anything that man could discover for himself, on the principle, probably, that it is only when he is capable of discovering it that he is capable of appreciating it." This, as it stands, is a most extraordinary statement. Apart from the fact that Mr. Drummond generally speaks of *discoveries* as Revelations, it amounts to this that Revelation never volunteers anything to men except when they are incapable of appreciating it. For a man is not capable of appreciating the Revelation till he is capable of discovering it : and it is when he is capable of discovering it that Revelation never volunteers anything. That is the only possible meaning I can extract from the sentence I have quoted, and it is truly a dark saying. Having so far cleared the ground, or, as it seems to me, involved the questions to be discussed in great uncertainty, Mr. Drummond proceeds to illustrate and explain the basis of his whole theory, the law of continuity. And, as the key note of the book is struck here, I quote the passage in full. (p. 35) : " The law of continuity furnishes an *a priori* argument for the position we are attempting to establish of the most convincing kind—of such a kind, indeed, as to seem to our mind final. Briefly indicated, the ground taken up is this, that if Nature be a harmony, Man in all his relations, physical, mental moral and spiritual—falls to be included within its circle. " It is altogether unlikely that Man spiritual should be violently separated in all the conditions of growth, development, and life from Man physical. It is indeed difficult to conceive that one set of principles should guide the natural life, and these at a certain period—the very point where they are needed—suddenly give place to another set of principles altogether new and unrelated. Nature has never taught us to expect such a catastrophe. She has nowhere prepared us for it. And man cannot, in the nature of things, in the nature of thought, in the nature of language, be separated into two such incoherent halves."

And at p. 38 " it was reserved for the law of continuity to put the finishing touch to the harmony and the universe." It is necessary to understand clearly what the law of continuity is. Continuity is to the universe what reason is to the individual. It is because of the law of continuity that we are justified in expecting the sun to rise and set, tides to flow, men to walk erect ;—in a word, the recurrence of the same phenomena under the same conditions. It is the law to which all other laws conform. And Mr. Drummond's application (after an extremely lucid explanation of the great law) is in this wise : (p. 41) " As the natural laws are continuous through the universe of matter and of space, so will they be continuous through the universe of spirit." And he throws

the burden of disproof on those who deny it. The argument is, he says, founded on a principle which is now admitted to be universal. This appears to be a most conclusive argument. We are told that any person, who is bold enough to take up the position that there exists a region where at last the principle of continuity fails, would be obliged first to overturn nature, then science, and last the human mind. Without attempting to bring about such a complete cataclysm it may be objected that, while cheerfully admitting the principle of continuity in all regions, properly so called, doubts may be felt whether there is any universe of spirit in which continuity can operate. This is the real difficulty, and this is the difficulty which Mr. Drummond either overlooks or purposely ignores. If it be conceded that there is a Spiritual world in the sense in which Mr. Drummond uses these words, directly outlying the present Natural world, it would be very just to argue that all laws which regulate the spiritual part of man here, will obey the law of continuity, and be projected into that Spiritual world. And if, further, it is found that the natural laws known to science do in fact regulate the spiritual part of man's nature, precisely as they regulate the inorganic and organic world around him, Mr. Drummond's case for natural law in the spiritual world is fairly made out. But it is evident that there are several conditions, all of which require to be fulfilled before we can admit the truth of the conclusion. Speaking of the universality of the Law of Life (p. 45), Mr. Drummond says: "wherever there is life we may expect to find it arranged, ordered, governed according to the same law. At the beginning of the natural life, we find the law that natural life can only come from pre-existing natural life: and at the beginning of the spiritual life, we find that the spiritual life can only come from pre-existing spiritual life." This is another of the too frequent fallacies, another *petitio principii* with which the book is marred. It has been found by the most laborious and accurate experiments that animal life cannot be spontaneously generated; but to couple with this scientific fact, in such a manner as to imply that it, too, was the result of conclusive experiment and a universally admitted fact, the questionable assertion that spiritual life can only come from pre-existing spiritual life, is to beg the entire question. It may be fairly doubted whether, in the ordinary acceptation of the term "life," there is such a thing as spiritual life apart from natural life: at best the words are nothing more than a metaphor borrowed from that organic life, the workings of which science can watch with the minutest particularity. Abandoning this ground for a moment, such a view of the dual life in man is quite inconsistent with the Bible narrative. If that narrative

means anything, it means that man was inorganic until God breathed on him the breath of life: there is no attempt to distinguish between a prior organic and a later spiritual creation. And as will appear in working out the theory based upon this fallacious hypothesis, Mr. Drummond is driven into very curious and untenable positions. However, to resume the thread of this interesting exposition, we next find Mr. Drummond laying it down that, as gravitation will act whether the substance be suns and stars, or grains of sand, or rain drops, so Biogenesis will act wherever there is life. The parallel is elegant and beautiful: but it does not allow for the doubt whether there is such a thing as spiritual *life*, in the sense in which there is organic life. It is plain that if spiritual life, of which we can know nothing positive, is something quite distinct from the natural life which we do know, and from which we have borrowed the metaphor, there is at least a considerable probability of the parallel proving fallacious.

The argument, compendiously stated, continues thus. The laws of the natural life must also be the laws of the spiritual life: but this is not to exclude the possibility that they are not the sole, or indeed the chief, laws of the higher world. They may be suspended in subordination to other and higher laws, as we find gravitation to be supreme in the inorganic, but frequently overruled in the organic world. "If the law of continuity is true, the only way to escape the conclusion that the laws of the natural life are the laws, or at least are laws, of the spiritual life, is to say that there is no spiritual life. It is really easier to give up the phenomena (?) than to give up the law." (p. 47.) The probabilities of additional laws being discovered in the spiritual world is then discussed, and the conclusion arrived at is "after all then our knowledge of higher law must be limited by our knowledge of the lower "The greatest among the theological laws are the laws of nature in disguise. It will be the splendid task of the theology of the future to take off the mask and disclose to a waning scepticism the naturalness of the supernatural." This is very impressive, the language is highly dignified, and the subject of the announcement seems to merit the style of its expression. But what is it after all? Merely a restatement of the truism that what is true is certainly not false.

But whether, in fact, the teachings of Mr. Drummond's theology are to be found at once in natural law and in the usually accepted meanings of Christian belief, can only be properly estimated when we examine attentively the conclusions he draws from the projection of these more than analogous, these identical, laws of nature into the spirit world.

The philosophical introduction is now happily nearly

exhausted, and we shall shortly be in a position to test the merits of the method by its results. So far it is to be observed that Mr. Drummond has consistently spoken of the projection of the natural laws into the Spiritual world. This, however, is an inaccuracy. He explains (pp. 53, 54) that in truth the projection is from the Spiritual into the Natural world. "The first in the field was the Spiritual world," p. 53. "The visible universe 'has been developed from the unseen' (p. 54). "The unseen 'existed before the seen.' (*ib*). And he further puts this new meaning upon Law. "After all, the true greatness of Law lies in its vision of the unseen." Law in the visible is the Invisible in the visible" (p. 55.) From which he concludes that it is an error to speak of Laws as 'natural' since this would define them as applying only to that part of the universe that can be perceived by the senses, whereas all Law is essentially Spiritual. These propositions are so vague that little profit is to be expected either from assenting to or denying them. All that we can *know* is that which we can perceive and test by means of one or other of the senses: and that knowledge alone can we attempt to clothe in accurate language. Once we overstep these limits, we may indulge in any dreams, and embody our imagination in any language that appears suitable; but propositions of that character will hardly command universal assent, or make any useful addition to scientific knowledge.

Upon the authority of Huxley and the authors of the "Unseen universe," Mr. Drummond enforces the proposition that matter is, in comparison with what is immaterial, the less important part of the physical universe. Mr. Huxley is quoted as stating, in agreement with Descartes, "that we know more of mind than we do of body: that the immaterial world is a 'firmer reality than the material.'" It is in transferring Huxley's conclusion from the mental to the theologico-spiritual world that Mr. Drummond seems to me to fall into a very grave fallacy. The scientific argument is correct enough. In the case of every individual human being, personal consciousness is more vivid and real than the consciousness of any external phenomenon.

And from this fact it is a legitimate conclusion that the human race collectively know more of mind than matter. But Mr. Drummond substitutes, for personal consciousness, religious consciousness (as will sufficiently appear in examining his finished theory), and, assuming that it is universal (which it certainly is not), he infers from it the reality of a corresponding spiritual, as opposed to a merely mental state. Not only this, but resting his confidence in the existence of such a theologico-spiritual world upon the *universality* of every human being's consciousness of it, he illustrates it in such a way as to

prove conclusively that not only are an infinite majority of mankind perfectly *unconscious* of it, but they are absolutely incapable of ever attaining that consciousness. Those who, in accordance with Mr. Drummond's view, are spiritually alive, cannot bear the proportion of more than one, or two in a million to those who are hopelessly and eternally spiritually dead. The spiritually dead occupy in the spiritual world, according to Mr. Drummond's theory, precisely the same relative position to the spiritually living, as all the inorganic world occupies relatively to the organic in Nature. But if Mr. Huxley's conclusion had depended for its validity upon including in his major stocks and stones, as well as human beings; if he had attempted to deduce the reality of an immaterial world to men from the consciousness of such mental phenomena possessed by stones and other inorganic matter, it is hardly likely that the proposition would ever have been stated, and entirely certain that no one would have asserted to it. Yet this is precisely the manner in which it has been converted, and the use to which it has been put by Mr. Drummond. The concluding sentences in the introduction prepare us at once to understand the author's real point of view, and the difficulties we are likely to meet in endeavouring to agree with him. "The visible is the ladder up to the invisible, the temporal is but the scaffolding up to the eternal: and when the last immaterial souls have climbed through this material to God, the scaffolding shall be taken down, and the earth dissolved with fervent heat, not because it was base, but because its work is done." (p. 57.) This illustrates the author's theological prepossessions and the difficulty he finds, in spite of his frequent professions, in losing sight of 'authority.' It is far from being a fact of certain knowledge that the earth *will* be dissolved with fervent heat; but this is the end appointed by Scripture, and Mr. Drummond announces it in a scientific exposition as a scientific fact. And as he is not here under the dominion of awkward logic, he reverts, perhaps unconsciously, to the Christian hope that all men may be saved. Later on it becomes too painfully clear that very, very few immaterial souls can, if his theories are correct, ever have the faintest expectation of "climbing through this material to God."

It has been impossible, within the narrow limits at my command, to do more than indicate many points in Mr. Drummond's scientific and theoretical justification for his modern Christianity, which may well occasion doubts as to the general soundness of the structure in which they are to be found. In briefly examining the fruits of his system, the task is happily easy. I do not, except where it seems absolutely needful, while dealing with that part of my subject, propose to do more than carry out

the author's teachings to their legitimate and ultimate conclusions. I shall ordinarily assume for that purpose that he is correct as far as he has gone (although I trust that I have suggested several reasons upon which an intelligent doubt in that respect may to be founded), and shall point out precisely what doctrines those honest and simple-minded Christians who have surrendered their judgments so unreservedly to his learned and splendid style, are in fact committing themselves.

Biogenesis.—The Scientific Truth of Biogenesis in the Natural world, transferred to the Spiritual world and used as an explanation and confirmation of Christian theology, is the basis of Mr. Drummond's Scientific Religion. The chapter in which this interesting and important subject is handled with consummate ingenuity, deserves to engage the most patient and impartial examination. Biogenesis, or the Theory that life in the organic world cannot be spontaneously generated, is now, as Mr. Drummond informs us upon the authority of Huxley and Tyndall, 'victorious all along the line.' "So far as Science can settle any thing, this question (*i.e.*, the conflict between Biogenesis and Abiogenesis) is settled." This doctrine excludes the possibility of life appearing independently of antecedent life: and taking it to be a settled Truth of Science, so far as the natural world is concerned, Mr. Drummond, applying his law of laws, the law of continuity, projects the doctrine into the Spiritual world. There is no such thing, (he lays it down without any qualification whatever), as spiritual life spontaneously generated; as, in short, spiritual life independent of precedent spiritual life. I am much more concerned here with following Mr. Drummond's reasoning to its legitimate and ultimate conclusions, than with any attempt at raising points of difference with him over his premisses. For the sake of argument let us admit that the members of "that small school which in the face of derision and opposition, has persistently maintained the doctrine of Biogenesis," are absolutely right, and that the members of that much larger school which preaches from a thousand modern pulpits every seventh day the doctrine of spontaneous generation are absolutely wrong; and let us with our author place vividly before our imagination the picture of the two great Kingdoms of Nature. What is meant, asks Mr. Drummond, by denying spontaneous generation of life? And he answers the question thus: "It is meant that the passage "from the mineral world to the plant or animal world is hermetically sealed on the mineral side. This inorganic world is "staked off from the living world by barriers which have never "yet been crossed from within. . . . Only by the bending down "into this dead world of some living form can these dead atoms "be gifted with the properties of vitality. And if

"there is one thing in nature more worth pondering for its strangeness, it is the spectacle of this *vast helpless world of the dead, cut off from the living* by the Law of Biogenesis and *denied, for ever the possibility of Resurrection within itself* It is as if God had placed everything in Earth and Heaven in the hands of Nature, but reserved a point at the genesis of life "for his direct appearing." And here is the analogy which is drawn from this natural truth, and stated in positive terms as applying to the spiritual world. "The passage from the Natural world to the Spiritual world is hermetically sealed on the natural side. The door from the inorganic to the organic is shut, no mineral can open it; *so the door* from the natural to the spiritual is shut and no man can open it. . . . No organic change, no modification of environment, no mental energy, no moral effort, no evolution of character, no progress of civilization can endow any single human soul with the attribute of spiritual life. The Spiritual world is guarded from the world next in order beneath it by a law of Biogenesis—except a man be born again . . . except a man be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God." (p. 71.)

This is a close and splendid verbal parallel. I cannot allow myself yet to dwell upon what I believe to be fallacies involved in the author's method of construction: though, perhaps, when we see clearly the kind of creed he is building up and the probable consequences to conduct which it might and logically ought to be prolific, I may be excused for indicating some few weak links in the chain of reasoning. It would be too melancholy and hopeless a world if the author's doctrine were as incontestably true as its perfected results must be morally and spiritually petrifying. For the outcome of this teaching is, in the first place, that taking all the human beings who have ever lived both before and after Christ, a merely infinitesimal fraction can even pretend to have attained spiritual life. Before Christ men were born to die: there *was* no spiritual life, no chance, no hope for the unfortunate beings who, in every discernable respect, differed not in a single atom from the men that came after. "Christ," says Mr. Drummond with persistent, reiterated, uncompromising dogmatism, "Christ is the source of Life in the Spiritual world, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not Life." A few,—how few the human spirit shudders to contemplate,—have been selected, for no merit of their own, without the faintest co-operation on their part, to share the Eternal Life, the only Life in fact that can be properly so called. "The natural man belongs essentially to this present order of things. He is endowed simply with a high quality of the natural animal life. But it is *Life of so poor a quality that it is not Life at all.*"

This is the great gospel of Mr. Drummond's Biogenesis. Is the doctrine rational? Is it to be conceived that, although we are, every one of us, capable of perceiving and appreciating the advantages of this Spiritual life, we are at the same time as incapable of making any movement whatever in the direction of reaching them as the stones at our feet are incapable of aspiring to the Life of organic Beings? Like the dead stones, we lie helpless, though, unlike them, perfectly conscious and observant; here and there the Spirit of Life, which is Christ (in the narrowest and most sectarian sense), breathes upon one of us, and that person enters at once into the kingdom of God. It is plain that here is Predestination or Election with a vengeance. I am confident that no dispassionate reader could close a perusal of Mr. Drummond's Chapter on Biogenesis without candidly admitting that it is very much more like Theology read into Science, than Science impartially used for the illustration of common spiritual truths. In commenting upon the Preface it may be recollected that I expressed doubts whether, in spite of his disclaimer, Mr. Drummond had not in fact largely read his Theology into his Science. And since it is very just that, while often complaining of the vague use which Mr. Drummond makes of terms and arguments, I should not myself indulge in vague and merely general criticism, I may here instance a few occasions in which it appears to me that the author has fallen into this error.

So long as Mr. Drummond is on scientific ground, his exposition of Biogenesis is naturally enough perfectly impartial: but as soon as he would draw his analogy and establish Christian Truth on a basis of Natural Law, it seems to me undeniable that he reads his Theology, and a very narrow sectarian Theology, into his Science. I affirm, without much fear of contradiction, that Mr. Drummond's application of his scientific truth is colored and dominated at every second or third paragraph by scriptural authority, and the conclusions which he has drawn, although they are, as was to be expected, upon this hypothesis, consistent enough with a Calvinistic interpretation of the New Testament, are such as no scientific man whose mind was, not penetrated by that peculiar theology, and who was not prepared to fall back for enlightenment upon Revelation, would have ever arrived at upon the same premisses. When we are to consider the evidence for this great gulf fixed at the portals of the Spiritual world, Mr. Drummond appeals to Science, Reason, Experience and Revelation. He admits that "the initial statement, it is not to be denied, reaches us from Revelation," and he justifies the use of Revelation in a scientific argument upon this

ground. "The right of the Spiritual world to speak of its own phenomena is as secure as the right of the Natural world to speak of itself." What is science but what the Natural world has said to natural men? What is Revelation but "what the Spiritual world has said to Spiritual men?" Now I must repeat that this kind of language is, in my opinion, a mere abuse of correct reasoning, attributable to nothing else than the theological bias working on a scientifically trained mind. It is reading theology into science very freely. Need I discriminate between the cases. The Revelation which is the voice of the Spiritual world in the ears of Spiritual men, ought, if there be the slightest value in the comparison, to be as universally accepted as scientific discoveries, which, for the sake of pointing an illusive argument, are here called the voice of the Natural world in the ears of Natural men. But is it so? Are there not a score or more of Revelations claiming the same authority as Mr Drummond's particular Revelation, every one of which Mr. Drummond would unhesitatingly and without compunction dismiss as impostures, delusions, ravings, diabolical possessions;—any thing, indeed, rather than the voice of the Spiritual world speaking to Spiritual men? Mr. Drummond might answer that these creeds do not fit the formulæ of Biogenesis as closely or satisfactorily as his own revealed creed happens to do. Firstly, observing that such a reply would at once destroy the pertinency of Mr. Drummond's plea for Revelation as scientific proof. I might add that the truth of the answer depends entirely upon the point at which you intend to fit your Science upon your Revelation. There is probably no widely popular faith to the foundations of which the law of Biogenesis has anything of value to say. The Mussulman, the Buddhist, the Hindu might all reconcile it easily enough with their respective beliefs. The breath* of God, they might say, has breathed on all mankind, and endowed every man from his birth with the potentiality of developing the higher life within him. When Mr. Drummond writes: "if the doctrine of the spontaneous generation of Spiritual life can be met on scientific grounds, it will mean the removal of the most serious enemy Christianity has to deal with, and especially within its own borders at the present day," (page 67) it is plain that he is entirely dominated by a sectarian spirit: in other words, that he is reading his Theology into his Science. For, upon his own cherished theory, it can obviously make not the slightest difference to the world at

*Note.—Mr. Drummond, I need not say, interprets science by the words of Scripture. With him there is no life except the life derived from Christ the Son of God. This is dogmatic, but not scientific.

large whether Spiritual Life be spontaneous or not : except indeed that a few anxious hearts might be rendered indescribably miserable, by the belief that the election or rejection of themselves and their friends was a matter as arbitrary and beyond their own control as the distribution of prizes in a public lottery. As the spiritual dead can never be any thing else than spiritually dead, and the spiritually alive become spiritually alive, independent of all conduct or volition on either side, it is difficult to understand what benefit the former are to derive from realizing their desperate plight, or the latter from being informed of the certainty of their salvation, nor how the absence of such superfluous knowledge can ever have been a serious enemy to Christianity. As between conflicting sects, Calvinists, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and so forth, perhaps the enunciation of a dogma always much relied upon by one of these sects, reproduced in the guise of scientific and incontestable truth, may fill the bosoms of some with envious despair or of others with righteous complacency. But beyond this the author's language is mere exaggeration, and meaningless unless it be understood by the light of his theological bias. Again, Mr. Drummond writes : "there is no analogy between the Christian Religion and say Buddhism, or the Mohammedan Religion. There is no *true sense in which a man can say, He that hath Buddha hath Life.*" It is to be recollected that this passage is a commentary on the "Scientific grim distinction : He that hath not the Son hath not Life ;" and we are told that this great law finally distinguishes Christianity from all other Religions. The answer simply is that the sincere Buddhist might use the words in just as true a sense to himself, as Mr. Drummond may apply to himself the Christian formula : "He that hath Christ hath Life." The cases in fact, so far from being, as intended, illustratively opposite, are absolutely parallel, after allowances are made for subjective differences. No Scientific writer would have been led into using arguments of this positive form and unsound matter, unless he had been powerfully influenced by theological bias—in a word, reading his Theology into his Science. Mr. Drummond's position with reference to other religions, simply is that they *are* false to begin with, and that Biogenesis can be made to prove them so. It is with Mr. Drummond, indeed, the old, old difference between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy ; "Orthodoxy, my good Sir, is *my* doxy, and Heterodoxy is *your* doxy." It is quite as consistent with the Law of Biogenesis, to take a wider view and give all religions an equal chance in the field of Life, by assuming that the entire human race (who as natural men are similarly endowed) are, in their capacity for Spiritual Life, equally endowed with a common vital principle. If we were

to select a few texts here and there, and insist upon their literal interpretation, perhaps we might find it difficult to reconcile this theory with them, although it is *a priori* far more accordant with every rational conception of the potentialities of human existence, as well as with all the most powerfully attractive features in Christ's character and mission. But Mr. Drummond will have us follow the texts; and, adhering to an 'authority' which, he explained in his preface, would not be requisite, he has formulated his central dogma of Spiritual Biogenesis, a kind of hybrid between Science and Revelation.

Those who read Mr. Drummond and are carried away by the apparently resistless current of his science, exemplified by scripture quotations, would do well to pause here and reflect what this Biogenesis of the Spirit means to each of them individually. In the first place, it is just as well to realize vividly what this dogma imports concerning the past. In a word that the whole human race up to 1900 years ago were literally annihilated. They had no chance of life. "Christ is the source of life in the Spiritual world, and he that hath the Son hath Life, and he that hath not the Son, *whatever else he may have*, hath not Life." (p. 74.) Very good. That is explicit: and as we are repeatedly told by Mr. Drummond that we do a violence to Scripture language if we needlessly interpret it metaphorically, we have no difficulty whatever in seeing that, as Christ had not been made manifest to the world until a comparatively advanced period in its development, the generations which preceded that manifestation must have inevitably been dead. Observe that there is no middle course. The parallel is plain and the meaning obvious. As the stone is dead in the Natural world, so is the soul, without Christ, dead in the Spiritual world. There is no room for a faint hope that the feeble life may not have been quite extinguished, that a merciful Father, making allowances for the conditions under which men lived, would revive the dim and flickering flame; no room, indeed, for any flattering compromise with Mr. Drummond's Biogenesis. It is not a question of spiritual lives ending: there was no spiritual life, every human being was morally and spiritually as dead as the dogs and donkeys, and as absolutely, irremediably so as a stone is said to be physically dead. Having thoroughly realized that picture, it is convenient to look at the dogma in its modern bearings. We are told that Christ himself founds Christianity upon Biogenesis. "Except a man be born of water and the spirit καλ. John III." (p. 74)

We are told that the natural man is as dead as a crystal, not only to the spiritual man, but to the whole spiritual world; that there are not two laws of Biogenesis, one for the natural, the other for the spiritual; one law is for both (p. 75). And it is

very properly pointed out that the second birth is almost as perplexing to the Theologian as the first to the Embryologist. While, however, the latter remains in doubt, the difficulties of the former, from Mr. Drummond's point of view, are completely removed by Revelation.

Here, then, is the modern religion. Its formula is simple. He that hath not the Son hath not Life — and never can get Life. Nor is it in the power of any person to obtain this life, or even to wish for it, or think about it, or regulate his conduct with regard to it, or in fact to feel the faintest concern in the subject. He is dead: dead as a crystal in respect to the whole Spiritual life (p. 75).

Such a doctrine as this, consigning an inconceivably large majority of human beings, not only in the past, but day by day and year by year, to spiritual extinction is, I venture to think, not so much a legitimate inference from the very simple truth of Biogenesis, as a natural product of applying science to old sectarian formulæ, under the influence of very strong Calvinistic prepossessions.

It is certain that the material part of man is dissolved by death; and Mr. Drummond teaches that, with rare and insignificant exceptions, there is nothing spiritual in the nature of man. His doctrine of Biogenesis, viewed practically, and in the light of results rather than of its theory, is virtually a doctrine of universal annihilation.

And yet, if he had not set before him the absorbing object of illustrating Scripture texts by natural laws, surely the dreadful consequences of his broad generalizations would have led him to re-examine, with anxious care, every link in the chain of his reasoning. Even if we admit that the Spiritual Life is anything more than a metaphor, is in fact of the same quality as natural life and governed by the same great law, "*Omne vivum ex vivo*," would it not occur to any unbiased enquirer, any enquirer who was not bent on justifying the literal truth of some pet textual Revelation, that the *principle* of Spiritual life was imparted to all men equally at the hands of the common Father of Life and Love? How that principle can best be developed and perfected, is a question upon which all churches may differ, but it has been reserved for the apostle of the modern Scientific Religion to announce the positive presence in a few, and the *positive absence* in millions of the spiritual faculty by which alone man can hope to attain everlasting life. Such a doctrine, amongst other things, stultifies missionary enterprise, and paralyses every generous and disinterested effort of proselytizing zeal.

Mr. Drummond is, I believe, himself a missionary amongst the poor; but upon what logical grounds he can defend the waste

of time occupied in haranguing absolute stocks and stones, it is difficult to conceive. He does not pretend, and he could not pretend (on the strength of his authority), that any thing short of the direct intervention of Christ could put life into the dead soul. It would be just as reasonable (if we can conceive such an extravagant picture) for birds to exhort trees to take on a higher form of life, or for trees to harangue the overhanging inorganic boulders, and entreat them to take thought how best they might cross the inscrutable gulf fixed between the dead and the living. Thus much for the striking theory of Spiritual Biogenesis.

Death and Eternal Life.—Such being Mr. Drummond's theory of the origin of Spiritual Life, let us briefly note the manner in which he treats of its extinction, or absence (Death), and of its infinite prolongation (Eternal Life).

The scientific definition of Life which Mr. Drummond quotes from Spencer, with approval, is : "The continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations;" and it is only by obtaining a vivid conception of what Science means by Life, that we can hope to realize the conditions of its antithesis, the state of Death.

In Biological language, a living organism is said to be in vital correspondence with its environment. It follows that there are degrees of life to be measured by the amount of the correspondence. As for instance, a tree, though alive, is very much more limited in its power of correspondence than a bird : and a bird again than a man. As soon as an organism is thrown out of correspondence with its environment, it is to that extent dead. A blind man is dead to all the world which corresponds with the organs of sight : a deaf man is dead to all which corresponds with the organs of hearing. From such simple and partially metaphoric illustrations, it must be easily understood that death is occasioned by the failure of any organism to adjust its internal relations to the external relations of its environment. Such a failure may be partial or complete. In the latter case, and speaking of Human Beings, we are confronted with the result popularly called Death. "There is now no correspondence whatever with environment—the thing, for which it is now a thing, is dead." (p. 151.)

This being the Biological explanation of death in the Natural world, and these the terms in which it is described, Mr. Drummond proceeds to examine the parallel phenomenon of "Death in the Spiritual world." The factors here are the same, organism and environment : "The truth to be emphasised resolves itself into this, that Spiritual Death is a want of correspondence between the organism and the spiritual environment." (p. 152.) And here it does at last occur to the author

that the term 'Spiritual environment' demands some further definition. The definition which follows and which occupies pp. 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, is of this nature. Everything which surrounds an organism is its environment. It is immaterial whether or not the organism is conscious of the whole of its environment. The more complex the organism, the more extended are the limits of its environment, and the more in proportion is the region of Death diminished. At the top of the ascending scale is man, who corresponds with the whole environment. The outer circles to which his correspondence extends are to the inhabitants of the innermost circles, as if they were not.

Then, says Mr. Drummond, follows the momentous question : Is man in correspondence with the whole environment ? And his answer is, of course, in the negative. "Of men generally it cannot be said that they are in living contact with that part of the spiritual environment which is called the Spiritual world." (p. 156.) And he defends, what appears to be suspiciously like a *petitio principii*, by declaring that the "Spiritual world" is an essential part of the old idea. The Spiritual world is defined as the outermost segment, circle or circles of the Natural world. "What we have correspondence with we call Natural, what we have little or no correspondence with we call Spiritual."

This, then, is the deliberate and scientific definition of a Spiritual world. It is the outermost circle of correspondence : it is that with which we have *little or no* correspondence. It would appear to be more logical to omit the words "little or" in this definition : and it would then stand "the Spiritual world is that with which we have no correspondence."

For looking at the character of religion in general, there are few religious persons, I think, who would concede that their correspondence with God was something very slight by comparison with their material correspondences. Where there is any supposed or real correspondence with the so-called Spiritual world, those persons who lay claim to it can scarcely define it logically as being a comparatively limited correspondence. Either (which is in fact the case with a vast majority of the human race, if Mr. Drummond's theories are correct) there is absolutely no correspondence with this outermost segment of environment ; or it is a correspondence far more vivid and energising than any which the human organism has with its more generally recognized environments. Whichever alternative Mr. Drummond prefers, it would seem that his definition is faulty. The only meaning which it conveys to my mind, and probably to the minds of most enquiring readers, is that the Spiritual world is a term vaguely applied to what may, or may not, exist, but of which we have no certain common knowledge.

Mr. Drummond popularizes his definition by substituting 'God' for the "outermost circle of environment," and "communion" for "correspondence," and deduces the conclusion that "we can now determine accurately the spiritual relation of "different sections of mankind. *Those who are in communion with God, live : those who are not, are dead.*"

The highest, noblest, purest minds, failing this correspondence, are dead. We do not blame them, says Mr. Drummond: we do not picture them as monsters. The plant is not a monster because it is dead to the voice of the bird, nor is he a monster who is dead to the voice of God. (p. 159.)

He supports this position by alluding to agnostic literature. Deaf, dumb, blind and torpid to the spiritual world the agnostic must be. It is a scientific necessity. The professed nescience of the agnostic is, in Mr. Drummond's eyes, the proof from experience 'that to be carnally minded is Death.'

I feel considerable doubt whether here, as in several other parts of his interesting book, Mr. Drummond is not unconsciously confounding scientific with emotional language. The agnostic's nescience is a very different thing from the recently converted shoemaker's knowledge of God. I do not wish to make a jest of any man's serious convictions: nor is it possible, I believe, to disprove (even were it desirable) purely religious faith. I merely suggest that this "knowledge," which often has its rise in, and is generally warmly colored by, strong emotion, is an altogether different *kind* of possession from that of which the agnostic laments his need.

But here it is most important to grasp thoroughly Mr. Drummond's own conclusions. His theory of spiritual death is a necessary product of his spiritual Biogenesis. From the analogies he uses so pointedly and freely, it is clear that there can be no spiritual correspondence apart from Spiritual Life. And he has already enunciated the uncompromising doctrine that Spiritual Life can be bestowed on man only by the direct action of God and the Son. The enormous majority of the human race must live out their lives utterly unconcerned about correspondences and developments vouchsafed to a chosen few, but in which they, the mass of mankind, cannot, under any circumstances, participate. And this is how the Christian teaching upon this subject is summed up: "We have already admitted that he who knows not God may "not be a monster; we cannot say he will not be a dwarf. "This precisely, and on perfectly natural principles, is what "he must be. You can dwarf a soul just as you can dwarf a "plant, by depriving it of full environment. Its character may "betray no sign of atrophy. But its very virtue somehow

"has the pallor of a flower that is grown in darkness, or as the herb which has never seen the sun : no fragrance breathes from its spirit . . . to science it is an instance of arrested development, to Religion it presents the spectacle of a corpse—a living Death." (p. 173.)

This is a beautiful and striking passage. Let us consider some points in it. Firstly, it seems to imply that those splendid intellects who have every ennobling quality, except Mr. Drummond's Spiritual Life, were in a position to attain that quality also. If the analogy of a dwarfed plant holds good with a dwarfed soul, there must in both be the original principle of Life. But in innumerable instances this common likeness does not exist *Ex hypothesi*, Mr. Drummond must deny that most of the cultured agnostic and sceptic school have ever been organic at all in the spiritual sense. They have been dead all along : as hopelessly dead as the stones in waste places. A more proper comparison from his point of view would have been between the beauties of a crystal and the beauties of a flower. But it is not surprising that he should shrink, when possible, from emphasising the bald horror of his scientific religion. Secondly, it is assuming a great deal too much to say that such intellects present to science instances of arrested development. To Mr. Drummond's science, perhaps : but he has yet to prevail upon the larger science of the world to accept his postulate, that, if there is a Spiritual Life at all, it depends upon a correspondence with the particular and defined God of a particular and comparatively recent Revelation.

Surely we may hope, without irreverence, that men like Huxley, Darwin, Tyndall and Spencer are in as good spiritual case as the scores of illiterate frequenters of every little Bethel, whose spiritual correspondences can only be gauged by their verbal professions and living conduct.

For it is pertinent to enquire, what guarantee we have of this rare and additional correspondence. As I have before observed, we cannot rest satisfied with the mere *ipse dixit* of individuals. If it appeared that every individual who professed to have the Son, lived a life not only better in degree, but distinct in kind, from the life lived by less gifted men and women : if, in fact, we could trace a distinction not less marked than the easily traceable distinction between the organic and the inorganic, we might, and probably should very cheerfully concede to Mr. Drummond the value and significance of his analogies. But all experience is against him here. Taking the rank and file of Christians, men and women who profess to have the Son, and to be in correspondence with the eternal living Father, it may be safely argued that their conduct will

not, throughout any given century of the world's history, contrast, without exception, favorably with the conduct of a similar number of persons who are *ex hypothesi* spiritually dead. At the present day, in spite of brilliant exceptions, Christianity, counts among its followers a most disproportionate number of the uncharitable, the narrow-minded, the bigoted, and the worldly. And although Mr. Drummond would no doubt repudiate these allies with just contempt and wrath, *they* would speak his Shibboleths and profess his creeds with as fluent zeal and apparent sincerity as the purest and most typical examples of the real Christian life. The fact being that, where the criterion on so important a subject as life and death lies in the profession of faith, and is from the very nature of the case outside the province of scientific proof, classifications depending upon it are scarcely likely to command universal confidence. I have permitted myself so much latitude in quotation and commentary, that I must touch very briefly on Mr. Drummond's doctrine of Eternal Life. Summarized in one sentence it is this. 'Given a perfect eternal environment and an organism in perfect correspondence with it, you have Eternal Life. God is the perfect eternal environment, and the souls which he has quickened are the organisms in perfect correspondence with Him. Therefore they have Eternal Life. Of course, if we concede all the conditions and the terms, we cannot very well dispute the conclusion. The three chapters, indeed, read together, amount to an explicit affirmation of the old doctrine of predestination. God first puts his life into the souls of a few chosen people: they may correspond with the outermost segment of environment, *i.e.*, God, a privilege denied absolutely to the rest of the world; and by so doing they attain to Everlasting Life, which is not "living for ever: everlasting or eternal life is *to know*."

I cannot do more than notice, in a few words, the salient features of this long and interesting chapter.

The verdict of science has been given with something like unanimity against that 'bridging of the grave' which is an indispensable condition of eternal life. But science is too moderate and too cautious to indulge in positive denials: the most it will say is that it is *apparently* impossible that the soul and body should continue to exist separately. This is the tiny loophole: the slender permission of which Mr. Drummond promptly avails himself. "A permission to go on," says he, "is often the most that science can grant to religion." This flaw in the materialist argument secures to the spiritualist the right of speculation. But speculation in this field is unsatisfying, and Mr. Drummond almost immediately has recourse to Revelation. "It is not part of the theory of Christianity that thought, volition,

or emotion, as such, are to survive the grave " (p. 226). The doctrine of Revelation is that " he that hath the Son hath Life." This defines the correspondence which is to bridge the grave. There is no attempt here to attach immortality to the old organism. And the logical exigencies of this proposition force the Professor back upon his doctrine of Biogenesis. " As in the Natural so in the Spiritual there is a principle of life." (p. 228). Not only does the principle of Spiritual life determine the spiritual correspondence, but it is a new and divine possession. That is to say no man who hath not the Spiritual life infused into his soul can ever have Eternal Life (which is a Spiritual correspondence), nor can any man have this principle of spiritual life upon whom it has not been specially bestowed by the separate act of God. It is a new and a divine possession. It follows then at once that about 90 per cent of the human race are absolutely beyond the pale of hope so far as Eternal Life is concerned.

Considering the very arbitrary character of the hard and fast lines he has laid down, it is surprising that Mr. Drummond has felt so little compunction concerning the mass of mankind upon whom he has shut the gates of heaven : and it is not less surprising that he should claim so much for the operative efficacy of God's selection, while apparently entirely disregarding the only results by which we can presume to judge its genuineness.

I am therefore pleased to find that, in one passage at least, he seems to have realized, in a vague way, the cogency of this latter requirement. Speaking of environment, he writes : " Much more than shall we look for the influence of environment on the spiritual nature of him who has opened correspondence with God. Reaching out his eager and quickened faculties to the Spiritual world shall he not become spiritual ? In vital contact with Holiness, shall he not become holy ? Breathing now an atmosphere of ineffable purity, shall he miss becoming pure ? Walking with God from day to day shall he fail to be taught of God ? " (p. 242). To all of which impassioned questions the answer is, that certainly we anticipate these results. But, judging by the common examples of Christianity, our anticipations are very far from being fulfilled. And it is just because the consequences appear to flow so necessarily from the predicated causes, that, on observing the entire absence of these consequences, we may, perhaps, be excused doubting whether the causes are real.

Here, though with great reluctance, and a clear consciousness that my subject is far from being exhausted, I must close the book. It is evident that there is more, much more to be said : that I have within the limits of a magazine article barely

been able to sketch the outlines of many important objections, while as many more have been necessarily passed over quite unnoticed. Upon every perusal of these suggestive chapters, new arguments, new lines of criticism, new doubts present themselves with perplexing rapidity. Possibly, and in fact probably, it is the personal distaste which every independent mind must feel to a scheme of religion so narrow and deadening as this, which ought to be held accountable for much of this restless uneasiness and critical activity under the spell of Mr. Drummond's glowing periods. But if we go a little below the surface beauties : if we strip off all the gorgeous phraseology, all the rich tints it owes to Religious enthusiasm, we shall see in Mr. Drummond's scientific religion nothing but a pitiful, cold, inanimate anatomy. For this, in brief, is what his modern Christianity teaches us. The potentiality of religion is not a part of human nature. Before the coming of Christ the whole human race lived and died in the condition, spiritually, of inorganic stones : dead, hopelessly, irretrievably dead. And even since the coming of Christ, perhaps not more than one soul in every two or three millions has been quickened into life at the mere caprice (if one may use such a word in such a context) of the Omnipotent and all Loving God. The remainder of the human race, including the noblest, the bravest, the purest, the most divinely gifted ; poets, philosophers, moralists, artists ; all those lesser, but not colder, hearts, friends and kinsmen, husbands, wives, parents, children, all that we see in humanity to reverence, respect, or love, are dead in our memories, or dying before our eyes, dead and dying from hour to hour, from day to day. For them there is no future : they have not so much as the principle of Spiritual Life, nor, upon a calculation of average probabilities, will each of those upon whom our anxious love centres, ever have it. Mr. Drummond and his few selected spiritual organisms look smiling and complacent on this universal Doom. *They* have the Son, which is Eternal Life. Conduct is of no consequence to these fortunate spirits : with a creed on their lips, and a manual of salvation in their hands, they are to go on developing until they enter into an Eternal Life, which is a correspondence of the intellect with a perfect and eternal environment ! This is no caricature ; it is not even an exaggeration : it is a plain and true statement of the bare and undisguised meaning to be logically extracted from Mr. Drummond's principal dogmas. And since this is so : since in Mr. Drummond's scientific religion, which has captivated so many unscientific Christians, we find the vivifying and attractive graciousness of the church's Gospels transformed into unbending and inhuman laws—rigid bars against which despairing humanity may dash

its passionate protests in vain,—would it not be as well for those who have read and indiscriminately applauded these essays, to reconsider the situation from the point of view which I have suggested? Would they not do well to reflect that, besides the stern texts quoted by Mr. Drummond, Scripture contains other texts upon which the Church has founded a gospel something larger and more human than this? That, besides the sayings which Mr. Drummond has carefully culled to prop his theory, other words have fallen from the lips of Christ, words which through many generations have brought rest to the weary, comfort to the broken hearted, peace to the dying sinner? If Mr. Drummond's gospel be true, it is plainly as idle to talk of aspirations in the direction of Spiritual Life as to talk of stones aspiring to be trees or birds. Viewed in our light, such a creed would necessarily create a purely fatalistic mental attitude: viewed in any light it is a creed that robs the image of Christ of all its human tenderness, all its marvellous attraction, and offers to our astonished eyes a Christ no longer the compassionate Redeemer of the world, but the pillar and peculiar ornament of a Scotch Calvinistic church. It is, I believe, as impossible, as many perhaps feel it to be undesirable, to reduce the essentials of religion to scientific formulæ. During the present generation probably no author better equipped with natural talents and scientific training than Professor Drummond will attempt the task. And it is for thoughtful men and women to decide whether Mr. Drummond's attempt has, in fact, proved the splendid success which so many Christians, in the first burst of enthusiasm, felt and pronounced it to be.

• F. C. O. BEAMAN.

ART. VII.—NOTES OF A HOLIDAY TRIP TO MALDAH AND BIHAR.

MY chief object in writing this article is to induce people to visit some of the many places of interest in Bengal Proper. Globe-trotters naturally only go to the great cities of the North-West, and Calcutta residents generally spend their holidays at a hill-station. Most of them do not know of the existence of places of interest in Bengal. How many, for instance, have, in travelling up the East Indian Railway line, noticed the curious old Mahomedan tower* which becomes visible on the right hand side shortly before reaching Panduah Station? This last vacation, I set off with the intention of seeing four places, Gaur and Panduah in northern Bengal, and Sasseram and Rohtas in south Bihar.

Gaur and Panduah are both situated in the district of Maldah, and are about twenty miles apart. Angrezabad, or English Bazaar, is the head-quarters of the Maldah district, and is commonly known as Maldah. It is a convenient place to visit Gaur and Panduah from, as it lies between the two, Gaur being about nine miles to the south of Maldah, and Panduah about eleven miles to the north-east. Unfortunately, it has no dak bungalow. The best route from Calcutta is by Rajmahal, though there is another way by Rampore Bauleah, whence there is a steamer to Maldah. The traveller takes the loop-line to Tin Pahar, and there changes to a branch which brings him in half an hour to Rajmahal. Formerly the crossing of the Ganges was a work of time and even danger, but now, thanks chiefly to Mr. Samuells, the Magistrate of Maldah, there is a steam ferry. The steamer crosses twice a day, and if the traveller be in a hurry, and arrive at a fortunate time, say at dawn, he can go over at once. Otherwise he may repair to the dak bungalow. The distance from Rajmahal to Maldah is 24 miles, including the river. From Manik Chuck outpost, where the high land begins on the other side, the distance is 18 miles. The traveller must do this by palki, or bullock cart, and must arrange

* This tower is much larger in circumference than the two towers or minarets in the Maldah district, and is considerably more ornamental. It has five storeys, and each of the upper four is built with convex flutes, like those of the Delhi Kutub. It surely was intended as an imitation in brick of that structure. This would agree with the tradition, that it was built by a scion of the Delhi royal family, Saifuddin, the sister's son of Firoz Shah Toghluk. General Cunningham gives the height as 125 feet, but the sixth story or pinnacle was shaken down by an earthquake a few years ago, and so its height is probably now about 116 feet.

beforehand with the Magistrate of Maldah for carriage, otherwise he will find himself landed on a chur, and without the means of getting any further. Rajmahal is an interesting place, and may well occupy a few hours of the traveller's time. Its original name was Agmahal, and it became known as Rajmahal when it was made the capital of Bengal. Mahomedan writers often call it Akbarnagar, after the great Akbar. In the last century and even later, Rajmahal was full of interesting ruins, and Buchanan has a good deal to say about them in the 2nd volume of, "Eastern India," pp. 67, 68. Most of them have now disappeared. Only a small portion of the Sangi Dalan, or Stone Palace, of Shah Sujah now remains.* It occupies a fine position on the banks of the river, and has some basalt pillars. A lofty mosque, which was perhaps built by Futeh Jung Khan, has been converted into the charitable dispensary—a change only to be regretted, because it has necessitated the partitioning of the interior. The subdivisional Court-house is justly praised in Murray's hand-book. It is a handsome building, and has a splendid site on the high bank of the Ganges. I did not see the buildings called the Hadaf, and which are said to have been Man Singh's residence. They are about four miles from Rajmahal, and the road is bad. It appears that some of the buildings there have inscriptions on them, and it is to be hoped that somebody will take rubbings of them, if the Archæological department has not done so already.† Six miles south of Rajmahal is Udhwa, or Udhainala, where Mir Qasim's troops were defeated by Major Adams in August 1763. There are some stone quarries there, and the resident manager has a collection of guns and shells gathered from the field of battle. Buchanan tells us, that Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar, was buried in Rajmahal, after he was killed by lightning in Bettiah.‡ It was to Rajmahal that Sirajuddaulah was brought after his capture, and tradition points out the place where he was caught. It is the village of Shahpur, on the opposite side of the river near Barail, and on the east of the Kalindri. It is not clear why Sirajuddaulah went there, unless he crossed over in order to avoid Rajmahal, where Mir Jaffar's brother, Mir Daud, was governor. He may, however, have been obliged, on account of the strength of the current (it was the rainy season), to leave the main stream and go up the Kosi. Shahpur lies N. E. from Rajmahal and a long way from it, and one might say, that if Sirajuddaulah went there and stayed long

* There is a beautiful basalt pillar from Rajmahal in the Indian Museum.

† Perhaps they are those given by Blochmann, J.A.S.B., XLIV, 301.

‡ The Seir Mutakherin says, that the body was brought down in a boat, apparently in order to be buried at Murshidabad, but it became so offensive that they had to land and bury it at Rajmahal.

enough for news to be sent across to Rajmahal, and for the fetching of troops, he deserved to be caught. He was on his way to join Law, who was marching down from Bhagulpore, but neither of them had the energy of Coote. Law halted at Teliagarhi Pass, and Sirajuddaulah at Shahpur. Orme says that, if Law had only marched twenty miles further, he would probably have saved Sirajuddaulah. *Orme's knowledge, however, was not exact, for he writes of Sirajuddaulah's being arrested in a deserted garden at Rajmahal. Clive said much the same thing. It is the Seir Mutakherin which mentions that Sirajuddaulah was caught on the Maldah side of the river. Shahpur probably owes its name to Shah Dana, the faqir who is said to have betrayed Sirajuddaulah. His tomb and shrine are still in existence at Shahpur. Before I leave this subject, I would recall to my readers' memories the energy and determination of Coote (afterwards Sir Eyre Coote), who marched in the month of July from Rajmahal to Patna, a distance of 201 miles, in eleven days and a half, and all but caught M. Law. I would also put in a word for the unfortunate Sirajuddaulah. He was, after all, only a boy, and a boy who had been spoilt by a doting grandsire. It is generally alleged that he was a habitual drunkard, and Macaulay speaks of his sleeping off his debauch on the morning after the Black Hole. But Scrafton, who knew Sirajuddaulah well, and had no liking for him, tells us (letter II, p. 50) that Sirajuddaulah promised his grandfather, when the latter was on his deathbed, that he would never again touch intoxicating liquor, and that he strictly observed his promise.

English Bazaar, or Maldah proper, is situated on the right bank of the Mahananda (the Mahanadi which we meet beyond Siliguri). It is an old English settlement, though Maldah as a district is of recent creation. It was visited by Hedges, who calls it Englesavad, in May 1683. (Diary I, 87). In 1771 Mr. Thomas Henchman was Commercial Resident and erected a fort, which still exists, and in which the Magistrate's cutcherry is placed. Mr. Henchman afterwards took part in establishing the Kidderpur Orphanage, and his portrait by Chinnery, dated 1786, now hangs in Kidderpore House.

Until recent times, there was a fine house near Maldah, called Singhitollah. This was an Indigo Factory, and in 1787, it was under the charge of George Udny, so well known for his kindness to the early Baptist Missionaries. Udny was also a patron of Persian literature, and Gholam Hoosein, the author of the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*,* was his dāk Munshi, and

* The *Riyaz* is now being published by the Asiatic Society.

wrote his history at Udny's* request. I am glad to say that a kind of spiritual descendant of Gholam Hoosein, that is, Munshi Elahi Bux, the pupil of Gholam Hoosein's pupil, has made a study of Gaur and its history, and that there is a likelihood of his work being published by the Asiatic Society. The neighbourhood of Maldah is very fertile. Nowhere have I seen finer trees. *The mango trees in the station are magnificent, and so are the tamarind trees and the pipals. It is interesting to notice the care taken of the mango gardens, the platforms supporting the grafts, &c. ; the mulberry cultivation is also a very pretty one. The environs are remarkable for the causeways made by the former kings of Gaur; one very fine one, which was probably made by Gyassuddin, is to be seen on the Rajmahal road about a mile out from Maldah. A place near this, known as the Baghbari, is pointed out as the site of Ballal Sen's palace, and is so marked in the map in Ravenshaw's Gaur. But according to the local historian, the old Hindu city lies further to the north, near the village of Katwali, two or three miles west of old Maldah. Perhaps both identifications are right, Adisur's palace having been at Katwali and Ballal Sen, his successor's, at Baghbari. This is Buchanan's account III, 72'.

The first place I visited was old Maldah. This never was an English settlement, but in Hedges' time, the Dutch had a settlement there. (I, 89) Old Maldah stands on the Mahananda, opposite its confluence with the Kalindri, and not at the confluence, as stated in the Statistical Account. It contains some interesting ruins, especially a mosque with a fine doorway of black basalt, built in 1566, and a Sarai. Maldah was evidently the port of Panduah, and on the opposite side, at the place called Nima Sarai, there stands a curious tower with an inside staircase. It is of brick, but is stuck over with stone projections resembling elephant tusks or antelopes' horns. They were probably inserted only for ornament, and may remind us of the antelope horns which Akbar placed on his mileposts on the road to Ajmir. I have seen an ornamentation like this on a gateway at Lucknow. One ingenious suggestion made was, that the projections were intended for pigeons to rest upon! The tower has partly fallen down. It was probably a watch tower, and not a minaret, for there is no mosque near at hand. Perhaps, when the tower was entire, the Sangidalan at Rajmahal could be seen from it, but the tower is probably a good deal the older of the two.

* Udny died in Calcutta on 1830 at the age of 70. See Bengal Obituary, p. 43.

I paid two visits to Gaur.* On the first occasion, I went to Sadulapur, and saw on the way the famous Sagar Dighi. It is a magnificent sheet of water, nearly a mile in length, but it is difficult to get a complete view of it, for its banks are covered with jungle. The ghats, or bathing stairs have all disappeared. It is worth noting that a village on the east bank is called Kanchanshahar. Possibly, this has a connection with Raja Káns, or Káns. To the N. W. of the tank there are the tomb of Makhдум Shah and the Jhanjhanía mosque. The former has an endowment, but the roof has been allowed to fall in, and two or three inscriptions are lying about in the enclosure. There is a curious discrepancy about the name of the mosque. Ravenshaw calls it the Jan Jan Miyan mosque, and says it was built by a lady of that name. But it is hardly a woman's name, and Munshi Elahi Baksh assures me that the inscription says nothing about a lady, and that the mosque was built by one of the kings in 1534. He says that it is locally called the Jhanjhanía mosque, *i. e.*, the jingling mosque, because the floor emits a tinkling sound when struck. People think, on this account, that there is treasure buried in the mosque, and it is said that the inscription contains the phrase Bait-ul-mal, or treasury. It is worth noting, that Colonel Franklin's transcript of the inscription does not contain any reference to the mosque having been built by a lady. It is probable, however, that the inscription in Ravenshaw's book is right, for it is the reading of Mr. Blochmann, J.A.S.B., XLI, 339.

The Bhagirathi at Sadulapur, where the Hindoos bathe, and where they burn their dead, is a narrow stream, and nearly dry in the hot weather. It is the old bed of the Ganges, and so is revered by the people in the same way as Tolly's Nallah is regarded as the Adhi Ganga. While in this neighbourhood, I got some particulars about Tandah, or Tarrah. The Statistical Account speaks of its site as not being accurately known. There seems, however, to be no doubt of its location, though it was washed away by the Pagla about twenty years ago. It lay west of the Bhagirathi. Major Rennel mentions it in his Memoir, pp. 55 and 56, and says, that it is situated very near to Gaur, and on the road leading from it to Rajmahal. He adds that little remains of it except the rampart, and that it is sometimes called Khawaspur Tanda.† He also marks it in his Atlas, Plafe XV, under the

* Humayun changed the name of the city to Jannatabad, because Gor means a grave in Persian.

† Khaspur Tanda is mentioned in the Ain I, 348, as a dependency of Jaupur. Tanda is also called Oodnir at p. 394 of the same work. Probably Khawaspur is the right name, and is derived from Khawas Khan, a famous Afghan Chief, *vide* Elliot, IV, 528.

name of Tarrah, a little S. W. of Gaur. Natives know the place by the name of Sayidpūr Tarrah. Probably the difficulty that some have felt in getting information about the place arose from their asking for Tanda. The word is locally pronounced Tarrah, just as Panduah is locally pronounced Paruah. My informant told me that Tarrah was once a very great place, and had 384 *palki-nishins* (carriage people) living in it. Sulaiman Kararani made it his capital, and it was in Tanda that the troops mutinied, and killed Muzaffar Khan in Akbar's time.

On my second visit to Gaur, I entered from the north-east. Nothing struck me more on entering the entrenchment than the extent to which the interior was cultivated. The old accounts about the desolation of Gaur, and its being the abode only of wild beasts are no longer applicable. I saw no tigers, pythons, or pelicans, but only numbers of ryots ploughing their lands. The first noteworthy place that we came to was the Piyasbari tank. This is a large and beautiful tank, and its banks have all been cleared of jungle by the Sonthals. Buchanan (III. 77) speaks of the tank as containing very bad brackish water, but Colonel Franklin described the water as excellent, and I can testify from personal experience, that this is correct. Abul Fazl (*Ain Akbari* I, 390) tells a story about there being a building here, and a *hawz*, or reservoir, of which the water was so noxious, that criminals were made to drink it, and so put to death. But if by the word *hawz* Abul Fazl meant the Piyasbari tank, he must have been much deceived. If criminals died there at all, it must have been from their not being allowed to drink the Piyasbari water, and not from their drinking it. From Piyasbari I went by the site of the Ramkhel Fair to the Golden Mosque. I of course have no intention of giving a full description of Gaur. I shall only note what I have not seen mentioned elsewhere. Those who wish to know all about Gaur must study Creighton, Ravenshaw, and the Report of the Archaeological Survey, Vol. XV. I ascended the Pir Asa Minar, and, as my friend Mr. Samuells had told me, I saw the name H. Creighton cut on a brick and the dates 1786-90. The inscription is near the top of the stair, and on the right hand side. Poor Creighton deserved to have his name here. He seems to have lived in Gaur as manager of the Goamalty Indigo Factory for about twenty years. He died in 1807, and is buried at Berhampore.* I saw the Kadam Rasul mosque, but unfortunately the impression of the Prophet's foot was

*Mr. Westmacott, J.A.S.B., Vol. 43, p. 299, says that three of Creighton's children are buried at Goamalty under the dates 1800 and

stolen some 2 or 3 years ago, and has not yet been recovered. This is the second or third time that it has been carried away. Perhaps, some Wahabi fanatic has done this. As has been pointed out by Mr. Blochmann, the inscription on this mosque is published in Glazier's report on Rungpore. In the same book, p. 107, Appendix A, will be found an account of Gaur generally, as it appeared in the last century. A friend has pointed out to me that there is another account, a century earlier, by Hedges in his diary (recently published by the Hakluyt Society) p. 89.—“ May 16th (1683) —I went to see the famous ruins of a great city and palace of Gaur. 'Tis about 12 miles distant from the English Factory (English Bazaar) towards Qasimbazaar. We set out at 5 A.M. and got to the place at 8-15. We spent 3½ hours in seeing the ruins, especially of the palace, which has been (as appears by the gates of it yet standing) in my judgment, considerably bigger and more beautiful than the Grand Signior's Scraglio at Constantinople, or any other palace that I have seen in Europe. The building was chiefly of brick; the arches of the gates and many other places were of black marble, and other black hard stones to supply the want of it, which is exceeding rare

1802. I am indebted to Mr. Page, the Judge of Murshidabad, for the following inscription:—

“ SACRED
To the Memory of
HENRY CREIGHTON, ESQ.,
of Goamalty.
Ob. 2nd of October 1807,
Æt: 44 years.
In the Spirit of Christian love
he was the first institutor of native schools
for instructing the children of the poor
in their own languages
* as a means of diffusing among them useful tracts;
and thereby an extensive district
was comparatively enlightened and civilized
and prepared for advancement to higher degrees
of moral instruction, and European improvement.

Ps. 37. 37.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end
of that man is peace.”

Nothing is said here about Creighton's work on Gaur. It was not published in England till some years after his death. Buchanan, III, 71 speaks of an earlier publication in Calcutta by Moffat, but I have never seen this. The English edition seems to have been published by Mr. Charles Wilkins, (Stewart, §5 note.) Henry Martyn visited Goamalti in 1806 and baptised one of Creighton's children. He mentions a school, but it is characteristic of him that he does not say a word about Gaur.

and difficult to procure in this kingdom, there being not so much as one stone so big as a man's fist to be seen in this country nearer than Rajamahā. At 12 o'clock we repaired to a garden within a mile of the ruins, where we reposed ourselves and servants till 5 at night, and then returned to the Factory extremely well satisfied with our diversion. We were in all, besides myself and my wife, Mr. Samuel Hervy, Mr. Joseph Dodd, Mr. William Johnson, my nephew Robert Hedges, Mr. William Rushworth, and Mr. William Jolland." "Probably this is the first time that Gaur was visited by an English lady. Mrs. Hedges was a Miss Susannah Vanacker, of Erith in Kent. She did not long survive the Gaur expedition, for she died in child-bed at Hooghly on 6th July 1683. Her husband brought home her bones, as well as those of her infant son "*sumptu modico, affectu autem magno*" and buried them at Stratton St. Margaret's in Wiltshire in 1687. On his way to Maldah, Hedges passed a place called Buglagotte, where a great battle was fought between Shah Suja and the troops of Aurangzib. This may be Bholahát,* but if so, the account does not agree with Stewart, who says, p. 271, that the great and final battle between Suja and Mir Jumla was fought near Tanda (A. D. 1660). If Hedges came by Tanda, he can hardly have come by the Mahananda, or reached Maldah by boat.

I think that what I admired most in Gaur, was the Bais Gazi, or twenty-two yards high wall. It really is only forty-two feet high, but it looks very imposing, and there were beautiful flowers growing in the crevices. Inside of it, I found ryots ploughing in what must have been the very arcana of the palace. On this side the wall has recesses, or alcoves, as if for lamps. The whole place was covered with broken bricks, with potsherds, bits of china, &c. A tank was pointed out to me as the Mint Tank, and a mosque near it was called the Khazanchi's mosque. This is a different Mint tank from that mentioned in Ravenshaw, p. 39.

The fine Kotwali gate at the South end has partially fallen down. The Lattan mosque is rather a melancholy object. It was meant to look gay and bright, but is now taken possession of by bats, and is a good deal dilapidated. Perhaps its proper name is Nattan mosque, for it was probably built by a dancing girl, or nattan.

Now that Gaur has been cleared of jungle, and that more visitors are likely to visit the ruins, it is to be hoped that Government will take steps to preserve the buildings from further injury. A custodian and guide should be appointed,

* More probably Boglamárf opposite Roanpur.

and a rest house, or dāk bungalow, should be constructed. Gaur has suffered terribly from the hand of the spoiler. In later Mahomedan times, as we learn from the 5th Report, p. 285, not only did the Nawabs of Murshidabad take away bricks from Gaur, but they charged the zamindars with the cost of the carriage; the abwāb kimat khishit Gaur (price of the bricks of Gaur) amounted, according to Grant's Analysis, to Rs. 8,000 a year. But perhaps the Calcutta undertakers were even more destructive. Buchanan talks feelingly of their "fangs." * Panduah was the next place I visited. The ruins there are finer than those at Gaur, and, curious to say, they are a good deal older. There does not seem to be any building or inscription now in Gaur, which is not about a hundred and fifty years later than the Adinah Mosque at Panduah.† There is, however, an inscription in the Indian Museum which came from Gaur, and is as early as 1235 (Archæological Survey, XV, 45). The route to Panduah from English Bazaar lies through Nima Sarai, and old Maldah. Visitors will probably go on in the first instance to the Adinah Mosque, which is two miles beyond the other buildings. This immense mosque is now fully visible. The Archæological Department has cleared away the jungle from the ruins, and the Sonthals have cleared the surrounding country, so that things are very different from what they were when Ravenshaw took his photographs. He writes at p. 44, "The whole place is now deserted, and the public road passes through a country even more impracticable than Gaur. The dense forest on both sides is so infested with tigers, that single travellers never venture on the road at night." And he adds that, though 200 men were employed to clear the jungle, he could not get a general view of the mosque. Now, however, there is nothing to obstruct the view. The long line of building stands fully exposed only a few yards from the public road. It is, however, so much dilapidated that its appearance has not a fine effect.‡ It is not till we enter and see the beautiful carving and the pillars of the Badshah ka Takht, that we begin to admire. Ravenshaw's photographs give a good idea of the beauty of the prayer-niche, &c. But there is one doorway on the outside which he has not noticed, in the carving of which the sinuous line of

* General Stuart's, commonly called Hindu Stuart, tomb in Park Street cemetery, is adorned with many Hindu figures. Can these have come from Gaur?

† Perhaps the oldest building now in Gaur is the Pir Asa tower, which seems to have been built about 1494, by an Abyssinian king.

‡ General Cunningham speaks very disrespectfully of this mosque, and says, it is little better than a gigantic barn. Perhaps it looked better when the jungle made "old bareness picturesque."

a snake's back has been very well imitated. The mosque was built by Sikandar Shah. There is an inscription over a door on the west side which commemorates the fact, and gives the date. It is beautifully cut, and, for a Tughra inscription, is remarkably legible. It is also near the ground, and it is well placed for being read. Yet there has been great discrepancy in the reading of the date. Buchanan, II, 653 and 617, gives the date 707, and this undoubtedly seems to be what is written on the stone; but then this date is irreconcilable with the chronology of Sikandar's reign. 707 Hijra corresponds to 1308, and from coins, &c., it appears that Sikandar did not begin to reign till about fifty years later. Gholam Hoosain, in the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, gives 766 as the date, and Stewart, who generally follows him, gives 763. Munshi Elahi Baksh reads the date as 776, and Mr. Blochmann reads it as 770. The final six in two of these readings is obtained by making the 6 of the inscription refer to the year, and not to the month (Rajab), as Mr. Blochmann has done. His 770 may be correct, but it is certain that in the original, the Arabic numeral is seven, and not seventy. This may be seen by referring to the facsimile at Plate 45. No. 1, in Ravenshaw, which shows that the *nun*, or final *n*, of *subūʿin* does not exist, though it appears in the inscription as copied at p. 62. Mr. Blochmann suggested to Munshi Elahi Baksh, that the *nun* might have been omitted by the stone cutter for want of space, but in fact there was no want of room. Or it may be one of the instances of the grammatical mistakes which, according to Mr. Blochmann, abound in the Bengal Arabic inscriptions. He says, that among other mistakes, the inscriptions often contain wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals.*

It is stated in Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, that the dimensions of the Adinah Mosque are exactly similar to those of the mosque at Damascus, but the measurements he gives show that they are not identical in size, and that there is no reason to suppose that one is copied from the other. There is also an Adinah (Friday) mosque at Jaunpur. †

* The chronology of Sikandar's reign is not settled yet; he probably reigned many years, for he had 17 sons by one wife. He was killed at Gawalpara in the Dacca district, fighting with his son Gyassuddin, and according to local tradition, he is buried there, and not in the Adinah Mosque, where however his tomb exists.

† The mosque at Panduah in Hooghly (west of the old tower) is externally very like the Adinah Mosque of Sikandar Shah, but is less than half as long. In a note to Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 66, Colonel Franklin is quoted as describing a singular ornament like a funereal urn, of an antique fashion, under the pulpit of the Adinah. I did not see this, and perhaps the stone has been removed, but it is remarkable that two funereal urns are sculptured in granite on the door of the building at Panduah in Hooghly,

About a mile to the eastward there are the ruins of Sataisghar* which is said to have been Sikandar's palace. Sataisghar would mean 27 houses or rooms, but according to some, the name is Sathghar, or Sathgharra, which might mean the sixty houses or rooms. The name seems to resemble the Chattishgarh of the Central Provinces. Ravenshaw speaks of Sataisghar as being in the heart of a forest, but now the place is cleared and cultivated. Field after field is covered with bricks and other debris. There is a large and beautiful tank here, which goes by the name of the Nasisa dighi (perhaps Nasir Shah, who reigned in the beginning of the 16th century).† At the north end of the tank there are a number of arches, &c., which are apparently the remains of a bath. I also saw a large and old well, like that at Mahasthan in the Bogra district, and I found a stone with a Hindu figure, a dwarfpal, or door-keeper, carved on it. Coming back to Punduah, we find the so-called Eklakhi Mosque. This is really a tomb, and probably contains the graves of Jalalluddin and his wife and son. Ravenshaw calls it the tomb of Sultan Gyassuddin, but Gyassuddin's tomb is at Sunargaon, as Dr. Wise's paper (J.A.S.B., XLIII) shows.‡ Gholam Mooscin says that it is Jalalludin's tomb. The dome is large and handsome, but perhaps two such domes might be placed under the immense one at Sasseram. Jalalluddin was originally a Hindu, and was the son of Raja Káns, who is by far the most interesting figure of those old times. Unfortunately we have very few details of Raja Kans. Even his

which the people there called the Singh darwaza, and which they said was part of the Pandab Rajah's palace. This surely shows a connection between the two places, and may it not be the case, as I was told on the spot, that the Panduah in Hooghly is the older of the two? So far as I know, the inscription in the Tughra character over the door in the wall surrounding Safiuddin's tomb, has not been copied or translated. It is at present covered with whitewash. Blochmann, *Proceedings A.S.B.* for 1870, p. 122, and *J.A.S.B.*, XXXIX, 302, does not mention it; and the inscription which General Cunningham gives as being from the tomb, *Archaeological Survey*, xv, 125, is that inside the mosque, west of Makhdum Nur's tomb, and not from Safiuddin's tomb, or Astanah. See Blochmann's *J.A.S.B.* XXXIX, 302. I may note here that there are some curious iron bars in the Hooghly Panduah, and that two of them are in position and are placed under the lintels in the Singh darwaza.

* Buchanan writes Sataisghar, or the 60 towers, but Satais does not mean 60, and seems a corruption of Satais (27).

† Or he may be the Nasir Shah, who reigned from 1426-57 and built the fortifications round Gaur.

‡ Gyassuddin appears to have been a very active-minded prince. He corresponded with Hafiz, and sent an embassy to China. General Cunningham has pointed out from the Chinese annals translated by Pauthier, that he probably reigned some years later than the period mentioned by Mahomedan historians. See Pauthier's *Examen*, Paris, 1840.

name has not been ascertained. According to one account it is Káns, according to another, Kons, according to Stewart it is Kanis; according to Buchanan (II. 618) and Mr. Westmacott, his real name is Ganes; and according to an old book which Munshi Elahi Baksh showed me, and which was called Sabat Kulsi, or Babat Kulsi, the name was Kánsí Rai. But whatever his name, it is certain that he must have been an able and masterful man to have broken the power of the Mahomedans, and to have ruled over them for several years. He reminds one of the exploits of Hemu in the time of Humayun and Akbar. The Riyaz speaks badly of him, but this is probably only Mahomedan prejudice. He was originally zemindar of Bhituriah (or Bathuriah), which is entered in Grant's Analysis as a division of Ghoraghat; it also appears in Rennel's Atlas. It is very strange that no Hindu writer has told us anything about this prince, who surely deserved to be remembered by the Hindus.* South from Gaur there is a village called Kánsát, which possibly may be named after him. Raja Kans' son became a Mahomedan, and naturally he was a very bigoted one and a persecutor.

The Sona Masjid has now been cleared of jungle, and is to my thinking a very handsome mosque. It has the peculiarity of being chiefly made of granite; there seems to be no basalt in it. The granite is not all of the same kind. A red variety is used for at least one pillar, and it would be interesting to know where it came from. At the south entrance to Panduah, on the east side of the road, we have the Baishhazari, or 22,000 bighas endowment of Makhdum Shah. The buildings are a little way off the road, and are remarkable for a beautiful window. It is of black stones (basalt?) and perforated in squares. The existence of this window was, I believe, first noticed by Mrs. Colquhoun Grant. It lights the chilla, or cell, of a Mahomedan saint.

Before leaving the subject of Gaur and Panduah, I may notice that Colonel Franklin visited Gaur in 1810 and made drawings of the ruins, &c. These are, in the India Office at home, and it is a great pity that they have not yet been published. Mr. Grote states that Franklin was Regulating Officer at Bhaugulpore in 1810. This post was the charge of the military pensioners, for, in the Bhaugulpore graveyard there is a monument to a Colonel Hutchinson who was "for

* Perhaps the Jaunpúr Chronicle referred to in an article in this Review, Vol. XLI, p. 114, might throw some light on Raja Káns, for Ibrahim Sharki made war upon him. Mr. Westmacott's article is in Vol. LV. of this Review, p. 205. Mr. Blochmann supposes that Káns ruled in the name of Bayazid Shah. He also thinks that the name of the Rajshahye district refers to him. He was the Rajah who was a Sháh.

many years Regulating Officer of the invalid Jaghirdar institution; his constitution being destroyed by unwearied exertions for the benefit and prosperity of the old soldiers and their families, he departed this life on the 18th May 1801, in the 50th year of his age, sincerely regretted." Franklin was at Bhaugulpore when Bishop Heber visited that station, and the good Bishop describes him as a very agreeable and communicative old man. He is the biographer of George Thomas. In 1827 he was in London, and published there a book on the Jains and Buddhists.

Gaur and Panduah are certainly somewhat melancholy and depressing places.

Men are we, and must grieve when even the Shade
Of that which once was great, is passed away.

The ruins have been ruthlessly dealt with, and are now more interesting for their antiquity, and on historical grounds, than for their beauty. Yet the dying out of the Mahomedan kings of Bengal does not seem to be a matter for regret. Many of them were cruel tyrants, and were more really the wild beasts of Gaur than were the tigers and alligators of later times. It is doubtful if in its palmyest days Gaur was ever so beautiful as it now is in the cold season. The waters of the Sagor Dighi are blue and sparkling as ever, and in winter the country is gay with mustard flowers, and redolent of their fragrance. Later on, the place becomes gorgeous with the blood-red blossoms of the cotton tree.

From Maldah I went to Colgong, Bhaugulpore and Monghyr. Travellers from Calcutta miss a great deal by using only the Chord Line. The Loop Line follows the course of the Ganges, and nearly every station possesses something interesting or beautiful. When I was at Bhaugulpore and had seen the public garden with its gigantic baobab tree, Cleveland's house, &c., I asked my driver what else there was to visit. The "Cintral Jail" was what he suggested, but the dâk bungalow Khansamah had the happier thought of the subterranean passages at Mayaganj. They are certainly very remarkable, and General Cunningham tells us that he visited Bhaugulpore purposely to see them. Of modern improvements what pleased me most was the water taps by the side of the streets. Bhaugulpore and Dacca are now far ahead of Patna in the matter of water-supply. In the graveyard at Bhaugulpore there is a monument to a Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dow, who was, I presume, the hisorian, or rather translator from Ferishta. The date on the tomb is 31st July 1779.

Monghyr is a charming residence, and it is perhaps strange that it is so little visited. Warren Hastings came to Monghyr,

and in one of his letters he speaks of the delightful change in the atmosphere from that of Bengal. Ellis of Patna complained against Mir Qasim for harbouring deserters; but Hastings declined to look for them, saying that he would as soon hope to find a stray pebble in the surrounding mountains as a deserter in a place like Monghyr—a remark which any one who knows the size of the fort would readily endorse.

Few things are more beautiful or impressive than to sit in a moonlight night on one of the bastions and listen to the Ganges lapping against the foot of the rampart. The great river still flows quietly on, careless whether she be crowded with shipping, or is, as she has now become, an almost deserted highway. But how many stirring events have taken place at this promontory since the day when Sita landed at the Kashtaharani Ghat close by, and went to meet her doom at Sitakund! Hindus, Buddhists, Mahomedans, and Christians have successively come here, and erected their places of worship, and now all have more or less passed away. It was here that Todar Mall contended with the rebels against Akbar. It was here that Ellis and his companions were brought after the disaster at Manjhi, and before they were taken back to Patna to be massacred. It was from a bastion of the fort, it is said,* that the Set and his faithful servant were flung into the river. It was from the Patna Gate that Mir Qasim's wife and a huge train of followers set out for Rohtas when the news came of the defeat at Gheriah. Sitakund is four miles off. Nothing can destroy the beauty of the legend of Sita, nor can the troops of beggar Brahmans altogether vulgarise Sitakund, or make it cease to be a wonderful sight. The vigorous uprush of the hot spring, and the large and beautiful pool of limpid water, must always be a joy to look at. At Pir Pabar, near this, there is a tomb erected by a Colonel Beckett to his Cashmerian wife, which has the uncommon and not unaffecting inscription, "Be still, she sleeps."

In the old Monghyr graveyard there is a monument to a Captain John Williams, who, I suppose, was the author of the history of the native infantry. He is described as having commanded the Invalid Battalion of the garrison for many

* The Ser says that the Sets were killed at Barh, and this I believe to be correct, but Haji Mustapha, the translator, says, II. 281, note, that "out of 10,000 boatmen that pass every year by a certain tower of the castle of Monghyr, there is not a man but will point it out as the spot where the two Jagat Seths were drowned, nor is there an old woman of Monghyr but will report the speech of the heroic Chuni to his master's executioners." Chuni was the Sets' servant and insisted on being drowned with them, (see the same volume, p. 268, note). At all events it would appear that the unfortunate Ram Narain, the Governor of Patna, was drowned in the Ganges.

years, and as having died on board the Hon'ble E. I. Company's ship *Northumberland*, near the Western Islands, on 20th June 1809, aged 68. There is also the tomb of a Miss Margaret Tylter, who seems to have been the daughter of the Dr. Tylter, who found the now remarkable statues now standing in the Indian Museum. It was probably this lady who presented a number of specimens of handicrafts to the Asiatic Society.

From Monghyr I went on to Arrah. In the public garden here there is a statue of Ban Asur, which was removed from the village of Masar some years ago. It is described and figured in Buchanan I, 414. I arrived at Arrah this time at 2 A.M., and found that there was no steamer going to Dehri that day. A gharrywan relieved me of embarrassment by offering to drive me to Sasseram with one pair of horses. I thought the distance too great for one pair, for the distance is 25 coss or 62 miles (the coss is more than two miles), but the man said that he had often taken an Arrah pleader. We therefore started at 2-30 A.M., and the driver was even better than his word, for he said he would convey me by 6 P.M., and he really did so by 2-30.* On the same evening Mr. Mackertich, the subdivisional officer, kindly took me to Sher Shah's tomb, and then to that of his son Islam. Sher Shah's tomb is a great and imposing building. The approach to it has lately been improved by the municipality, and the tank in which the mausoleum stands is now filled with beautiful water from the canal. The place is therefore seen to much more advantage than in Buchanan's time, when the tank was "very dirty," or when it was visited by Bhola Nath Chander. Sher Shah's tomb has always been a famous object, and in the last century, Law, the Collector of Behar, and known locally as Hoshiyar Jung, recorded his admiration in some rather stilted lines which were published in the 'Asiatic Miscellany.' In the evening I left Sasseram by palki. I did not know then that it could boast of an Asoka inscription. It is in the Chandan Shahid hill, and is described by Cunningham in the *Corpus Inscript. Ind.*, and by Senart. Rohtas is some 26 miles from Sasseram. We reached Akbar-pore, at its foot, at dawn, and I immediately went up the hill. The road up reminds one of that to Sepchal from Jore Bungalow. It is a bit of a climb, but the longest walk is after one has reached the plateau. Man Singh's palace is the place chiefly visited, but, except for the elephants sculptured at the gate (hence called the *Hathipol*), it did not interest me much. A waterfall tumbling over a lofty cliff was much more beautiful, and the old temple called Rohitashan is far more worth seeing

* After thirty hours' halt, the same horses brought me back to Arrah in twelve hours.

than the palace. The temple stands on a pinnacle of the Rohtas hill, and commands a magnificent view of the valleys of the Sone and Koel and of the junction of the two rivers. Looking at the site of this temple, one would gladly believe that it was originally dedicated to the sun, and that the headless bull and the lingam lying in front are subsequent additions. Rohtas, it is said, is really Rohitaswa, or he whose horses are red, and so might be a name of the sun. The temple is approached by a magnificent stair, made of eighty-two stone steps. The hills to the south and east were pointed out to me as thoses of Lantern-gunge (Daltongunge)—so soon do names get corrupted. On the other side of Rohtas there is a glen, called the Kauriyari, about which a romantic story is told. The princess of Rohtas, it is said, was a lady so pure and ethereal, that every morning she stood upon the floating leaf of a lotus, and poured water over her head from a pot that had not been touched by fire. One morning, however, she found herself sinking. Much alarmed, she went and asked her husband what he had done to make her to be no longer upborne by her virtue. He replied that he had done nothing wrong; he had merely resolved to have a census of his people, and so had bidden each man bring a cowri and place it in a heap. But his subjects, misunderstanding his object had each brought a cowri made of gold. He showed the heap to the princess who at once ordered it to be thrown into the glen. Hence the name. Perhaps this is the eastern version of the story of lady Godiva. There is an interesting article, called *Chronicles of Rohtas*, in the number of this Review for April 1878, and in it a baiga or hillman is described as picking up two pebbles from an adjacent heap and throwing them down into a dark glen as a homage to the spirits. Probably this is the Kauriyari. The author of this article was, I believe, Mr. Reade, an indigo-planter, who recently died at Sasseram. He refers in it to a Mr. Campbell, who was killed by a tiger at Rohtas in May 1873, and who now sleeps at the foot of the cliffs. Another victim to tiger-hunting, Mr. Langden of Nowadi, lies in the neighbouring district of Gya. It was also near Rohtas that Mr. Bingham, of Mutiny fame, was accidentally shot. Altogether the fortress has gloomy memories associated with it. It was taken from the Hindus by a foul stratagem on the part of Sher Shah. About forty years later it was taken by Akbar's General, Shahbaz Khan. Koer Singh took refuge here for a few days, but there seems no foundation for the statement in the "Travels of a Hindu," that Koer Singh's brother defended Rohtas for three months against the British troops. The local report is that no stand was made here, and that Koer Singh went, after three days, to Shergarh. Rohtas is curiously con-

nected with the trial of Nanda Kumar. When he was accused of forging Bolaqi Dass' seal, a witness for the defence produced a paper containing a similar impression which he said he got from Bolaqi. Impey and the jury seem to have considered this as an undoubted forgery, and Sir James Stephen is of the same opinion. The reason for this idea was, that it was thought impossible that Mir Qasim (Bolaqi's master) could have had anything to do with Rohtas, or with treasure, at the time mentioned in the paper. It appears, however, that all this was a mistake. Sir James Stephen, indeed, is so ill acquainted with Behar that he does not know that Buxar is in it, and speaks of Mir Qasim's leaving Behar in May, 1764, and never returning to it. In fact, Mir Qasim had his wife, and apparently his treasure also, in Rohtas till the battle of Buxar, in October, 1764, and even later.

One memory which clings to Rohtas is not gloomy. It is that of Charles Davies who lived for many years at the foot of the mountain, and held it in farm from Government. He was a great student, and though he had never been out of India, was versed in the topography of London. He is described by the admiring natives as a faquir, or dervish, who spent his time in meditation and reading, and his money in charity. He died in his bungalow at Akbarpore, at a good old age, and now lies in the compound under a nim tree. His last prayer was that no tombstone should be erected over him ; so he sleeps under the bare earth.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. VIII.—THE NEO-ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN LITERATURE:

SECTION III.

THE NEO-ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN BENGALI LITERATURE.

(Continued from last issue.)

IN this section we propose to give a critical and descriptive sketch of the neo-romantic literature of Bengal. It is not here necessary to do more than mention the representative, or typical, works of the previous stages, and note the general course of development, both in poetic style and conception, prior to the neo-romantic stage.

Bengali Poetry, with its reeking soil, its rank and incontinent luxuriance, its slumbrous jungly overgrowths, presents a tropic scene of unique interest, for here pass in review before our eyes, as "in Banquo's glass," the various stages of poetic art, in pale phantom-like succession.

First, the indigenous Orientalism of the poems of Kasirama, Krittibasa and Bharata Chandra, working up traditional material in the native mould and fashion. As products of art, they bear the same relation to the later classical Epos of Michael Madhu Sudana Dutt and Hema Chandra Banerji, whose style of workmanship is strictly occidental, however they may derive their materials, as all great poets must, from the national storehouse, that Indian sculpture and painting, as exhibited in the rock caves, and Indian architecture of the rock-cut Chaityas and Viharas, or of the Hindu temples of Southern India, do to the Parthenon, or the Roman Basilicas, Pheidias' Zeus; or Athene, of ivory and gold, or even the remains of Byzantine painting and sculpture.

The later Bengali epics are all chiselled into classic grace and repose. But, studied historically, they exhibit an internal life and movement. The Meghnadbadha of Michael Madhu Sudana Dutt is classic both in style and conception, though the ground-work of the plot is derived from strictly oriental sources. Nothing can be a stronger testimony to the reality of Hegel's distinction between orientalism and classicism than this strange phenomenon in the history of poetic art, a splendid Parian monument of transparent classic art built on oriental foundations, a stately Pantheon on the site of a Pagoda. The phenomenon is unique and offers an *experimentum crucis* in favour of Hegel's classification of art. The next epic, Babu Hema Chandra Banerji's Vritra-sanhara, occupies a still more curious position. The traditional material is Puranic, and is thus derived from the great storehouse of

neo-oriental mythology. But the treatment is classic, not, however, as in Meghnadbadha in the genuine sculptural style which is most typical of classic art, but in the more mixed Roman architectural fashion, and the result is that both in style and conception, there is an expansiveness, a tendency to the illimitable and the formless, which savours more of the neo-classical than of the genuine classical epos. We proceed to exhibit this more fully by considering separately the development of style and of central conception in the succession of Bengali epics.

The style is now architectural, as pre-emirently in Hema Chandra Banerji, and, as such, is determined by Miltonic vastness of dimension, of space and time; now we have the poetry of sculpture, as often in Madhu Sudana Dutt, an entire absence of colouring being compensated by the preternatural clearness and distinctness of form and proportion, and the poetic perception of symmetry and living expression. Again, we have the poetry of painting, characterised by the importance attached to colouring, a poetry necessarily romantic, in support of which position we may cite the instances of romanticists like Scott, Chateaubriand and Görres. This type, coupled with lyrical refrains in the musical style of poetry, is illustrated by Babu Nabina Chandra Sen's "Battle of Plassey."

This variety of style and execution faithfully reflects a corresponding variety of mood and conception in the modern epics of Bengal. The natural development of poetic style through such types as the architectural and sculptural, the pictorial and musical, has taken place *pari passu* with a deeper and more significant change in the central or guiding conception of the epos. With Michael Madhu Sudana Dutt, the conflict of force which is constitutive of the epic poem, has already raised itself in Miltonic fashion from the physical plane to the moral platform, herein transcending the classic conception,—though, of course, the *deus ex machinâ* is there still in full working, this commingling of the supernatural with the natural, of the superhuman with the human, of the miraculous, the mythical and the improbable with the historical and the actual, being a distinctive trait of the epic symbolism, or Vorstellung. In Hema Chandra Banerji, the war between the Devas and Asuras, the Indian counterpart of the rise of the Titans against the Olympian Jove, is conceived from a still higher standpoint, *viz.*, the metaphysical, as contrasted with the moral, point of view. Hence the veiled allegories and symbolism, which are hardly kept in the back-ground in the author's Vritra-sanhara, and are rife and in prolific profusion in his Dasa Mahavidya. The *deus ex machinâ*, or supernatural agency, and the human, or at least the anthropomorphic element,

are still pre-eminent, for these physical and moral aspects of force, are indeed, comprehended in the metaphysical epos by being subordinated to the main mystico-allegorical design. It need hardly be pointed out that the metaphysical epos is simply the attempt of the modern consciousness to read a philosophic meaning into that conflict of energy which is constitutive of the epic poem. The two grandest examples in Western literature, of the metaphysical epos, Keats's *Hyperion* and Horne's *Orion*, by a very significant coincidence, deal with this very subject, *viz.*, the war of the Titans against the Jovian brood, corresponding, as has been said, to the war between the Devas and the Asuras, which is the theme of Hema Chandra Banerji's epic. This is not the place to compare and contrast minutely the central metaphysical conceptions that, 'half-revealed and half-concealed,' underlie the *Vorstellungen* of these epics, but this general sketch of the fundamental sameness of subject-matter and treatment in *Hyperion*, *Orion*, and *Vritra-sanhara*, will suffice to give an idea of the class of epics we have in view.

The next Bengali epic went a further step in advance. The architectural and sculptural style at this stage gave place, as we said, to the pictorial and musical in Bengali poetry, and this fundamental change was accompanied by one equally fundamental in central conception and subject-matter.

That the *deus ex machinâ* was, till our century, regarded as an essential of a heroic poem, will appear whether we consider the national Brahmin, Greek and Roman epics of antiquity, or the romantic epics of Christendom celebrating the Crusades, or the universal epic of Milton, which is co-extensive in interest with the entire human race, and deals with the fate of worlds. Indeed, Dryden in one of his critical prefaces, expresses a grave doubt whether the epos had not been irrevocably lost to mankind, or at least to Christendom, as the enlightened Christianity of the future would make it impossible for the poet to employ that supernatural agency without which an epic poem would be like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. Dryden promised to show a way out of the difficulty in his contemplated *chef d'œuvre*, the epic of King Arthur. The promise was never fulfilled, but he gives us, in the essay in question, a fore-taste of his device, which is enough to shew that he had hit upon a metaphysico-allegorical solution of the difficulty, intending to give a speculative neo-Platonic basis to his employment of the *deus ex machinâ*, and thus fore-shadowing the modern metaphysical epos of which we have already spoken at length. This was, no doubt, a remarkable anticipation on the part of the father of English criticism. But it is

extremely open to question whether even the metaphysico-allegorical treatment of supernatural agencies can make the epic acceptable to modern taste and judgment. In Dryden's days, Christianity had stripped the Heavens and Earth bare of all the poetic resources in the storehouse of the Pagan Pantheon, or even in that of mediæval Angelology and Demonology, such as had served the Italian poets in good stead, and this disillusioning, partial as it was, the critic confessed to be very nearly a death-blow to the epic form. But a greater disenchanter still, the Copernican system, with its attendant train of scientific conceptions, had not yet disseminated that idea of the universe which we moderns imbibe from the intellectual atmosphere of the age. The situation of the epos in modern times has, therefore, been grave and critical, and has led in many quarters to determined efforts to resuscitate it without the old-world lumber of supernatural machinery, efforts in our opinion hardly crowned with success. The grand Homeric epos has been resolved, as it were, into the thousand original chants, dithyrambs and rhapsodies of the Homeridæ—we mean into metrical narratives, or historico-romantic chronicles in verse, such as those of Scott and Southey, Chateaubriand and Górrés. But the resources of historical romance, ample as they are in all conscience, or rather want of conscience, ample enough to stultify its historical character and make of it a fancy-masque, are too scanty to serve as a foundation for the vast superstructure of the grand Homeric epos. As a matter of fact, this want of breadth and dignity in a metrical romance has been felt so keenly by the poets, that great historic subjects, such as the fate of dynasties, empires, nations, which would have formerly received a mythological treatment in an epic form, and now appear to constitute fit themes for its modern substitute, the metrico-historical romance, are invariably cast in a dramatic mould. We need not go back to Schiller and the earlier writings of Hugo in illustration of this truth; a little reflection will make it patent that this is the real origin of that modern phenomenon, the reading play, which, in English literature, has received such immense development at the hands of Browning and Swinburne, Buchanan and Tennyson. These reading plays, tragedies, for the most part, are the channel to which the *furor epicus* has been diverted from the reeking fens of metrico-historical romance, and are therefore fundamentally distinct in origin and character from the other species of modern reading plays, the metaphysical drama founded by Goethe, of which the highest representatives in English literature are the Prometheus Unbound of Shelley, the Manfred and the Cain of Byron, and the Paracelsus of Browning. The one attempt in

English (barring the Epic of Hades and works of a similar character which it would be but of place to consider here) to give the world a genuine example of the epic of modern life, is Tennyson's Princess, with a fine ring in it, "grand, epic, homicidal;" but even that unique specimen is a grotesque, being a mock-heroic medley of the classical, the mediæval, and the modern in style and conception.

Babu Nabina Chandra Sen's Battle of Plassey, then, is an epic conceived and executed in the latest fashion but one, *i. e.*, in the form of a metrical-historical romance. As such, it deals in the modern non-mythological manner with a momentous theme that is closely interwoven with the imagination and the sympathies of the nation, and of course illustrates the pictorial-musical style that appertains to the romantic school. But, as has been already stated, while this is no doubt a more advanced experiment than the metaphysical epos, in the direction of adapting the epic form to modern requirements, the line of experiment has been finally abandoned, and the epic pitch of sustained elevation finds, under modern needs and restrictions, a legitimate expression in non-spectacular tragedies, so that the mock-heroic medley of Tennyson may be said to stand in the same relation to the genuine epos, "grand epic, homicidal," as the Don Quixote of Cervantes did to the literature of knight-errantry and mediæval romance.

As a matter of fact, the merely transitional character of this historico-romantic form of the epic in Bengali literature appears abundantly from the subsequent course of literary history. The lyrical strains waxed more and more, and the external or objective embodiment of scene and character and plot was thrown into the back-ground. Countless volumes of lyrics and ballads, of highly-coloured and musically-intoned descriptive sketches and narratives, had their day. This lyric craze, this "*sturm und drang*," was, however, more a play of the fancy than of the imagination, more artificial than artistic. The Avasara-Sarojini and the Avakasa-Ranjini may be regarded as typical of this ephemeral class of poems.

We have spoken of the movement as one of "*sturm und drang*;" but, except in being an unhealthy ferment, it bears little resemblance to the "*sturm und drang*" period by pre-eminence, the period of German fret and fury associated with the Werther of Goethe and the Robbers of Schiller. These pieces are much more akin to the lyrical ballads and minstrelsies that possessed the national mind in Germany just before the advent of the Messianic majesty of Klopstock. A closer parallel still is afforded by the collections of songs and lyrics that, under the pretty poetical names of Helicon and Parnassus and the Muses' Looking-glass, were poured out, year

after year, in England, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. Better still, they may be likened, in point of finish and grace, to the cavalier roundels of Carew and Lovelace and Herrick who led, in their age, that school of erotic and amatory effusion which had been founded by Surrey, Wyatt and Vaux. If the passions depicted in these lyrics be not exactly what an admirer of French realistic art would scornfully term "the loves of a mythical mortal for a non-existent goddess," they are none the less feigned and conventional, having all possible glitter and coruscation and fancifulness, without the hectic fever and flush, or the Pythoness's fury or the divine afflatus of the genuine inspiration. As a matter of fact, some of the pieces in *Avasara-Sarajini* and *Avakasa-Ranjini*, with their profusion of myth and metaphor, of quaint ornament and ingenious conceit, read as translations of well-known cavalier ballads and roundels. Arctic voyagers tell us of "the blink of the ice," which, in the vicinity of land in a Polar sea, gives rise to a dazzling mirage that looks a thousand times lovelier and brighter than the light of day. The intense passion which these polished and crystalline lyrics reflect is but the blink of the ice in a polar sea !

Between these melodies, trilled "in full-throated ease" as it were, in the lap of "verdurous plenty and pleasure," and the neo-romantic lyric, the hollow phantom-tone of doubt, or the sepulchral note of despair, the interval is immense. The difference in form is slight ; that in mood and conception immeasurable. Yet, as a matter of literary history, the appearance of the former in Bengal was destined to be a prelude to that of the latter. The soil had been prepared ; literary art had advanced from the objective, or historico-epical, style of treatment to the stand-point of a subjective naturalism, and, if yet the discord between spirit and nature, subject and object, had not revealed itself to a naturalism that was fashionable and conventional, and a subjectivity that was unconscious and mechanical, the fault was not in the poets, but was due to the determining factors of social life and culture. By this time, however, those powerful solvents, government, law, commerce and literature, of a foreign western type, had done their best in melting away the cement of Hindu society. The state of that society brought about by this expansive and emancipative upheaval, presents a most interesting field of observation to the student of sociology. Here we shall be content with the statement, paradoxical as it may appear, that in the folds of the ritualistic Hinduism of to-day, in the very ranks of conformity and orthodoxy, there is far greater latitude of opinion, far more laxity of belief, far more versatility and flexibility of intelligence, far greater

elasticity and pliability of mind, than there is in non-ritualistic religious communities like those of England and Scotland. Thus it is, that ritualism tends to defeat itself. Looking to the history of a Roman Catholic country like France, and contrasting it with that of a non-ritualistic Protestant country like England, we find the same tale repeated. "The protest of Protestantism and the dissidence of Dissent" ultimately result in settled acquiescence of the mind, and lead a nation to a half-way house of compromise and accommodation. On the other hand, ritualistic conformity in two such widely differing circumstances of society as those in France and Bengal, has been only a cover for freethinking and licence, and has helped to foster versatility and flexibility of intelligence. There is a rigid objective standard of practice, but there can be in the folds of ritualism no such standard of truth, which, exerting a high pressure upon the individual mind, moulds into shape its opinions and beliefs. A subjective individualism goes hand in hand with a rigid mechanical order. What is curious to note is that, in Bengal (as was the case in France in the last century), the illumination has led to a mechanical subjectivity, and that this has been the environment out of which the neo-romantic movement has taken its rise. For the genesis of that movement it is essential that there should be a transition from a mechanical to an egoistic subjectivity, and this transition has actually taken place in the imaginative and intellectual culture of Bengal. The law of this latter type of subjectivity requires that every object of nature, or institution of society, be appraised, not, as in the former, according to a mechanical or external standard artificially set up by the individual, but according to his direct inner consciousness of his own wants, needs and cravings. This egoism may manifest itself in various ways, in philosophical creeds and systems, in cults and schools of literary art, in a seething ferment of social and political activity. Subjective egoism in Europe had parallel developments simultaneously in all the departments of theory and practice. In Bengal, on the other hand, the current of this subjective neo-romanticism has mainly confined itself to the channel of literary art, bringing on a fresh advance in the treatment of the imaginative and emotional material of life.

Here, again, we have to note, as at the introduction of every previous stage of poetic art in the course of the development of modern Bengali literature, the direct contact with western models of the corresponding type. No doubt, the development has been natural and necessary, the expression of an inner movement of the art-instinct which has realised itself everywhere in the same rational sequence and order, but the

rate of growth, as well as many individual variations and specific characters, has been determined by the dominant influence of western schools of literary art. Accordingly, we find that the first neo-romantic Bengali writer, Miss Taru Dutt (who, however, wrote in French and English) habitually breathed an atmosphere of Parisian sentiment and passion, an atmosphere of mingled noon-tide glare and sun-set colouring in the lyrics and songs of poets like Heine and Hugo, Beranger and Musset. This brings us then to the neo-romantic lyric and the canon of criticism we have proposed for this type of literary art. The historical inquiry in the last section has brought to light two elements as essential to the genesis of the neo-romantic type of mind and art, (1) a sense of discordance between the inner and the outer, spirit and nature, the ideal and the real, (2) a subjective egoism, which, arising in the passage from a mechanical subjectivity, sets up the gratification of the individual consciousness as the standard in questions of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness. Gradually, with the progress of the movement, the negative criticism, the conflict and the subjective egoism, tend to disappear; a current of transfiguration of the old order sets in, and critical and constructive elements come into play, which may be methodically and systematically registered by the help of a convenient formula or canon of criticism which takes note of three fundamental aspects of the neo-romantic constructiveness, *viz.*, (1) the ideal content of consciousness, or an objective criticism of life, (2) the *Vorstellung*, or what may be termed, the mythology of literary art, (3) the crowning transfiguration.

The first remarkable product of Bengali literature of the neo-romantic type, would fill a remarkable place in the full sense of the term in the history of any literature, western or eastern. The *Udvranta Prema* of Babu Chandra Sekhara Mukherji, a prose rhapsody, suggests by its very title that curse of doubt and despair, that blight of disillusion and disenchantment, that eats into the very vitals of the neo-romantic life and consciousness. If, omitting the direct romantic revival that had preceded in the *Götz von Berlichingen*, and other works, Goethe's *Werther* may be regarded as the prototype of the neo-romantic school, the leader of the forlorn hope, the *Udvranta Prema* may, with equal truth, be assigned a similar position in relation to that movement in Bengali literature. The same insanity and suicidal mania as in the *Werther*; yes, born too of despair, only a despair less universal than *Werther's*, as arising out of an infinite yearning, unquenched and unquenchable, and not like *Werther's*, ranging over the entire diapason of existence and therefore world-enveloping.

This only serves to corroborate our statement that the movement in Bengal is more largely emotional and imaginative than it was in Europe. If a maddening, deadly conflict between the inner and the outer, the ideal and the real, subject and object, be the key-note of the rhapsody, it is marked almost as distinctively by an intoxication of egoism, which imparts an autumnal sun-set glow, an impalpable fiery film, to its inner atmosphere. The innermost soul of nature is laid bare, as in interpreting her sights and sounds, like the moonlight and the murmuring stream, but the interpretation is wholly subjective, coloured by the ruling passion of the observer, and as such, quite distinct from either the sensuous naturalism of Keats and Musset, or the Pagan hylozoism of Swinburne or Madame Edmond. Again, the life and mind of man, society and social commerce, are criticised, estimated and appraised, but wholly according to the criterion of their suitability to the fruition of individualistic desire. Indeed, this need of subjective gratification, simulates the form of intellectual activity. The metaphysics and theology of the rhapsody are evidently the "fevered efflux" of a "mind diseased." There is the disbelief in the moral government of the world, in providence, in the soul, in personal immortality, in free will, in short, in any principle other than matter and necessity. All for love!

On applying our analytical canon to the *Udvranta Prema* as a work of art, several things come out clearly. The crowning merit of the rhapsody lies neither in its criticism of life, nor in its mythopœic process, or *Vorstellung*, but in its marvellous transfiguration. Its criticism is not disinterested enough, as Matthew Arnold would say; in an artistic reference, it has the capital defect of being merely negative, and the capital blunder of being wholly subjective. That is to say, it does not transcend the earliest stages of neo-romantic art, those of desperate conflict and subjective egoism. An objective criticism, appraising things according to the measure in which they fulfil the law of their being, or reflect the regulative idea of their type or pattern, is quite alien to the atmosphere of sulphurous fume in the rhapsody, which, like Schelling's Absolute, may be compared to "the night in which all cows look black." Neither is the mythopœic element, the invention of scene and situation, of prominent interest, or in any way above the familiar and the common-place. The burning-ghaut, if not as old as man, is considerably old, and the moonlight and the river-side are older still. The situation, that of a lover deprived by death of his beloved, is not only the stock-in-trade of every pubescent poet and novelist, but is here more than ordinarily barren, unpromising, and even

unreal. Symbolism or *Vorstellung* there is none. This is easy enough to understand. Without a certain remoteness from human interests, a degree of metaphysical abstraction, some vagueness or dreaminess of outline, or a touch of the unreal and the unsubstantial, no subject admits of an allegorical presentation. The rhapsody, no doubt, is "of imagination all compact," and may be said to have the mark of unreality and unsubstantiality requisite for symbolism, myth, or allegory; but the imagination here is only the livid flash that attends the thunderstorm of passion, and an ecstasy, or a dazzling glare of passion, is incompatible with that serenity of self-conscious dreaming that spins out an allegory. Where a symbolical style is attempted, as in the chapter on the commerce of souls, it is only after passion is all outspent, and even then the fervid glow of human interest with which the subject is invested, completely breaks the spell of mysticism or allegory.

The magic of the *Udvranta Prema*, then, as has been already said, lies in its emotional transfiguration. This latter is truly thaumaturgic, a revelation of original creative power; it is as if "a new planet were to swim into our ken." The passion of the rhapsody thrills, startles, electrifies. It is a contribution to the stock of consecrated moods and abiding emotions that, purely human or social in origin, are fast taking the place of the distinctively religious feelings in lifting us to the Absolute and the Infinite, and making us transcend the limitations of finite existence. Disenchanted love is certainly nothing new, it may be even said with truth that it is the fate of all love to be disenchanted one way or other, but here the boundless egoism of subjective desire, and the universal hallucination begotten of it, produce a sort of clairvoyance, as it were, to which the entire panorama of nature and mind, of life and society, secretly unfolds itself.

Endless, indeed, are the varieties of mood and feeling which modern culture and civilization have added to the common stock of the race. The Wordsworthian attitude of "wise passiveness" towards Nature, and the Wordsworthian correspondence between the spirit of Humanity and the spirit of Nature, comprehend an important class of modern idiosyncracies of feeling. Ultimately derived through the medium of Coleridge from the Leibnitzian *Mónadology* and Schelling's Philosophy of Nature, Wordsworth's metaphysical views derived their sole importance from their being fused with his personal experiences, his introspective reveries, his "fallings off and vanishings;" in short, from their furnishing an ideal background to a class of spiritual instincts and intuitions, of mysterious feelings and perceptions, with which he first invested the contemplation of nature. In the history of moral and spiritual

exploration, Wordsworth may be fitly compared to Columbus, the discoverer of a new world. He made us a gift of an entire class of new feelings, perceptions and instincts; he endowed us with an additional faculty which he named synthetic Imagination. The Wordsworthian synthesis of Imagination, it may be remarked, constituted, in the realm of æsthetics, a new departure which was analogous to Kant's discovery of the critical method with its synthesis of cognition. This is what we call thaumaturgy, a revelation of original creative power. But Wordsworth was the High Priest of Nature; to him the universe was no "playground of fatalistic forces," but only the shore, standing on which the spirit "hears the mighty waters rolling evermore." Latterly, however, the theological cast has been very rarely given to the new-born emotions of the modern poetic world. One great group of these emotional products of modern culture and art, is comprehended under what, for want of a better name, may be termed naturalism, of which the hylozoism, or neo-paganism of Swinburne affords the highest type. The distinctive note of these feelings is seized, when it is remarked that they set up nature on the pedestal, from which the supernatural has been taken down,—nature, not humanised, moralised, or spiritualised as was Wordsworth's wont, nor materialized and substantiated in the fashion of the physicists, but nature conceived from the stand-point of pure phenomenalism, and instinct with the creative, poetic, formative principle of life. Another, and an even more important, group of modern feelings is concerned with the apotheosis of the purely human relations of social life. Allied with this is that phenomenon of the modern ethical world, the enthusiasm of humanity.

Positivism with its *grand être*, which is none other than collective humanity, with its calendar of saints and its apotheosis of domestic piety, with its altruistic social morality and its posthumous immortality, only brings to a focus what is dispersed in faint glimmering over the entire atmosphere of modern life and society. In recent French and Russian literature, it is realistic art that raises these feelings to the highest pitch of intensity, and they are associated with schemes of a socialistic or communistic type. The Udvranta Prema eschews realism and socialism altogether. Its rampant subjective individualism is abundantly manifest; but it is characteristic that the emotion which here constitutes the transfiguration, belongs to the class we are here describing, the purely human or social emotions, as we have already said, which are fast taking the place of the distinctively religious feelings in the work of lifting us to the absolute and the infinite, and making us transcend the limitations of finite existence. In this regard it is interesting to note the undercurrent of positivistic theory

and positivistic sentiment that every now and then comes up to the surface in the *Udvranta Prema*. This is the point at which the rhapsody transcends its merely subjective or negative character, and, becoming truly constructive, reaches a higher plane of art than the Werther, or the Robbers; but it is constructive it should be noted, neither by virtue of its criticism, nor in respect of its imaginative or mythopœic process, but simply through its emotional transfiguration.

The first neo-romantic poet in Bengali literature, Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore, is the next conspicuous figure. The advance in constructive synthesis upon the rhapsody we have just noticed, is apparent at the first glance. The negative criticism of life disappears, which, in the "*Udvranta Prema*," turns the earth into one vasty charnel-house, and the heavens into a "dome of many-coloured glass" painted with the ruined archangel! The "*Udvranta Prema*" says to man in effect:—Man, thou art the great falsifier. "Deceive thyself," is the curse branded in letters of fire upon thy brow. For the knowledge of life and nature, the endless knowledge here below open unto thee, is a subtle, pervading ether-poison to thy soul, and the knowledge of the truth, her revelation, is the poison of all poisons. For it is in her grim, stertorous laughter that thou hearest, in her livid cadaverous world-flash that thou seest, that chalk and alum and plaster are sold to thee by the divine caterer for thy bread! Such art thou! Such thy lying countenance and thy shamming of the gods! Worse than such thy dark end or vanishing! This Nature is a grand, ever-recurrent hoax, a plausibly-schemed speculation-bubble, a gorgeous palatial lie, an eternal pious fraud, the universal bower of Acrasia, the templeless temple of Belial, a rampant, blatant power, a manifested system of evil! Such is nature,—and natural knowledge? "Night, being the universal mother of things," fond hugging grandam even of the gods, wise philosophers, Kosicrucian, Swedenborgian, &c., "hold all knowledge to be fruitful in proportion as it is dark," misty, symbolical; and therefore the true *illuminati* are the darkest and foggiest of all!

The "*Prakritira Pratisodha*" (Nature's Revenge) of Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore is just one step in advance of this negative criticism of life. The Sannyasi, the protagonist of nature, who looks upon the countless homes and haunts of men as ever-shifting sand-hills beat by a hollow-moaning sea, whose attitude towards the toilingmoiling multitude is neither the *suave mari magno* feeling, nor the Epicurean indifferentism of the crowned gods "lying on the hills together regardless of mankind," but the stern Lucretian irony of the sage who

has risen superior to the blind necessity that sits steering at the helm, the Sannyasi is master of a grotesque humour which can kindle the flames of a conflagration, as it were, that would reduce to cinders and ashes whatever is of nature, natural ; of man, human ; of the earth, earthy. A protagonist like this, fighting shadows and invisible beings, the forces of nature or society, the powers of darkness or the upper air, the denizens of heaven or hell, is the most striking figure of every modern metaphysical drama, or even monody, in illustration of which statement we may cite the first and most comprehensive and the last, and most grotesque, Faust, and Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society. Thus, the "Prakritir Pratisodha" of Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore holds the same position among the modern reading plays which we have classed under the metaphysical drama, that Babu Hema Chandra Banerji's "Vritra-sanhara" and "Dasa Mahavidya" hold among the modern epics already grouped under the metaphysical epos.

As we found the metaphysical epos to be simply the outcome of the modern consciousness reading a philosophic meaning into that conflict of force which is constitutive of the epic, so the metaphysical drama is only the same consciousness, handling in a philosophical spirit the central tragic question. What is constitutive of the tragedy, it need hardly be stated, is the deadly struggle between the individual and a mysterious fate ; the sublime clash and conflict between the forces of subjectivity and an inexorable external necessity ; in short, the convulsive passion of Laocoön enfolded in the coiled meshes of the serpents from the sea, sent by the terrible slayer of Python. At first, as in the Greek tri-logies, only an external Nemesis-spectre, begotten of impiety and crime, and vicarious in its incidence like the original sin of Christianity,—then, as in the romantic tragedies of Shakespere and Calderon (for Calderon's *El Principe Constante* is romantic in soul, as in form), a Frankenstein-monster, secretly and remorselessly tracking the footsteps of its own creator, Fate came at last to be transfigured by the neo-romantic treatment to which Goethe was the first to subject it. The mere externality of the classical Nemesis had been remedied by the inwardness of the romantic tragedies, but at the expense of much of the tragic interest and purpose which concentrated round an awful and mysterious back-ground, such as the shadow of the haunting Eumenides afforded to the Greek tragedy. With Goethe the problem was to combine the soul of the romantic tragedy, its profound connectedness of significance and its complex organic structure, with a dark, fuscous, awful back-ground of moving invisible realities and forces such as

would restore to tragedy its sublime concentration of solemn purpose and interest, which is the marked characteristic of the Greek trilogies, and is comparatively feeble in the romantic tragedy. And this is what Goethe actually accomplishes in the Faust through the medium of Mephistopheles and the scenes in Heaven. And this is also what his English admirers, Shelley and Byron, seek to attain in the Prometheus Unbound, the Manfred, and the Cain. The energies of life and mind, the laws and forces of Nature, are unchained and let loose, as if the tableaux of the Universe were suddenly to move and stir into the drama of life; and the all-engulfing void of the Supernatural is peopled with dim, misty agencies, invisible essences and solemn realities, who seem to rehearse, as in a dumb show, the tragic *dénouement*, somewhat in the same way as the rebellion and overthrow in Heaven form an artistic back-ground to Milton's presentation of the Terrestrial Fall.

The Paracelsus and the "Prakritira Pratisodha" are each a soul's tragedy, differing in some important respects from the ordinary metaphysical drama. In them, as in the latter, some law of nature or mind, some definite force of life or society, constitutes the element of fate or necessity, and unfolds and determines the plot from within outwards." But while an objective fate thus overrules the events and conducts the plot to the catastrophe, these plays do without a back-ground in which the ministers of fate are themselves introduced as actors in the Drama. A moment's comparison between the "Paracelsus" and the "Prakritira Pratisodha" makes the immense superiority of the former manifest, in point of profound speculative insight, dramatic range and complexity of life, a sense of the social problem and of human perfectibility, and a masterly comprehension of the many-sided forces and tendencies which go to make up the stream of existence. Paracelsus, equally with the Sannyasi, goes to gather the sacred knowledge, "here and there dispersed about the world, long lost or never found." The prize which both desire to gain is the secret of the world, of man and man's true purpose, path and fate. There is the same stern isolation from the crowd, the same withering content for mankind, the same longing to trample, as it were, upon the herd. There is the same supreme "carelessness to love." Paracelsus aspires to know; and when Aprile, the poet, declares he would love infinitely and be loved, Paracelsus exclaims "poor slave, I am thy king, indeed." In both the tragedies the supremacy of love over knowledge or contemplation is vindicated in the end, when Paracelsus and the Sannyasi sink into madness and death. While the fundamental question

of the two metaphysical dramas is the same, and the answer is the same, they differ *toto cælo* in attitude and colouring. Paracelsus aspires to know only "to elevate the race at once." The Sannyasi's craving for knowledge of the ultimate truth is wholly egoistic. Again, it is the love of the race,—love, hope, fear, faith,—the heart of humanity in one word—that the dying Paracelsus, freed from madness, recognises to be supreme, when the approach of death rends the veil and endows him with prophetic vision ; and in the tragedy of his life it is humanitarian love that contends for mastery with his worship of such knowledge as holds the key to immortality. In the Bengali tragedy, the Sannyasi struggles with a feeling of tenderness for a lovely child of Nature, the stir of fatherly instinct, the inner workings of the heart for an outlet to its pent-up affections. Hence the conflict is between an individualistic search after truth, in the fashion of the Indian ascetic idealism, and the necessity of individualistic affection, and does not rise to the high platform of a representative struggle of the race between the ideal goals of infinite knowledge and infinite love.

If the neo-romantic metaphysical drama, in the hands of Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore, does not transcend the individualistic stage of art ; if the negative criticism of life, disappearing, gives place to a conflict between subject and object which does not go beyond the needs of an individual nature, and treats a question like that of the struggle between knowledge and love, Yoga, or Gnana, and Prema, not in reference to the objective requirements of social life, or of the ideal perfectibility of the race and the impulses of humanitarian enthusiasm, but solely from the stand-point of individual psychology, the same limitation characterises the author's *Pravata-Sangita* and *Sandhya-Sangita* (Songs of Sunrise and Sunset). Along with the rays of the waxing or waning light, of the rising or setting sun, come floating to the poet's soul, gossamer-like, underneath the grey skies, aerial fascinations and somnolences, dissolving phantasms and sleepy enchantments, twilight memories of days of fancy and fire, ghostly visitings of radiant effulgences, or the lightning-flashes of a Mænad-like inspiration, which the poet transfixes and crystallises for us in many a page of delicate, silver-lined analysis, of subtly-woven, variegated imaginative synthesis.

In these songs it is that Bengal' poetry rises to the pitch of the neo-romantic lyric. And what a type of the latter ! Two of the constituent elements, the criticism of life, whether negative or reconstructive, and the mythopœia, are almost wholly wanting, and the third element, the transfiguration, is all in all. The titles of some of the pieces in the *Sandhya-Sangita*

(Songs of Evening) will give an idea of the nature and range of the subjects treated :—Evening, Despair in Hope, The Suicide of a Star, The Forlorn, The Lament of Joy, Invocation to Sorrow, Pity, A Woman without a Heart, The Heart's Monody. Again, The Wail of Defeat, The Dew-drop. The intense egoistic subjectivity of these poems, untouched by any of the real interests of life or society, is almost without a parallel in the lyrical literature of the neo-romantic stage. An uncertain play of clare-obscure, such as Rembrandt might have envied, flings over a cloud-land scenery its fitful gloom and glare ; and winged fancies, floating shapes and flying phantoms that haunt the wilderness of a poet's heart, fill the air, as it were, with a strange hiss, as of "rustled wings." The deadly and desperate struggle to which all subjective egoism is doomed, gives rise to The Wail of Defeat, The Despair in Hope, and the Invocation to Sorrow. In most of the lyrics the transfiguration is perfect, as for example in The Invocation to Sorrow, The Heart's Monody, Evening, Pity, The Wail of Defeat. The nature of the transfiguration requires a word of explanation. A mood or emotion is transfigured and for the moment raised to the infinite and the absolute. By an unconscious synthesis of the poetic imagination, the entire Universe assumes for the moment the hue of this mood or feeling, giving rise to a kind of universal hallucination which may be aptly termed, poetic henotheism. This is, no doubt, higher than the poetic polytheism, which yields to each mood or emotion, as to the different inmates of the poetic Pantheon, a measured and definite homage ; but it is essentially polytheistic in its swift, Protean changes, its want of consistence and organic structure, and the absence from it of any other than an unconscious imaginative synthesis. In this respect the *Pravata-Sangita* (Songs of Sunrise) exhibits a decided improvement. The very titles of some of the pieces, The Eternity of Life, The Eternity of Death, Creation, Conservation and Destruction, The Dream of the Universe, Re-union with Nature, Gazing, Desideria, Echo, Nature in Autumn, The Fountain awakened from its Dream, The Stream, Winter,—suggest a greater measure of criticism of life than there is in the earlier work, a higher metaphysical grasp and intellectualism, and a greater objectivity, as manifested in a newly developed capacity for the imaginative reproduction of the alien and outer phases of Nature's life. The Eternity of Life, with its three realms of Eternity, the Kingdom of Song, the Kingdom of Love and the Kingdom of Life, is no doubt a fine illustration of interpenetrative criticism and transfiguration, but, from a want of imaginative, constructive, symbolising power, it just misses reaching the memorable mythopœic height which Goethe's *Three Reverences*

and De Quincey's Three Ladies of Sorrow, attain. The Eternity of Death seizes the fundamental truth that life itself is realised in and through a series of changes, or deaths; but the poem reminds one unpleasantly of the stilts, or the stage buskin, treating the theme, as it does, from a vague emotional, or metaphysical, point of view, which is characteristically Indian, and falls short of the moral purpose that shines in the poems of Tennyson,—

him who sings
To one clear harp in diverse tones
That men may rise on stepping-stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.

The Fountain awakened from its Dream is one of the finest examples in that style of poetic delineation in which Nature and the Heart of Humanity are both exalted by being made to light up each other. But more of this anon.

A fine luminous piece of criticism is Matthew Arnold's, when incidentally he remarks in one of his essays that all great poetry moves us by one of two methods of poetic interpretation, natural magic and moral profundity. By natural magic he means the secret of reproducing the real life, breath, or expression of Nature, as, for example, illustrated in Keats' Ode to Autumn. The Endymion stage of Keats' poetry, a stage which was however short lived,—the poetry of Vegetation and *greenth* as Professor Masson calls it, or as we propose to term it, the poetic chlorosis or green sickness, connected, wherever it is found, in poetic adolescence, with anæmia, breathlessness, palpitation, and an unhealthy hue of precocious or abnormal pubescence,—offers no doubt the highest example in literature of natural magic pure and simple. Of moral profundity Wordsworth's poetry may be taken as the type. It would appear that moral profundity, to Arnold's mind, consists in its theoretic, as apart from its artistic side, in "a humble recognition of one's subordinate position in the long scheme of things," the perception of "central peace subsisting at the heart of endless agitation," the lesson of patience and duty and obedience, and the great hope of accomplishing the moral regeneration of the World by slow individual toiling, each in the sphere of his daily life and appointed vocation. On any other interpretation it is inexplicable why Matthew Arnold should fail to find moral profundity in Shelley's poetry. We accept Arnold's distinction as real, but demur to the claim of exhaustiveness set up for the division. There is no formal or logical ground why a division into natural magic and moral profundity, as above explained, should be exhaustive, for natural magic does not cover the whole poetic ground of Nature, nor is moral profundity co-extensive with a poetic treatment

of the entire moral world. Further, the division is, in reality, only an incomplete classification of the external subject-matter of all poetry, and not a classification of poetic methods of interpretation at all, for the latter must take its basis in the first instance upon the powers of the investigating or interpreting mind, and not upon the varieties of objects to be interpreted or investigated. It is believed that the division into the three elements of the criticism, the mythopoeia and the transfiguration here proposed, supplies us with a real classification of poetic methods of interpretation. As a matter of fact, Matthew Arnold's division breaks down in the application. For it gives him the curious result that Shelley has not the gift of poetic interpretation at all, as he has neither natural magic with Keats, nor moral profundity with Wordsworth, having natural magic only in his music, as Arnold is graciously pleased to allow in a foot-note conceived in an eleemosynary spirit. A lesser than a Browning and a Swinburne might have been well left to vindicate Shelley's heritage of immortal renown against a pigmy-attack like this. What we are concerned with here is the proof which such a solecism affords, that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your Arnoldian philosophy and criticism. We shall be content with pointing out for the present two more methods of poetic interpretation, as real as either natural magic or moral profundity. There is the method of interpenetrative interpretation, which exalts and transfigures the heart of both Humanity and of Nature by making them light up each other. Shelley's *Euganean Hills*, *Skylark*, *Cloud*, and *Ode to the West Wind*, and Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore's *Fountain awakened from its Dream*, *Evening*, *Dew-drop*, *Suicide of a Star*, and *Re-union with Nature*, are among the finest examples known to us in this style of poetic interpretation, which reaches its apex in Victor Hugo's *Leaves of Autumn*. Many of Wordsworth's lyrical pieces are, in this vein of interpenetrative interpretation, raised to the moral or spiritual platform. One other method of interpretation, of which Shelley is a great master, is the transfiguration of the inner life of the Heart of Humanity, apart from any ethical purpose or note of moral profundity. This is what we have already termed the idealistic transfiguration of subjective egoism, which, of all the methods of poetic interpretation, has in it the most magic, or thaumaturgy. Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore's *Invocation to Sorrow* and *Wail of Defeat*, unless we are mistaken, cannot be very far from the apex of poetic achievement in this style. It remains only to add, that natural magic and the two modes of poetic interpretation we have just noticed, are comprised as varieties under the general method of transfiguration,

and that moral profundity is one of the subdivisions under that of the objective criticism of life. Some of the different varieties of the mythopoeic method of poetic interpretation, to which belong Goethe's *Phantasmagory of Helen*, De Quincey's *Dream-fugue*, and Shelley's *Witch of Atlas*, *Sensitive Plant*, and, to some extent, his *Alastor and Epipsychidion*, will be noticed later on in this paper.

The *Udvranta Prema* and the lyrics of Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore illustrate two broadly marked varieties of literary diction and harmony which it may not be amiss to indicate. The lyrics are in what may be termed the elementary style, which employs elementary emotions and images, like the elementary lines and colours, or the fundamental musical proportions in the sister Arts, to effect the transfiguration. Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction was at bottom an inculcation of the truth that the fresh, simple, and original emotions and images of Humanity and Nature will suffice to produce startling and endlessly varied effects in poetic Art. The simplicity of diction is only an external mark of the inner elementariness. Wordsworth's and Shelley's poems, for the most part, are written in this style, and in a higher field of art many of Browning's lyrics, romances, and even dramatic monodies illustrate the same diction. Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore's lyrics display, in a very marked and emphatic manner, the capabilities of this elementary style, and, as a reaction against an exaggerated form of an opposite variety, appear to have effected quite a revolution in the diction and cadence of Bengali lyrical and dramatic poetry. The *Udvranta Prema*, on the other hand, is one of the best examples in literature of the compound style, a style which employs, as its unit, starry clusters of associated images and feelings, "trailing clouds of glory," as they come or rich trains of harmonious suggestion, with their many-coloured fountain-play and evanescent rainbow hues. As contrasted with Shelley's, Byron's, or Wordsworth's style, Keats' style is markedly compound, and Swinburne and Dante, Gabriel Rossetti, and, to some extent, Tennyson and Victor Hugo, continue the tradition in pure poetry. But the glorification of the compound style is incompatible with the "narrow metres and regular cadences" of poetry, even Milton's blank verse not being excepted, and is witnessed in the prose rhapsodies of Carlyle and DeQuincey, Victor Hugo and Jean Paul Richter.

What is abundantly clear is, that the neo-romantic lyric in Bengali literature, while it has advanced beyond the negative criticism and the deadly conflict in which it first takes its rise, has just entered upon the second stage, that of

the constructive synthesis of life and consciousness, and has not yet transcended its early subjective, or individualistic, character. A few aspects of Nature and not many more moods, situations, or emotions of individualistic life, are alone transfigured. Invention, said Keats, is the pole-star of poetry, imagination the rudder, and fancy only the sails. In the lyrical sea which the Bengali neo-romantic poet navigates, he is without guidance of star and rudder, and trusts only to the sails.

Of Invention, of the creative or constructive imagination, "which may be compared to Adam's dream that on awaking he found to be true," there is a total dearth; and of objective criticism of life, there is not the faintest prelude. An objective synthesis of life and consciousness through a regulative conception, or even a creative mythopoeic imagination, as in the Apprenticeship, and the Sartor Resartus, is yet only the dream of a New World that lures on some bold but hapless navigator, here and there, out into the remorseless and trackless deep. How phantom-like is this, compared with the palpitating flesh and glorious carnation of the European neo-romantic poesy! Beginning with Goethe's first conception of the lyrical method as genuinely subjective, and then, when the apprenticeship was over, becoming, in his hands, beautifully objective, the neo-romantic poetry in Western literature has gone on in subjective-objective fashion, adding domain after domain of the immense real life of Europe, with its teeming interests material and spiritual; social, political and religious; æsthetic, scientific and speculative, till, at last, in the dramatic monodies of Browning, as in Bishop Blongram's Apology, Sludge the Medium, and Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society, a new method makes its appearance—the natural history method as applied to modern phases of life, the method of an *Apologia pro vita sua*, or an introspective, autobiographic genesis. It is idle to expect in this country, in the absence of a surging Maelstrom of an intensely realistic life and a high pressure materialistic civilization, with "an impassioned breath in its countenance," such as may be summed up in the single word Parisian, it is idle to expect in the Bengali neo-romantic lyric a reflection of that rich, manifold and variegated society which Beranger and Musset, Sainte-Beuve and Theophile Gautier, Swinburne and Clough, Buchanan and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, hold up to the mirror in their many-coloured pages. Even if we go back to early attempts, like those of Shelley and Keats, with their comparatively meagre and barren canvas of life, their merely idealistic or subjective reconstruction of life and consciousness, we cannot fail to be struck with the bewildering complexity of

their intellectual interests. Within the boundless ever-expanding range of Shelley's intellectual interests fell at one time or another—(strange that a Matthew Arnold, a worshipper at the gate, should *presume to miss* force of intellect in a veritable Demiurge or Prometheus of the modern world)—subjective as well as Platonic Idealism ; Spinozism and Intellectualism ; Voltairien as well as Nihilistic Scepticism ; Hellenism and modern Socialism ; Pessimism and Social Revolt ; Italian Art and chemical Experiments ; Spanish Romance and Pantheistic Mysticism ; pathological and experimental Psychology and the monastic rule of life ; Irish and neo-Hellenic Politics and German Metaphysics ; Goethe's Universalism and faint streaks of the Kantian Criticism. Keats' intellectual growth and expanse of mental horizon is only less interesting than that of Shelley, comprising, as it did in quick succession, mediæval romance, Hellenic mythology, Italian Poetry and Art, modern History and Biography, Heroics and Epics, and finally the Elizabethan drama of real life and passion.

Of all these, or their Indian analogues, there is not the faintest trace in the Bengali neo-romantic minstrelsy, except so far as Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore's imaginative reconstruction, under the pseudonym of Vanu Sinha, of the mediæval loves of Radhika and Krishna on the banks of the Jumna, "sacred stream," fairly matches Keats' reproduction of mediæval Italian romance and passion, which is as far above the antique masquerade of the Scott's romantic revival, as it is immeasurably below the neo-Italian and neo-Pagan reconstruction of William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, of Swinburne and Lewis Morris and Elizabeth Barrett to Browning, not to speak of the greatest modern master in this line, Robert Browning.

The sacred loves of Radhika and Krishna introduce us to the next definite step taken by the neo-romantic movement in Bengal. It was seen in the last section that a current of transfiguration, of the old social and religious order, sets in, as a direct result of the illumination, and of the sceptical, or negative, criticism which acts as a powerful disintegrant. In Europe we trace the following manifestations of the current of artistic revival and reconstructive transfiguration of the old romantic order :—

- (1) The romantic revival in Germany associated with Heider and Burger, Goethe and Schiller, and generally the leaders of the Sturm-und-drang period.
- (2) A second movement, in England, associated with Scott Ellis Ritson, Lockhart, Matthew Gregory Lewis, and generally the metrical-historical romanticists. These two revivals addressed themselves more to the externals of mediæval romance than to its innerspirit.

- (3) Another, in France, associated with Chateaubriand and De Maistre. The movement subsequently branched off into the historico-romantic school headed by Augustin Thierry.
- (4) A fourth movement, in Germany, the romantic school by pre-eminence, associated with Tieck, the brothers Schlegel, Novalis and Görres. The terms romantic and neo-romantic are indifferently applied to this *school*. It is needless to state that we desire to reserve the term neo-romantic for the *epoch*, or *stage*, which is the subject of this paper, giving it a wider and more comprehensive meaning, in accordance with the analogy of the terms neo-classical and neo-oriental.

A fifth romantic movement in France, headed by Lamartine and Hugo, may be dismissed, as having very little to do with a revival of the romantic order, being simply of æsthetic significance, as a struggle between classicism and romanticism (in reality between a hybrid pseudo-classicism and an exaggerated neo-romanticism), as types of art. The fourth movement has also the same æsthetic interest; but it moreover possesses a deep social and religious significance, in common with the third, which was nearly contemporaneous. The re-actionary political character of this last, may be gathered from the circumstance that Chateaubriand's Napoleon and the Bourbons was declared by Louis XVIII to be worth "an army of 100,000 men on the side of legitimacy." His *Genius of Christianity* had done the same knight's service to the cause of Roman Catholicism and the priesthood in France. De Maistre's *Generative Principle of Political Constitutions*, and, long afterwards, his examination of the Baconian Philosophy, expounded a socio-political, as well as speculative mysticism, which was simply a transfiguration of the old feudal and monarchical *regime*, a consummation of the work which Burke had begun. Sentimentality and mysticism were also the predominant characteristics of the fourth movement in Germany. At first a religious mysticism, counteracting the prevailing materialistic tendencies of the age, it soon came to be an ally of the Conservative Government, merging in the extreme Hegelian right, and, as such, was gibbeted as an ignominious traitor by that terrible leader of the army of the emancipated, the would-be red republican Heine.

The successive waves of revival and transfiguration of the old *regime* in Europe, traced above, will prepare us for a study of the parallel movement in Bengal known as neo-Hinduism, or the Hindu revival. To slightly alter a figure from the

philosophic biographer of Burke, the scriptural description of the symbolical image, with the head of gold, the breast of silver, the body and thighs of brass, and the legs and feet of iron and clay, well applies to this composite movement of revival. Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji is its head of gold, Babus Chandra Natha Bose and Akshaya Chandra Saicar are the silver breast and arms, a Bengali journalist furnishes the brass, and the rank and file of the great army of indolent slaves to routine form the feet of clay. One of the two branches of this movement, that headed by Pundit Sasadhar Tarkachuramani and Kumara Srikrishna Prasanna Sen, being what may be termed illumination-proof, is devoid of the neo-romantic element of reconstructive transfiguration which is the child of illumination, and does not therefore come within our purview. Neo-Hinduism, properly speaking, applies only to the other movement, led by Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji as its theologian and constructive thinker, Babu Chandra Natha Bose, as its miscellaneous essayist and critic, and Babu Nabina Chandra Sen, as its epic poet. Said Cnateaubriand, the leader of the third movement in France, "I am a Bourbonist in honour, a monarchist by conviction, and a republican by temperament and disposition;" and in this country, in need of an equally comprehensive plea, stands, no doubt, the thinker who contributed to its literature of Illumination an article entitled Mill, Darwin and the Hindu Religion, another headed Miranda, Desdemona and Sakuntala, an exposition of the Sankhya Philosophy, and a pamphlet on Samya (*Egalité*), once the leader of the vanguard of emancipation and deliverance, now the Balaam of the children of Moab and, we may say too, Philistia!

Navajivana (the New Life), a journal which was started as the organ of neo-Hinduism, suggests, by its very title, the working of that impulse which led Hardenberg, the rhapsodist of the fourth European movement of romantic revival, to call himself Novalis. Many of the articles in this journal on the Puranic gods and goddesses, on Hindu Pantheism and Ethics, on Hindu festivals, ceremonials and customs, illustrate that grotesque and incongruous blending of the physical with the spiritual which in Germany reached its apex in Novalis's Disciples at Sais. A hopeless sterility, a blank, stunned stare, an incongruous mysticism, a jelly-fish structure of brain and heart, are the characteristic features of this hybrid literature of impotence, as we may call it, in distinction from the literature of power and the literature of knowledge. From this great sink of national imbecility, over which may well be inscribed, as its motto, "Abandon Hope, all ye who enter here," it is refreshing to turn to Babu Chandra Natha Bose's Secret of

Sikuntala and his essays on love, religion, marriage, and cognate subjects. Here, at least, the hieroglyphical utterances of the Navajivana, which may be best likened to the senseless manderings of some Hebraising Cambro-Britons over the unintelligible and uncouth remains of Stonehenge, do not assail our ears; but in the best style of art-criticism, following in the wake of Friderich Schlegel, the profound interpreter of the grand old masters of romantic art and a distinguished leader of the fourth European movement of romantic revival, our author lights up with a fine moral and spiritual significance the conventional structure and characters of the Hindu drama. Nobody need inquire into the historic truth or foundation of this æsthetic interpretation, or, for that matter, Fr. Schlegel's interpretation of Calderon's Christian symbolism and allegory, as exhibited in the Adoration of the Cross, or of Titian's Martyrdom of St. Peter, or Ulrici's of Shakespere's King Lear; such constructive criticism exhibits a power of intuition, or divination, being, in the region of *imagination*, what Cuvier's and Owen's gift, of making out an extinct animal structure, like the Megatherium, from a few fossil bones, was in the region of *science*. The hard and fast forms of the Hindu marriage and the Hindu family and social systems, however, do not yield to this imaginative mode of treatment, and thus our author's attempted spiritualisation of these real factors is a distinct failure. His æsthetic Pantheism, or spiritual Epicureanism, here degenerates into effusive sentimentality, and is open to the charge of posturing and attitudinizing.

But the Coryphæus of this movement, as has been stated, is, Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji. His Essays on Religion and exposition of the Bhagavatgita published in the two journals, Navajivana and Prachara, form the gospel of this new propaganda. What strikes the reader familiar with the European religious movements of our age, is the fact that Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji's religious teaching is an attempt to reconcile the conflicting elements of many of these movements within the pale of Hinduism, somewhat in the same manner as Baring-Gould, in tracing the origin and development of religious belief, finds the different physical, social and spiritual needs of man that are gratified by the different heathen religions, and even such superstitions as Fetichism, Shamanism, and Taoism, all embraced within the fold of Christianity. In this meeting-ground of incongruities, here held up in perspective, one recognises Pantheism and Agnosticism; Positivism and Asceticism; Renunciation and Ritualism; Gnosticism and Justification by Faith; the Gospels of Work and Prayer; Church Authority and Individual Judgment, Free Will and Fate; Progress and Order; Spiritual Worship and Avatarism; Historic Religion and

Evolution ; Hindu Nationalism and cosmic Propagandism ; the Material Civilization of the West and the Spiritual Renunciation of the East Evidently the views on man and the universe held by thinkers like Mill, Spencer and Darwin, have vitally affected the author's interpretation of Hindu religion and philosophy ; but the profoundest influence of all has been that of Auguste Comte, whose Positive Polity and Religion unconsciously appear in almost everything that our author has to say on domestic, social and political ideals and institutions, and the creation or conservation of national life (especially in his novels *Devi Chaudhurani* and *Ananda Matha*). It is only meet that the Brahmin theologian of our day should return that profound admiration which the founder of Positivism entertained for some aspects of the Brahminical organisation of society.

From a purely speculative point of view, or regarded as a sketch of a theological system, the new teaching can hardly stand the test of criticism. But this is not altogether a fatal objection. For religious movements, in a sense we shall presently understand, are not bound to be scientific, and, it may be added with equal truth, they are not bound to be logical. In other words, it is, not logical analysis, but the synthesis of life which logic is unable to accomplish ; not Reason, but obedience ; not the understanding, but the religious organ of **veneration** ; dependence ; a sense of the Infinite, or some other spiritual instinct or craving, that the *historic religions* profess to gratify ; and it is, therefore, as absurd to reject a *religious discipline*, because it is not a demonstrated philosophical system, or an inductively established scientific doctrine, as it would be to turn away from Virgil's *Æneid* because Virgil is unhistorical and commits the ethnological blunder of tracing Roman descent from the Trojans, or, with the mathematician, to demolish Milton's *Paradise Lost* by triumphantly asking what it proves after all. Of course it will be perceived that religion is here taken in its narrower sense to mean the emotional apprehension of the Absolute, as Art is the symbolical or imaginative apprehension. In the wider sense, Religion is the complete realisation of the Absolute ; it requires harmony of cognition, feeling and imagination, and must be true alike to philosophy (including, for our present purpose, science), Art and what is specially known as the Religious consciousness. All perception of this distinction is wanting in Matthew Arnold, and hence the mischief of his teaching as to the divorce between religion and science. For the future is with the wider and not the narrower conception. We have now systems of philosophy culminating in religion, the systems of Hegel and Schopenhauer, Comte and Spencer, which aim at replacing the narrower conception of the historic religions by a wider and more comprehensive religion in

consonance with the science of the age. It would be worse than fatuity to mention Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji's attempt in the same breath with these world-building forces ; it moves within the narrower sphere of the religious consciousness, and has no pretensions to being considered other than a *religious discipline or rule of life*. But, as a progressive movement within a historic church, it stands on a par with those of Abbé Lamennais, and Dr. Döllinger, and, as a moral and spiritual discipline, it fairly bears comparison with Matthew Arnold's Religion of Culture. But its deeper affinities lie elsewhere, with the wave of historico-religious revival associated with Chateaubriand's Genius of Christianity and De Maistre's Generative Principle of Political Constitutions. A historic reconstruction of the origins of Hinduism is attempted by the Brahmin theologian ; but, in point of massive learning, power of intuition, or divination, a disciplined historic sense and a comprehensive historic method, it is slight, and beneath a moment's comparison with the reconstruction of the canonical writings, or of the Life of Christ, attempted by Strauss, Baur or Renan. The fact is that a theological propædæutic, even a preliminary training in the modern historico-exegetical methods, is sadly wanting to the Brahmin leader of the neo-Hindu revival. The Krishna of the Mahabharata, which Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji's religious reconstruction brings before us, is an entirely different portrait in central conception and design from the Christ of Strauss, or even of the New Tübingen school. But this Krishna is exactly such a figure of ancient Indian history as would have delighted De Maistre's soul, offering one more illustration of his fundamental political teaching as to the origin of society or political communities being always supernatural and shrouded in mystery, a dim pre-historic vista, peopled with moving shapes and looming phantoms of half-divine heroes and legislators, the Avatars of future tradition.

Babu Navina Chandra Sen's Raivataka is the epic of the Hindu religious revival. This huge epic, in twenty books, is marred by an æsthetic incongruity that is repulsive and fatal. It is difficult to repress one's admiration for the creative genius that could conceive the three striking figures—Krishna, Vyasa and Arjuna—as they are revealed in the first, second, third, seventh, twelfth, and seventeenth books ; it is as difficult to repress one's contempt for the *postaccio* that could ruin the epic splendour of that creative energy by the puling sentimentality and degenerate effeminacy of the sixth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth books. These fumes of a drunken Eros have no place beside the calm clear light, "the consecration and the dream," which shrouds the majestic figures of the half-divine Triad. The Uranian Venus might

not be unworthily introduced, but the lyrist of the Avakasa-Ranjini has apparently had no glimpse of any other Venus than the white-bosomed, cestus-engirdled Cypris of Bion and Theocritus. The simple truth is that ten of the twenty books (Books VI, VIII, X, XI, XIII, XV, XVI, XVIII, and, we may add, Books V and XX) must be lopped off, if the Raivataka is to take a place among the great epics of Bengal. The fragment that would remain would be a colossal wreck of a national epic, transfiguring, in the light of the illumination, the religious, political and social life of the India of the Mahabharata period. The grandeur of the situation fails description. A dim pre-historic vista,—a hundred surging peoples and mighty kingdoms, in that dim light, clashing and warring with one another like, emblematic, dragons and crocodiles and griffins on some Afric shore,—a dark polytheistic creed and inhuman polytheistic rites,—the astute Brahmin priest, fomenting eternal disunion by planting distinctions of caste, of creed and of political government on the basis of Vedic revelation,—the lawless brutality of the tall blonde Aryan towards the primitive, dark-skinned, scrub-nosed children of the soil,—the Kshatriya's star, like a huge comet brandished in the political sky, casting a pale glimmer over the land,—the wily Brahmin priests, jealous of the Kshatriya ascendancy, entering into an unholy compact with the non-Aryan Naga and Dasyu hordes, and adopting into the Hindu Pantheon the Asuric gods of the latter, the trident-bearing Mahadeo, with troops of demons fleeing at his beck, or that frenzied goddess of war, the hideous Kali, with her necklace of skulls,—the non-Aryan Nagas and Dasyus crouching in the hilly jungles and dens like the fell beasts of prey, and in the foreground, the figure of the half-divine legislator, Krishna, whom Vishnu, the Lord of the Universe, guides through mysterious visions and phantasms unfurling in the fulness of his destiny, the flag of a universal religion of Vaishnavism which was to hurl down the Brahmin priesthood and their cruel Vedic ritualism, and to establish in their place the Kingdom of God in Mahabharata, one vast Indian Empire, a realised Universal Human Brotherhood embracing Aryan and non-Aryan in bonds of religious, social, and political unity ;—a grand design, a scenic pomp, an antique as well as modern significance like this, what national epic can show ? A colossal wreck of a national epic like this would stand the fragment of Raivataka, consisting of the ten books already mentioned, even then, the epic of neo-Hinduism, constituted such by the distinctive features of transfigured symbolism and allegorical mysticism. But the Raivataka in twenty books, we know, is a work which can arouse only indignation, we had almost said, contempt, for who can read books like the eleventh or the eighteenth

without a gnashing of the teeth, or an instinctive curl on the lower lip?

We have, in the endeavour to give a connected account of the neo-Hindu movement, passed over two remarkable works, one of them of monumental grandeur, in the neo-romantic literature of Bengal. The Valmikir Jaya, or the three Forces, physical, intellectual and moral, of Pandit Haraprasada Shastri, and the Sarada-Mangala of Babu Beharilala Chakravarti, represent a real advance in method and design upon the transfiguration of subjective egoism with which Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore's lyrics are replete. What predominates in these two works, the one a prose rhapsody, the other a phantasmagory in verse, is the mythopœia, both the transfiguration and criticism being subordinated to the central myth. Generically speaking, we may call this the mythopœic method of poetic interpretation, of which the fundamental design is a phantom-like succession of majestic shapes and images, stalking figures, allegories, and symbols, rolling on in one vast, surging, dream-like movement, "*tumultuosissimamente*." Goethe's phantasmagory, of Helena, De Quincey's Dream-fugue, many of Richter's rhapsodies in his Fruit, Flower and Thorn pieces, as also in his recreations under the Cranium of a Giantess, Shelley's Witch of Atlas, Sensitive Plant and to a great extent, his Alastor and Epipsychidion, and Byron's Dream, are glorious examples of this mythopœic method of poetic interpretation. There are endless varieties of this method, according as the two constituent elements, the phantasm and the movement, vary in character, and according as there is more or less of transfiguration and criticism. For example, the Valmikir Jaya is instinct with the profoundest criticism of life and society, and of schemes of regeneration of humanity, the myth being grouped round a central idea, or regulative conception. On the other hand, the Sarada Mangala, which may be described as a Bengali version of a phantasmagory that should combine the two visions Alastor and Epipsychidion in one, revels in an intoxication of emotional transfiguration. With regard to the movement, the Valmikir Jaya is more processional, the Sarada Mangala more billowy. Similarly, the phantasms, visions, or images have a definite sculptural, cast in the one, and an indefinite, musical billowness in the other. We have said that the mythopœic method is an advance upon a method of mere transfiguration, such as natural magic or the transfiguration of subjective egoism. This is because creative or constructive imagination is more elaborative, and has greater complexity of organisation, than mere emotional exaltation, however intense. As a result, a deeper criticism of life, a higher regulative conception, is usually present in the former than in

the latter. Indeed, the central idea of Valmikir Jaya, which is very inadequately expressed by describing it as the eternal triumph of moral over intellectual and physical force, has alike moral profundity and universal applicability. It is not, however, the criticism of life and society, but the mythopœia, the phantasmal succession, that constitutes the essence of this sublime rhapsody. For we must say at once that it is the most glorious phantasmagory in literature known to us. Goethe's Helena with its weird uncertain movement, mingling the antique with the mediæval, the classical with the romantic, displays a fine critical insight; but it pales before the Valmikir Jaya, not only in moral profundity, but also in grandeur of design, a sense of primitive elemental freedom, and an intoxication of the creative imagination. De Quincey's Dream-fugue, strangely mingling the sepulchral passion of deliverance from sudden death with the jubilant salvation of Christendom from that apocalyptic dragon, the first Napoleon, and symbolically with the Resurrection of Christ, strains after a profound spiritual significance; but it pales before the Valmikir Jaya, in internal and organic connectedness, if not in the weird sublimity of the phantom-like procession. Richter's Dream of the dead Christ is morally profound, and grotesquely imaginative; but it pales before the Valmikir Jaya in magnitude and breadth of canvas and dramatic intensity of life and passion. The Bengali phantasmagory is sublime, not with the sublimity of Ossa and Olympus, but with that of the Himalayan range. Viswamitra, with his creation of a Universe and his fall, forms the Everest,—the descent of the celestial Ribhus from beyond the Milky Way upon the mountain summits the Kinchinjanga, and the vision of the Virata Murti, or the Universe-body of Vishnu, the Dhawalagiri, of this majestic range. The transfiguration here of the India of the Ramayana period (though not in the neo-Hindu interest) would compare favourably with that of the India of the Mahabharata epoch in the Raivataka fragment, both bearing marks of the illumination in the motto of fraternity or universal brotherhood, and it may be safely said that Viswamitra and Krishna, with the two visions of the Virata Murti, are the sublimest conceptions to which the neo-romantic movement in Bengal has given birth. And this leads us to remark that the neo-oriental material of the Puranas lends itself with peculiar ease to neo-romantic treatment. In the classical epos of Michael Madhu Sudana Dutt and Hema Chandra Banerji, we observe no special advantage that the poets derive from the nature of the neo-oriental traditions they work up; but this is at once perceived when neo-romantic treatment is applied to the neo-oriental material. This is easily intelligible *à priori*, when we consider the element that

is common to the three transitional stages, the neo-oriental, the neo-classical and the neo-romantic.

A volume of lyrics and ballads entitled *Alô-ô-Chhaya* (Lights and Shadows) by Miss Kamini Sen, a lady-graduate of the Calcutta University, is the latest product of the movement under survey in this country. It is a work of great talent and greater promise, and is of unique interest as carrying one of the three elements of the neo-romantic poesy further than any other Bengali poem. In point of natural magic, or transfiguration of subjective egoism, the lyrics are nowhere beside Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore's Songs of Sunset, and as regards the creative Imagination, unfolding deathless visions of Sublimity or Beauty, the finely imaginative pieces in this volume, *Mahasweta*, *Pundarika* and *Chandrapada's Awakening*, are eclipsed in the blaze of the *Valmikir Jaya* and the *Sarada Mangala*. But in the other element, the objective criticism of life, the previous works are meagre beside Miss Sen's poetry. The *Quest After Happiness*, *Sorrow*, *Renunciation*, *New Year's Eve*, *Destiny*, *The Pole-star*, *The Dream of Youth*, *Hope's Enchantment*, *Farewell*, *Asunder*, *In Abraham's Bosom*, *The Mother's Call*, *The Uninvited*, *A Three Years' Child*, *Where?* *The Question*, *the Inner Soul of Beauty* are the titles of some of the pieces, titles which fail to give any idea of the variety of moods, situations, scenes and interests of life they compass and comprehend. There is not a trace here of the Vulcanic agencies of society in which French realism sees all things, as the Huttonians saw the world in the forces and fires of Vulcanism, or, to borrow a figure from Matthew Arnold, as Malebranche saw all things in God. Neither is there here any trace of the Satanic element, in which the Satanic school, headed by the author of *Don Juan*, that epic of modern realism, revel. Breadth, size, altitude, foreshortening, there is none; the large stature, or the "large utterance" of the gods, one will be disappointed in seeking here. But the poetess's gift of subtle intellectual analysis, bringing out the uncommon in the common, the hidden grace, the soul of individuality, the note or charm of pathos, in the ordinary scenes and situations of life, has in it a rare and exquisite flavour, and is entirely novel in Bengali literature. Of Wordsworth, who possessed this gift (along with the faculty divine, the consecration and the dream) in a greater degree than most other men, there is a genuine echo in many of the lyrics (as in *Oh! My Destiny*, *The Pole-star*, *The Travellers' Greeting*, *To A Three Years' Child*, *In Abraham's Bosom*, *The Mother's Call*, *The Inner Soul of Beauty*). Hope, love, self-renunciation, the quest after happiness, are treated from the idealistic point of view; but the idealism here is more largely an echo of Shelley in his moods of Platonic Optimism, than

of that traveller between life and death, Wordsworth. A delicate filigree-work, a dance as of silver-twinkling feet, a soft, lolling lilt, is the character of her style and cadence, an external form well-suited to the simple Wordsworthian pathos, the subtle intellectual analysis and the womanly delicacy and refinement of culture, that constitute the soul of Miss Sen's poetry. Duty, humanitarian enthusiasm ; renunciation and self-sacrifice ; even a sort of Indian Iphigenia in Tauris, occupy a large space in Miss Sen's mental horizon ; but moral profundity there is none, and it is as well to say, there can be none, in the entire absence of the Vulcanic agencies and the Satanic element of life. A great spirit is a Golgotha, as Goethe said, and it is equally true that moral wisdom blooms in the Garden of Gethsemane. In place of the Garden of Gethsemane, we have here the Garden of Eden with the thornless Rose of Paradise, and for Golgotha we have the Valley of the Delectable Mountains. The " Dream of Youth " is extremely suggestive of the limitations of the poetess's personal experience, producing corresponding limitations of scope, vision, treatment and style ; the simplicity, faith, innocence of childhood blooms in many of the lyrics ; the " Nirvan " is too easily attained, and in the very next piece, the Awakening, there is an elasticity, a flexibility, a capacity for change, which betrays a want of organic synthesis of consciousness, to which are also due the abrupt transitions to incongruous moods which the careful reader will occasionally detect, as, for example, in the Panchaka (The Quincunx of Love, or better The Pentad) of which the first, the second and the last three pieces are internally disconnected with one another. There is much of grief in these lyrics, but the grief is jejune, or at best imaginative ; evidently the iron has not entered into the soul ; and the cry is not the shriek of a Hercules wearing the poisoned garment of the Centaur Nessus. All this, in our eyes, enhances the significance of the volume, as indicating a growing mind, an expanding soul, rich in the promise and potency of wisdom. Already in the last piece but two, a Soul's Tragedy, there is a real advance in complexity of passion and dramatic intensity of life, which is highly impressive, and the last three pieces of the Quincunx (Panchaka) are all but morally profound in their treatment of love. The three poems, Maliasweta, Pundarika and Chandrapida's Awakening, are almost the only pieces in this volume displaying the talent of a fine imagination, and they are all reproductions of the neo-oriental apotheosis and transfiguration of love in the Kadambari. The theme of the immortality and apotheosis of love, dealt with, in the neo-oriental fashion, with lawless and grotesque symbolism in the Sanskrit romance, is here transfigured beneath the sunset hue, or the " purple

amethyst," of neo-romantic love, though not with the fulness or profundity of Browning's reproduction of an analogous classical theme, the Alcestis of Euripides, in Balaustion's Adventure ; and this artistic mingling of the neo-oriental with the neo-romantic, in these pieces, as also, though in a more important direction, in the Raivataka fragment and the Valmikir Jaya, brings into view a halting-stage, with a Janus visage on a pedestal, looking both ways, to the past and the future, where we may conveniently break journey for the present.

. BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL.

ART. IX.—A PLEA FOR THE FORMATION OF A LINNÆAN SOCIETY IN CALCUTTA.

THE want of an association exclusively devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of Zoology, Botany and Geology is strongly felt on this side of India. Though the Asiatic Society of Bengal, since its foundation in 1784, has, to a certain extent, discharged the functions of such a society, by investigating, to quote the words of its illustrious founder, "into whatever is produced by nature within the geographical limits of Asia," yet, being mostly devoted to researches into antiquities, literature, history and anthropology, it cannot direct the same amount of attention to the pursuit of the Natural History group of sciences, as it does to the study of literary and historical subjects. A few papers on botanical subjects appear to have been read before the society during the earlier years of its existence; but the foundation of the Royal Botanical Gardens in Calcutta in 1786, and of those at Saharanpur in 1823, and the patronage extended by the late Hon'ble East India Company to the savants in its service, who prosecuted researches into the Flora of India, removed the science of botany from the special care and attention of the society. Hence, when the Physical Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was formed in 1828, this science was excluded from the range of subjects investigated by the society. Hence also the paucity of papers on botanical subjects read before the society and published in its *Journal*. Previous to the year 1828, few papers on zoological and geological subjects seem to have been presented to the society. The Physical Committee of the Society was revived on the 2nd of January of that year, under the auspices of Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. James Calder, and from that time we find that numerous contributions, embodying original investigations into Zoology, Geology and Mineralogy, began to pour in, as the volumes of the *Asiatic Researches* and the *Journal A. S. B.*, published subsequently to that year, testify. Thus it will be seen that, though the Asiatic Society of Bengal has been the pioneer of original researches into the Fauna and Flora of India, yet it cannot now-a-days devote its undivided attention to the study of the Natural Sciences. This inability on the part of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to keep pace with the rapid strides which the knowledge of the Natural Sciences is making in other parts of the world is nowhere more patent

than amongst the members of the society themselves. Lieutenant-Colonel J. Waterhouse, President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the course of his address delivered before the Annual Meeting of the Society in February 1889, observed : "For myself, though I should be the last to underrate the value of the admirable work our society has done and is doing, I should be glad to see it occupy a more prominent position as the exponent and representative of scientific progress in this country and keep itself more in touch with the movements of the day in the direction of scientific and technical education, and the spread of scientific knowledge in its application to the practical requirements of the country. New societies and new journals are being started, some of them for objects quite within our scope. *It is exceedingly gratifying to see this evidence of progress, but at the same time it seems to show that our society does not sufficiently meet the requirements of the times, and it might be well for us to consider whether anything could with advantage be done to extend its usefulness by a re-arrangement of our journals and the encouragement of branch societies or sections for special objects.* This, however, is a subject upon which I cannot now enlarge." It is thus evident that the necessity of founding societies having for their objects the promotion of the study of special sciences, is felt by the society itself; and it would appear that there is already room for the foundation of a special society for prosecuting researches into Zoology, Botany and Geology exclusively, and there is ample field still left unexplored for the work of such a society. There still remains much to be done in the way of working out the Fauna and the Flora not only of Asia but also of India itself; and that a Linnaean Society of Calcutta, like its celebrated namesakes, the Linnaean Societies of London and of New South Wales (in Australia), would find ample work in that direction to engage itself upon. When the Calcutta Zoological Gardens were founded in 1876, it was proposed in the original prospectus that the Committee of Management should eventually be formed into a Scientific Association having for its objects the maintenance of the gardens in a state of the highest scientific efficiency and the promotion of the pursuit of zoology. In order to give effect to this proposal "the Committee, in July 1882, suggested to Government that the donors and subscribers to the gardens should be permitted to form themselves into a society, institute, or association, to carry out the aims mentioned and embodied in the original prospectus. On the 15th of December 1882, the Lieutenant-Governor signified his approval of the proposed change, and, on the 14th of March 1883, the

proposal received the sanction of the Government of India, but on the understanding that the control of Government over the society would be fully provided for in the Articles of Association. The Committee have again had the subject before them, but have resolved to take no further action until the ensuing cold weather (of 1883), when there will be a great number of members in Calcutta than at present (on the occasion of the Calcutta International Exhibition held in 1883-84); but, in the meantime, steps will be taken to have the Articles of Association drawn up." (*Vide* page 6 of the Report of the Honorary Committee for the Management of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens for the year 1882-83.) It will be seen from this, that, since the establishment of the Zoological Gardens at Alipore, efforts have, from time to time, been made to constitute the Honorary Committee of Management of the Gardens into a Zoological Society of India, which will not only develop and display the zoological wealth of this country, but also promote and foster all original researches into the Fauna of India. It was proposed to found the Society in Calcutta, after the model of the Zoological Society of London, which not only supports one of the finest Zoological Gardens in the world, but by the reading of papers on zoological subjects at its scientific meetings, by discussions thereupon, and by the publication of its organ—the *Proceedings* and the *Transactions*, which are always replete with memoirs, monographs and notes of great scientific interest, have considerably added to our knowledge of the various animals now living on the surface of the globe, and have raised zoology into a position of one of the most accurate of sciences. But it is to be regretted that the efforts made in Calcutta in this direction proved unsuccessful; and that the project of forming a Zoological Society of India in Calcutta fell through. With respect to the falling through of this proposal, the Bengal Administration Report for 1884-85 (p. 345) says: "A proposal was made in July 1882 to form an Association under Act IV of 1882, for the management of the Zoological Gardens, and the proposed change in the constitution of the committee which manages the institution was approved by the Government of India. Difficulties, however, were found in carrying out this intention, and the scheme has, it is understood, been abandoned." The failure of this proposal to form a special association in Calcutta, devoted exclusively to the study of Natural Science, is all the more to be regretted, since in the Western Presidency of India, there have been established special societies, having for their objects, the promotion of researches into special branches of science, exclusively, such as Natural History and Anthropology, in spite of the existence

of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is devoted to the investigation of the philosophy, sciences, arts, literature, geography and history of India. This society, which arose out of one started in 1804 by Sir James Mackintosh, under the name of the "Literary Society of Bombay," has among the subjects of its enquiries the Natural History group of sciences. In the course of his inaugural address, Sir James Mackintosh observed : " The whole extensive and beautiful science of Natural History, which is the foundation of all physical knowledge, has many additional charms in a country like India, where so many treasures must still be unexplored. The science of Mineralogy, which has been, of late years, cultivated with great activity in Europe, has such a palpable connection with the useful arts, that it cannot be necessary to recommend it to the attention of the intelligent and curious. The Botany of India has been less neglected, but it cannot be exhausted. To the members of the learned profession of medicine, who are necessarily spread over every part of India, all the above enquiries peculiarly, though not exclusively, belong." Thus eloquently did Sir James set forth the advantages of the natural sciences as subjects of enquiry for the members of the newly-formed Literary Society. But very few papers on Natural History subjects appear to have been read before the parent society, and even the number of papers on such subjects, presented to its offshoot—the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society—is so small, that they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. From an examination of its publications, it will appear that the latter society has altogether neglected the promotion of the pursuits of these sciences. In the index of authors, who contributed papers read before this society, we find only the names of T. Blanford, Broughton, Buist, Carter, Dalzell, D'Souza, Hislop, Fulljames, Leith and J. A. Murray, who are mentioned therein, as having contributed papers on Natural History subjects to the society. Only three persons, *viz.*, Dr. J. C. Lisboa, A. K. Nairne and N. A. Dalzell, contributed four papers, in all, on botanical subjects to it. So it would appear that the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, though originally founded for instituting investigations into the Natural as well as other sciences, does not now-a-days devote so much of its attention to the promotion of the pursuits of Zoology, Botany and Geology as they deserve. Of late years, it has devoted itself exclusively to investigations into the archaeology, the literature and the history of India, and, as regards researches into the Fauna and the Flora of the country, it appears to have, in a manner, become effete. Considering that the study of Natural History and Anthropology were

being neglected in that Presidency, two special societies, having for their objects the promotion of the pursuits of these two sciences, have been founded in Bombay. The steady progress which these societies are making, shews that a lively interest is taken in Biological and Anthropological studies on the other side of India. The Natural History Society of Bombay, which was established in the year 1883 for the promotion of the pursuit of Zoology, Botany and Geology in all their branches, so far as may be inferred from the rapid accession of members, whose number in 1888 was more than 400, and from the contents of the four volumes of the *Journal*—comprising sixteen numbers—which have been published by it, appears to be in a flourishing condition, and to be doing good work in that Presidency. It has also got together an admirable little museum of natural history curiosities, containing many rare and interesting specimens. The Anthropological Society of Bombay, which was founded by Mr. E. Tyrrell Leith in October 1886, for the purpose of promoting anthropological researches in India, by investigating and recording facts relating to the physical, intellectual, and moral development of man, and more especially of the various races inhabiting the Indian Empire, continues to flourish and is increasing its sphere of usefulness year by year. In 1888 it had over 330 members, and its members are now working out many interesting points in connection with the Anthropology and Ethnology of India and its dependencies. It has published a volume of its *Journal*—consisting of eight numbers—which is replete with interesting papers treating of the races, castes, religions, superstitions, arts, manners and customs of the various peoples inhabiting the continent of India. Bombay had even a special society for prosecuting researches into the geography of Asia and for exploring unknown tracts of countries in that continent. The Bombay Geographical Society was founded in the year 1831, originally as a branch of the Royal Geographical Society of London. In the year 1873, this society became amalgamated with the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and now forms its geographical section. From the year 1844 up to the year 1870, it published nineteen volumes of its *Journal* and *Transactions*—an important periodical containing, besides the usual papers on geographical subjects, grammatical sketches of several languages and dialects, as well as the most valuable contributions on the Natural Sciences of India. Since 1871, this publication has been amalgamated with the "*Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society." Considering that the subordinate Presidency of Bombay had, in past times, a society for

prosecuting researches into the geography of the Asiatic regions, and, at the present moment, boasts of two special associations devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of Natural History and Anthropology, it is a positive reproach to the city of Calcutta that it should remain without a special society for prosecuting researches into the Zoology, Botany and Geology of Asia. It is also a standing disgrace to the citizens of the metropolis of British India that attempts, made even under the auspices of the Government of Bengal and of India, to establish a Zoological Society of Bengal, should have hitherto proved fruitless. Almost every country in Europe, though possessing learned bodies devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of all the sciences, has nevertheless special societies for the prosecution of researches into its special branches. The same is the case in the United States of America. Though in Paris there is the Institute of France devoted to the prosecution of researches into all the branches of science and the fine arts, yet there are special societies for promoting the pursuits of its special branches exclusively. There are the Société Géologique, the Société Zoologique, the Société d' Anthropologie and others. In spite of the existence of the K. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, there are in that city, the special associations, named the K. K. Geologische Reichsanstalt, devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of geology, and the K. K. Zoologisch-Botanische Gesellschaft for prosecuting researches into Zoology and Botany. In Berlin there is a special society entitled the Entomologische Verein, which is composed of the leading German entomologists, though the Royal Academy of Sciences of that city pursues inquiries in that science. In Holland, the subject of Zoology is exclusively dealt with by the Royal Zoological Society of Amsterdam, in spite of the fact that that science is included among the subjects inquired into by the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen (the Royal Academy of Sciences of Amsterdam). The oldest of the learned societies in London is the Royal Society, which was incorporated by Royal Charter more than 200 years ago and had Charles II for its first patron. This renowned society, which numbers some 600 of the foremost scientific men of the day, is the pioneer of all scientific movements in England and has, for its objects, the promotion of researches into every branch of science. In spite of its existence, there are in London special bodies for investigating special branches of science. There are the Geological Society of London, founded in 1807, for geological researches; the Zoological Society founded in 1826, under the auspices of Sir Humphrey Davy and Sir Stamford Raffles, for the promotion of the study

of the living fauna of the world and for the acclimatisation of exotic animals in England; the Royal Botanical Society of London incorporated by Royal Charter in 1839 and devoted to the dissemination of botanical knowledge among the people of the United Kingdom, by the delivery of lectures on botanical subjects, by the holding of floral fêtes and by the exhibition of the fine collection of exotic plants in its gardens in Regent's Park. In addition to these, there is the Linnaean Society of London, which took its rise as a branch of the Royal Society in 1788, and which is devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of Zoology, Botany and Geology in all their branches. Even the provincial cities of Great Britain and Ireland, though possessing learned bodies devoted to the study of general science in all its branches, have nevertheless societies for the study of its special branches. Edinburgh, though possessing a Royal Society for the study of general science, yet boasts of a Botanical and a Geological Society exclusively devoted to the study of those branches of science. Though a Royal Society exists in Dublin, yet that city possesses a special scientific body under the title of the Geological Society of Ireland.

I have clearly shown that not only every civilized country in Europe, but even the Presidency-town of Bombay, though possessing learned bodies for the study of general science, has also special societies for prosecuting researches into special branches of scientific knowledge. Though the Asiatic Society of Bengal promotes the pursuits of general science in Northern India, yet in Calcutta there is no special body for prosecuting researches into its special branches. It seems, therefore, that it is now high time for the establishment in Calcutta of a society for the study of Zoology, Botany and Geology. It might be urged, by way of objection to this suggestion, that, when attempts made under the auspices of Government to establish a Zoological Society of Bengal proved abortive, there is no chance of success for this proposal to found a society in Calcutta for the promotion of the study of Natural Science. In answer to this objection, I would suggest that the Natural History Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal might very well be utilized by its being constituted the nucleus of the proposed society. This committee numbers some nineteen leading European naturalists in India, and they, together with such of the donors and subscribers to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens as might be willing to join, might be combined into a society under the title of the "Linnaean Society of India." The objects of the proposed society should be:—

- (1). To promote the prosecution of researches into Zoology, Botany and Geology in all their branches.

- (2). To hold periodical meetings at which papers and notes on Natural History subjects should be read and discussed.
- (3). To publish a periodical journal¹ containing the papers and notes read at its meetings and other communications of a kindred nature. All papers on Natural History subjects presented for reading before the Asiatic Society of Bengal should be transferred to this new society for publication in its journal.
- (4). To manage and develop the collections of living animals contained in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, and to publish original observations on the habits, instincts, breeding, &c., of rare and new animals that may be presented to, or acquired in any other way, by the gardens.
- (5). To form a museum of zoological specimens of animals that may die in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens and that may be presented to the society. This museum should be supplementary to the zoological collections, contained in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- (6). To form a herbarium of dried botanical specimens which should be supplementary to that existing in the Royal Botanic Gardens at Seebpore near Calcutta. It should also form a museum of economic botany like the one existing in the Royal Gardens at Kew.
- (7). To form a library of reference consisting of books on Zoology, Botany and Geology.
- (8). To publish a bibliography of the works treating of the Natural History of India.
- (9). To diffuse a knowledge of the Natural Sciences among the people of India, by the delivery of lectures on such subjects and otherwise.

I have shown the absolute necessity which exists on this side of India for the establishment of a Linnaean Society. It is for those who are interested in the cause of scientific progress in this country to respond to my call and to carry out my suggestion. The proposed Linnaean Society of Calcutta, if established, will not only remove a want long felt on this side of India, but will also further the cause of scientific research in this country.

THE QUARTER.

TAUGHT by the experience of last session, Lord Salisbury's Government has determined to discount the obstruction which it cannot undertake to prevent. Parliament was opened on the 25th ultimo with a speech from the Throne which was almost Spartan in its simple brevity. As far as foreign relations are concerned, it was as featureless as such speeches usually are in times of profound peace, and contained nothing but what was already known, or might have been taken for granted, while, in its survey of domestic affairs, it was remarkable rather for what it omitted than for what it contained. The struggle between labour and capital; the prospects of silver; the recent financial crisis, were all subjects at least as worthy of notice as the partial failure of the potato crop in Ireland. But there was a political object in rebutting the imputation made against the Government that it is disposed to minimise the importance of the last-named calamity, and, apart from the legislative programme announced, it was, perhaps, the most convenient reference to the affairs of Ireland that could have been made. The Parliamentary programme for the session is not only one of the most meagre on record, when measured by the number of the Bills announced, but is absolutely devoid of novelty. The country, however, can well spare sensations, and it will have every reason to be satisfied if even the three Bills, of which alone the Government ventured to speak with confidence, should be carried to a successful issue. These are a Bill for augmenting small owners in Ireland, which is said to be the Bill of last session, divided into two parts, and restricted in its scope in partial accordance with Mr. Parnell's proposals; a tithe Bill; and a Bill for lessening the burden which compulsory education imposes on the poor.

It may be, however, that a surprise is in store for the country. Though the Government ventures to expect little, it is acting with a vigour and concentration of purpose which shows that it is determined to achieve as much as it can; and events seem not unlikely to favour its efforts. The address in reply to the Queen's Speech, which, by a happy innovation, was confined to a simple Resolution of thanks, was carried without amendment; and, on the 29th ultimo, a motion of the Government, demanding the whole time of the House till Christmas, was passed by a large majority. When, too, on

Mr. Balfour introducing the Irish Land Purchase Bill, on the night of the 27th ultimo, Mr. Labouchere moved its rejection, the motion was defeated by a large majority. This, perhaps, was not surprising. What, however, but for unforeseen events, would have been surprising, is that the Irish members, or a considerable section of them, supported the Government.

The fact is that, owing to causes not primarily political, the political situation has suddenly undergone a complete change. The divorce suit brought by Captain O'Shea against his wife, with Mr. Parnell as co-respondent, resulted in a decree for the plaintiff; and, the leader of the Irish party having shown no disposition to tender his resignation, Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter to Mr. Morley, for communication to him, declaring that his continuance in the leadership would, under the circumstances, prove disastrous to the cause of Ireland, and nullify his (Mr. Gladstone's) championship. Though Mr. Gladstone's view of the matter was supported by Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt, as well as by a strong section of the Nationalists, the Irish leader remained unmoved, and the result was that Mr. Gladstone published his letter. After a delay of some days, Mr. Parnell, who seems to have been impressed with an idea that he was being made the victim of a political conspiracy, replied with a manifesto, in which, after declaring the object of Mr. Gladstone's letter to be to influence the party's choice of a leader by claiming a right to veto their selection, he proceeded to divulge, what he described as facts not previously imparted to his colleagues. To wit, in the course of the parleying which took place between himself and Mr. Gladstone in November 1889, the leader of the Opposition proposed to conciliate English opinion by reducing the number of the Irish members at Westminster to thirty-two, and at the same time intimated that the Irish Parliament, when constituted, would not be permitted to settle the land question. Mr. Parnell further alleged that Mr. Morley, before the opening of the present session, offered him the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland in the event of the Liberals coming into power; that he declined this offer, as calculated to compromise the independence of the party; and also that he strongly opposed the proposition to reduce the number of Irish representatives in the British House of Commons. It was not in the nature of things that these allegations should remain unanswered. The reply they elicited from Mr. Gladstone partakes, however, more of the nature of a charge of breach of faith against Mr. Parnell, than of a positive denial. In it he pronounces Mr. Parnell's statements to be entirely inaccurate; but, at the same time, he is careful to minimise their importance, by explaining that

he merely conversed confidentially and informally with Mr. Parnell regarding possible amendments of the Home Rule project of 1886. The impression produced is that Mr. Parnell's account of the conversation, thus admitted to have taken place, is substantially correct, and this impression is partially confirmed by a letter written by Mr. Morley, admitting that the offer of the Chief Secretaryship was actually made on behalf of Mr. Gladstone, but adding that its object was merely to test the sincerity of Mr. Parnell's self-denying ordinance. Whether the statements contained in the manifesto are true or not, the effect of its publication on Mr. Parnell's position must be substantially the same. If the result of the divorce case made his leadership inconvenient, it has now become impossible. The general feeling of indignation which his breach of faith must provoke must, however, be accompanied by a strong sense of the humiliating character of the position in which Mr. Gladstone is placed by Mr. Morley's letter. For the explanation of his motive in offering the Chief Secretaryship to Mr. Parnell convicts him of a device equally unworthy of a statesman and a man of honour.

The Nationalist party have not been slow to mark their sense of the change in the position created by the manifesto. At a meeting held by them on the 2nd instant, an amendment by Mr. Nolan to defer their decision regarding the retirement of their leader until the electors had been consulted in the matter, was defeated by forty-four votes to twenty-nine.

The Catholic hierarchy, which met at the residence of Archbishop Walsh on the 3rd instant, passed a resolution proclaiming that the Irish Episcopate considered Mr. Parnell morally unfit for the leadership of his party, and, on the following Sunday, a manifesto of the Irish Bishops, condemning him, was read in the Churches throughout Ireland.

On the 5th instant, Mr. Gladstone, who, in the meantime, had refused to hold any further communication with Mr. Parnell, had two conferences with the other members of the Irish party, and subsequently, after consulting his colleagues, he informed them in writing that, while he still hoped to pass a Bill which would meet the just claims of Ireland with the approval of Great Britain, he must decline to state his intentions, pending the settlement of the question of their leadership. A meeting of the party, at which Mr. Parnell was present, was held on the 7th to consider this reply. After an angry debate, at which no agreement was arrived at, Messrs. Sexton and Healy, with forty-three others, retired and held a separate meeting, at which Mr. Justin Macarthy was elected Chairman, the minority at the same time confirming their election of Mr. Parnell, and in the House of Commons,

the following day, Mr. Macarthy occupied Mr. Parnell's seat.

Mr. Parnell declares his intention of appealing to the country : but it is not clear how the country can pronounce its verdict pending a general election. However events may ultimately shape themselves, the immediate result is to take the heart out of the Opposition. A series of unexpected circumstances have, in short, combined to favour the Government, who at present seem likely to have things very much their own way. The friendly, not to say enthusiastic, reception of Mr. Balfour in Connemara and Donegal shows, moreover, that the Irish peasantry are beginning to feel 'that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush,' as they may well do when the former is offered them free, gratis, and for nothing, for their own sole behoof; while, if they ever get the latter, not only will it probably be at a heavy cost, but the prize will have to be shared with the agitators.

The extravagant expectations entertained in some quarters as to the probable effect of the American Silver Bill have been signally falsified by the event. After rising rapidly to close upon 55*d.* per oz., the price went down with a run till it almost touched the lowest level of last year; and, though there has since been a partial recovery, there is probably very little chance, in the absence of fresh legislation, of our again seeing the high rates of the middle of September. The collapse was partly the result of an inevitable re-action from speculative prices, and partly of the existence of unexpectedly large accumulations of metal, which those prices attracted to the market. But it was aggravated, in the first instance, by an exceptional scarcity of money, due in some measure to the operation of the M'Kinley Tariff Act. The fall in the value of the metal was naturally accompanied by a corresponding depreciation of silver securities, attended by consequences which were the more disastrous, that independent speculation had previously forced them far above their real value; and this depreciation culminated in a commercial crisis in New York, of extreme severity, which led to a fresh relapse in the price of the metal itself.

If the silver legislation of the Republicans has failed to satisfy a large section of the American public, their tariff legislation has been still more unfortunate. The rise in prices which followed the passing of the M'Kinley Bill, has ruined their popularity with all classes of the community. The elections for the new House of Representatives afforded the country an opportunity of expressing its feelings, of which it has not failed to avail itself, the result being to give the Democrats an overwhelming majority. With such an

unmistakable mandate to justify them, the Democrats are not likely to let the grass grow under their feet; and one of the first acts of the new Legislature will probably be an extensive revision of the tariff in the direction of free trade. At all events, this is the general expectation; and, as it is extremely unlikely that, with such a contingency looming in the future, capitalists will venture to invest money in the establishment of manufactures which would be nipped in the bud by a repeal of the new duties, the public will have the satisfaction of paying the increased prices in the interim, for no purpose but that of adding to the already excessive lock-up of money in the Treasury vaults.

The effect of the tremendous fall in the price of Argentine and other silver securities has been severely felt in London, where certain of the great banking houses had saddled themselves with a dangerous load of this kind of paper. As ill-luck would have it, the Russian Government chose this inopportune juncture suddenly to withdraw deposits to the extent of five millions sterling from one of the houses in question—that of Messrs. Baring Brothers. Fortunately, there was no question of the inherent soundness of their position; and a number of the great bankers and capitalists, headed by the Banks of England and France, taking a far-sighted view of the situation, combined to back them with a guarantee fund which enabled them to avoid a forced liquidation. The crisis has thus been tided over, and a crash of unprecedented magnitude averted. But there is too much reason to fear that, owing to a long-continued policy of propping-up one rotten support by another only slightly less rotten, the whole financial fabric is in a state which no unbiased expert would pronounce sound, and which, in the absence of a sweeping catastrophe, necessitating complete reconstruction, only long time and heroic prudence will restore to a condition of security.

No one could have read Mr. Stanley's book, "In Darkest Africa," with a critical eye, without feeling that the true story of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition remained to be told. Every such reader must have seen that, if his account of the opportunities of the rear column was accurate, its failure and ultimate destruction was inadequately explained by the strange tissue of mystery and innuendo with which he enveloped the subject. The account was, in effect, a challenge to the officers of the rear column, or their relatives, to vindicate their conduct; and the challenge has been promptly taken up. First, the brother of Major Barttelot, against whom Mr. Stanley's arraignment was chiefly directed, published that officer's journal and letters, with a commentary of his own;

and Messrs. Troup and Ward have since published independent narratives. In Major Barttelot's work the entire responsibility for the wreck of the rear column is thrown on Stanley, who is charged with having, for his own selfish purposes, left them stranded at Yambuya, with impossible instructions, and under conditions which, in case of Tippoo Tip failing to fulfil his agreement to supply them with carriage, rendered disaster inevitable. This indictment, which is supported, as regards the main facts, by the narratives of Messrs. Troup and Ward, has drawn from Stanley, not so much a vindication of his own action, as a counter-charge against Major Barttelot and Mr. Jameson of the foulest kind, the former being accused of a series of acts of insane folly and cruelty, so atrocious as to have made the killing of him no murder, and the latter of a crime almost too revolting for belief. Major Barttelot is charged, among other things, with flogging and kicking natives to death, with stabbing one chief and seeking to poison another, and with systematic beating and torturing; while the version given of the circumstances under which he was himself shot, conflicts, in most essential details, with that recorded by Stanley in his book, as the result of careful investigation on the spot. Of Mr. Jameson it is asserted that, in order to put to the test a statement that the natives of certain tribes were addicted to cannibalism, he purchased a young girl, to be brutally killed, and cooked and eaten in his presence, occupying himself, during the operation, in making sketches of the scene. Mr. Bonny has also published a statement confirmatory, in many particulars, of the above account. As to the character of the evidence on which most of these positive and circumstantial allegations rest, the narrators generally either maintain a discreet silence, or speak with a vagueness little more informing. But, in the worst case of all, that of the cannibal story, they are more explicit, and we are told that it is based on the sworn testimony of a dismissed Syrian interpreter, who, when cross-questioned on the subject on a previous occasion, had declared it to be false. The fact that Mr. Jameson's diary actually contained sketches of the horrible scene, is gravely advanced as a proof of the truth of the charge, though, in a letter to his wife, he had given an explanation of the incident which would carry conviction to any unbiased mind, *viz.*, that the sketch represented a scene of which he was an unwilling witness, and that it was made from memory after the occurrence.

In purely Continental politics, the most important events of the quarter are the change of ministry at Lisbon, and the great victory of the Italian Government in the general elections, which have resulted in a majority of 410 for Signor Crispi.

The negotiations for an understanding with Italy on the African question have so far proved abortive, the chief point in dispute being, it is believed, the claim of that Power to occupy Kassala. The Portuguese Cabinet having been unable, in the face of strong popular opposition, to make up its mind to ratify the recent agreement with Great Britain, Lord Salisbury has consented to the re-establishment of the *status quo ante*, with certain modifications, for a period of six months. This, it is stated, will nullify for the present the concession obtained by Mr. Colquhoun in the Manica country; but, in the meantime, British prospectors and gold diggers are flocking into that territory, and the Portuguese are probably not in a position to prevent them. Among the topics touched upon by Lord Salisbury at the Guildhall banquet, was the approaching visit of the Czarewitch to this country, which he pronounced a favourable omen for the peace of the world, and for a good understanding among the nations. The most general view of the matter, we fancy, is that the event possesses no political significance whatever.

Indian affairs, during the last few months, may be briefly chronicled. The Viceroy returned to the Presidency on the 9th instant, after a prolonged tour in the Panjab and Rajputana, in the course of which he visited several of the more important Native States. During his progress His Excellency delivered an unusually large number of speeches; but none of them call for any special remark.

The operations against the Lushai tribes concerned in the murder of Captain Browne, and the recent attacks on our posts at Aijal and Changsil, were commenced early in October, by the middle of which month a larger number of villages had been attacked and destroyed without any loss on our side. On the 16th ultimo, a column, consisting of two hundred of the Cachar military police under Lieutenant Cole, with Mr. McCabe as Political officer, left Aijal for Kalkom's village, which they attacked on the following day, with the co-operation of seventy men of the 40th B. I. and 20 of the military police from Changsil under Lieutenant Watson. The Lushais were completely taken by surprise, and, after losing ten of their number, fled from the village, the greater part of which was burnt. On the 21st a detachment under Lieutenant Cole captured Tongula's village, and, on the following day, Kalkom surrendered unconditionally. Several other prominent chiefs, including Leenkhunga, who was the author of the attack on Captain Browne, subsequently gave themselves up; and the probability is that all organised opposition is at an end.

The prediction we made three months ago, that the shares of most of the Bengal Gold Companies would be at a discount

long before mining operations commenced on a practical scale, has been fulfilled to the letter, those of only one concern being at present quoted above par, and most of the rest being unsaleable at any price.

The Factory Commission appointed by the Government of India in September last, for the purpose of ascertaining the views and requirements of the operatives as to the restrictions to be imposed on labour in factories, before proceeding further with the Bill to amend the Indian Factory Act of 1881, now before the Council, have submitted a Report which will do much to strengthen the hands of the Government in combating the agitation that has been set on foot in England in favour of a closer assimilation of the Indian to the English factory laws.

The conclusions of the Commissioners have been arrived at after visiting 34 factories and examining 96 operatives in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore and Calcutta. The first point on which they were desired to report was whether the limitation of the hours of work for women to eleven was proper and sufficient, and whether the female operatives themselves desired this, or any other, limitation. To the first question, the reply of the Commissioners is in the affirmative; but, with reference to the fact that the effect of enforcing the limitation in the case of women working with moving machinery at Ahmedabad and elsewhere would be the displacement of female by male labour, they recommend that the Local Government should be vested with powers to exempt female operatives from the operation of the rule in case of necessity. With regard to the second point, the Commissioners report that they have nowhere found that the female operatives desire that the present hours of work, *viz.*, from day-light to dusk, should be shortened.

On the question whether it is advisable that a distinction should be made between young persons and adults, the Commissioners report in favour of raising the limit of childhood, under the Act, from 12 to 14, and dispensing with any such distinction as that suggested.

As to the question of the hours of work for children, they express a strong opinion that the limitation to nine hours proposed in the Bill is insufficient, except where the shift system is in force, and recommend that in all other cases, a maximum limit of seven hours should be imposed, with certain provisos, which would reduce the average all the year round to about six hours.

On the question of holidays, they strongly recommend that, in accordance with the unanimous desire of the operatives themselves, one day of rest in seven should be made obligatory in the case of both males and females, except

where, for technical reasons, the nature of the work requires that it should be continuous, and that this day should be Sunday, unless a native festival has been kept as a holiday during the previous week.

As regards the question of limiting the hours of work in the case of adult male operatives, they report that such limitation is undesirable and that the operatives, with few exceptions, object to it.

To the question whether the male operatives desire a compulsory stoppage of work at midday, they reply in the affirmative, and recommend that such a stoppage for a full half-hour should be generally imposed, except where the shift system prevails.

The Commissioners conclude their Report with a strong expression of their conviction of the "vast and far-reaching benefits which the people of India are deriving from the development and prosperity of the great industries which we have seen in our tour through the country," and they add, that, in their judgment, it would be a great calamity if, by any injudicious recommendations or unnecessary restrictions, their prosperity were endangered.

The official changes during the Quarter have been more than usually important. Sir Stuart Bayley, who, if report speaks truly, has never been quite at his ease in his high office, having accepted the Political Secretaryship at the India Office, the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal has been conferred on Sir C. Elliot, the late Public Works Member of Council, Sir Chas. Crosthwaite succeeding to the latter post, and Mr. Mackenzie being transferred from the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces to that of Burmah. The resignation of Lord Connemara has deprived Madras of one of the most energetic, and, in some respects, one of the best Governors who have ever held office in this country. His Excellency, who is succeeded by Lord Wenlock, a comparatively unknown man, made over charge of his office to Mr. Garstin, the Senior Member of Council, on the 2nd instant, and embarked for Colombo on the 7th.

The Scotchmen in Calcutta celebrated the anniversary of St. Andrew with the usual dinner at the Town Hall on the 30th ultimo, when Mr. J. L. Mackay, the chairman, in the course of a speech of more than usual power, delivered one of the most crushing attacks that have yet been made on the income tax and the breach of faith involved in its retention. The Lieutenant-Governor elect was among the speakers on the occasion, but he showed no disposition to take his hearers into his confidence.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the honoured names of Sir Rivers Thompson, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal

who died suddenly of pneumonia at Gibraltar, and Sir Barnes Peacock, formerly Chief Justice of Bengal, and one of the ablest, soundest, and most fearless judges who ever sat on the Indian Bench.

J. W. F.

10th December 1890.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report by the Board of Revenue on the Revenue Administration of the North-Western Provinces for the Revenue year 1888-89, ending 30th September 1889.

FROM this State paper it appears that the "balance of land revenue borne on the roll was materially less than in the preceding year—Rs. 2,48,134, as compared with Rs. 3,21,813. Rs. 1,04,563 were remitted against Rs. 2,02,637 in 1887-88; and the collections were Rs. 61,229 as against Rs. 55,135. The recoverable balance at the end of the year was, however, Rs. 82,342, as compared with Rs. 64,041, and the Lieutenant-Governor regrets to notice that the balances in the attached estates in the Agra district were allowed to increase under circumstances which the Board cannot consider creditable to the Collector's management. Separate orders have been passed upon the special report submitted by the Board. Nearly the whole of the arrears in the Farukhabad, Mainpuri and Etah districts are under suspension in the valleys of the Káli Nadi and Burhganga, where the cultivation has deteriorated from excessive rainfall in recent years. Special officers were deputed last winter for the inspection of this area and the revision of the assessment where losses have been serious, but their inquiries will not be complete for another season. Meanwhile the Zemindárs of the tract are being liberally treated in the remission and suspension of revenue upon the detailed preliminary recommendations of the Board, and the Lieutenant Governor proposes to visit it in the course of the ensuing winter. The heavy balances in Pilibhit, Rs. 6,760, are not sufficiently explained. The Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun has been instructed to give a detailed account of the arrears in his district, where their causes and character are of special interest in consequence of the recent revision of the assessment there. The arrears in Sháhjahánpur are of old standing (1883), but the Board report that they were due from deteriorated villages, and it has been necessary to remit them."

Report on the Administration of the Stamp Department for the three years ending 31st March 1890.

THE financial results of the working of this Department are thus summarized by Mr. H. J. S. Cotton in a resolution on the Report :—

YEAR.	STAMPS UNDER ACT I OF 1879.			COURT FEES UNDER ACT VII OF 1870.			TOTAL.		
	Receipts.	Refunds and other Charges.	Net Revenue.	Receipts.	Refunds and other Charges.	Net Revenue.	Receipts.	Charges.	Net Revenue.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1886-87	34,72,802	1,89,293	32,83,509	99,89,759	4,21,010	95,68,749	1,34,62,561	6,10,303	1,28,52,258
1887-88	35,51,253	2,55,242	32,96,011	1,02,64,782	3,60,835	99,03,947	1,38,16,035	6,16,077	1,31,99,958
1888-89	37,50,871	2,76,042	34,74,829	1,00,88,114	3,39,661	97,48,453	1,38,38,985	6,15,703	1,32,23,282
1889-90	38,88,945	2,88,689	36,00,256	1,03,48,824	3,39,555	1,00,09,269	1,42,37,769	6,28,244	1,36,09,525
Average of 1887-88 to 1888-89	37,30,356	2,73,324	34,57,032	1,02,33,907	3,46,684	98,87,223	1,39,64,263	6,20,008	1,33,44,255

The gross average annual revenue collected under both the Acts during the three years under review was Rs. 1,39,64,263 against Rs. 1,34,62,561 in 1886-87. Both judicial and non judicial stamps contributed to the increase; the total realizations during 1889-90 exceeded those of any previous year. The average receipts were highest in Calcutta (Rs. 19,51,882) and lowest in Singhbhum (Rs. 10,833). The incidence is highest throughout East and Central Bengal, where trade is brisk and the population most prosperous. The general incidence of stamp revenue on the population of Bengal, estimated at 66 millions, is 3 annas $4\frac{1}{4}$ pies per head.

Report on the External Land Trade of the Punjab for the year
1889-90.

THE total foreign trade of the province has increased by 18 per cent. The rise is almost exclusively in the trade with countries on the west and north-west of the Punjab. An increase of 55 per cent. in the trade with Kabul is held to be, in great measure, due to the tranquillity of Afghanistan during the year under report. An apparent diminution in the trade with Kashmir is accounted for by the inclusion of 30 lakhs of silver, transmitted to the Punjab for special purposes, in the figures of last year. Exports have increased. The Financial Commissioner, Punjab, thinks that the trade with this country is reviving. In the case of Ladakh, on the other hand, no satisfactory explanation of a decrease of 18 per cent. in imports and 75 per cent. in exports is forthcoming. Trade with Chinese Tibet, in spite of a fall in the exports thither, has nearly tripled itself. The most striking feature in the figures of the import trade is a great increase in the imports of ghee, which have risen from 17 to 25 lakhs in value. The rise is general. The export trade in Indian Tea amounted to Rs. 3,99,097, an increase of a lakh on last year's figures.

*Annual Report on the Government Cinchona Plantation and
Factory in Bengal for the year 1889-90.*

EXPENDITURE, Rs. 69,196-10-0. Result, 304,705 lbs. of dry bark. Net cost of each pound, 3 annas 602 pie.

The quinine manufactured cost Rs. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the febrifuge Rs. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb. Both were treated by the new fusel oil process, which Dr. King pronounces a complete success.

Statistics, it seems, tend to show that past years' "excessive exportation" of Cinchona bark from Ceylon is now beginning to fall off. That rival to the Darjeeling manufacture having suicided—as the Yankees would put it—the price of the Indian product is expected to rise.

Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab during the year 1889-90.

FROM the Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab during the year 1889-90, it appears that a lakh-and-a-half more of income was realized than in 1888-89, and that the increase was general over all heads of receipt, with the simple exception of "Acreage duty on poppy cultivation." Further, it seems that, that the Financial Commissioner has managed to reconcile his figures with those of the Accountant-General under the heading "Receipts," and that, in Sir James Lyall's opinion, it will be desirable in future reports to do likewise with the heading "Expenditure."

In country spirits there has been an increase in consumption of about 15,000 gallons.

If this increase signified an absolute increase in drinking, it could not be regarded with much complacency. But in an interesting table Mr. Dane has shown that more than four-fifths of the whole occurred in districts where illicit distillation is known to be common, and by far the larger portion of the remainder in districts where illicit distillation is known to exist. Now, in most of these districts, during the past year, special attention has been devoted to the repression of illicit stills, and it seems a fair inference that these repressive measures have had their effect, and that the increased consumption of spirits which paid excise was accompanied by a falling-off in the preparation of spirits which paid none. Unfortunately illicit distillers furnish no statistics.

Unfortunately, also, in some districts liquor shops are too many, in others too few. "It is of course most perverse to establish a shop where it is not required. On the other hand, to compel a man to walk forty miles in order to procure a glass of liquor is to put a premium on illicit stills." The Lieutenant-Governor sensibly holds that the determination of the just medium is a matter almost wholly dependent on local knowledge.

Triennial Report on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal for the official years 1887-88, 1888-89, and 1889-90.

FROM Mr. Holmwood's Report on the working of Act I (B.C.) of 1876 (for the voluntary registration of Mahomedan marriages and divorces), we gather that during the year 1888-89 there was decrease of 244 in the total number of ceremonies registered. This decrease is entirely in the number of marriages registered, the number of divorces and *kholas* having increased. So small is the interest taken in the working of the Act that the death of the Marriage Registrar at Palong in the Furreedpore district was not even reported at Head-quarters.

In Rungpore the Act is said to be little used, because registration affords increased facilities to the Zemindars for extorting "marchas," or marriage dues, from their Mahomedan tenants. It is also alleged that, the Mahomedan Marriage Registrars themselves extort illegal nuzzerana.

Report on the Income Tax Administration for the year 1889-90.

ACCORDING to the returns of the Financial Commissioner—which are for once in a way "in substantial agreement upon this point with those of the Accountant-General"—last year's collections amounted to Rs. 11,06,438, an increase of more than half a lakh over the previous year's realizations, and a result pronounced by the Revenue Secretary very satisfactory, and largely due to the fact that District Officers are beginning to understand that income tax administration is essentially a matter of detail.

In bygone years details seem to have been a good deal neglected in some districts, e.g., in Umballa collections have increased by more than 900 per cent. since 1886-87, and even, as compared with 1888-89, there is an increase of 350 per cent. in the year under review.

The Revenue Secretary is of opinion that, "unless the circumstances are altogether peculiar, it would seem certain that assessment work under Part I must have been a good deal neglected in past years."

Annual Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies, 1889.

DURING the year under report Colonial Emigration from Bengal was marked by unusual activity, consequent on the necessity the Colonies lay under of making up for small importations in past years. The number of adults actually despatched was 10,041, as against 6,544 in 1888 and 4,563 in 1887.

"The two leading districts of Shahabad and Benares maintained their places on the list, the former having supplied 2,630, and the latter 2,085 registrations. The district of the 24-Pergunnahs, which shows on paper the largest number of registrations, cannot be compared with the others, owing to the fact that a large proportion of the recruiting in that district is carried on among coolies brought to Calcutta by unlicensed emigration agents, under pretence that they are destined for Assam. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with the Protector that this practice is objectionable, inasmuch as it is a breach

in spirit of the Colonial Emigration Act, which provides for all emigrants being registered for the Colonies in the district of recruitment. It does not appear, however, that under the law, as it at present stands, there is any means of remedying the evil."

Thirty-eight lepers were returned to India from the Colonies in 1889—18 from Demarara, 12 from Mauritius. We are glad to note that the Lieutenant-Governor "is not inclined, to accept the position that Colonies should be allowed to return emigrants who have contracted the disease during the period of their expatriation."

Twenty-second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st December 1889.

FROM this Report it appears that "the total number of births registered of both sexes during 1889 was 1,629,210 against 1,687,439 during 1888, giving a birth-rate of 36·93 per mille against 38·25 for the previous year, the lowest on record since 1881. The recorded birth-rate varied from 50·26 in Moradabad to 25·00 in Mainpuri. The total number of recorded deaths in 1889 was 1,372,269, against 1,327,113 in 1888, the rates being 31·11 and 30·08 per mille respectively. The increase in the death-rate seems in part to have been due to the greater prevalence of cholera and small-pox in the year under report."

The death-rate from cholera rose from '42 to 1·09 per mille, and the total number of deaths was 48,494. In the Resolution appended to the Report it is written :—

The re-appearance of cholera in Kumaun since 1887 is a fact which needs your careful attention. After 1879 the disease was little known there till 1884, when the death-rate was '9 per thousand ; in 1887, after two years' disappearance, it rose to 4·6, in 1889 to 14·1, and again this year it has visited Kumaun in a virulent and persistent form. Arrangements are being made for an improved water-supply at the railway terminus of Kāthgodām and at Haldwāni, in the immediate neighbourhood ; but the facilities of communication between Naini Tal and the plains since the railway to Bareilly was opened, and the constant communication between the hills and the Bhābar at their base, have probably given increased occasion to the spread of the disease, and require from the Kumaun Civil and Medical Officers increased vigilance against its inroads. With the exception of a few cases of cholera at the Magh Mela at Allahabad, no outbreak of cholera occurred at any of the principal fairs held in these provinces during the last three years.

*Report on the Administration of the Registration Department,
North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the three years
1887-88-1889-90.*

WE quote from the Resolution accompanying this triennial Report :—

The number of offices open and officers employed on the work of registration during the period under review was—

<i>Offices.</i>			<i>Officers.</i>		
1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1887-88	1888-89.	1889-90.
345	347	347			
			<i>Ex-officio—</i>		
			Registrars	25	26
			Sub Registrars, (Tahsildárs, N. W. P.) ...	172	137
			<i>Non-official—</i>		
			Registrars (Oudh) ...	4	4
			Sub-Registrars (Oudh) .	102	102
			Special do.	9	8
			Departmental do. (N.W.P.), 14	15	50
Total... 345	347	347	Total ...	326	327

Thus during 1889-90 there were 20 more offices open than officers employed : the charge of two offices having been entrusted to one officer in 20 instances. Considerable advance has been made in replacing the agency of the Tahsildár in the North-Western Provinces by departmental Sub-Registrars, in accordance with the orders passed in 1885, the total number of non-officials now employed in the Department being 164, or 50 per cent. It is satisfactory to learn that so far the reports received regarding the work of the new class of officers are favorable, but it is yet too early to form any definite conclusions as to the probable success of the scheme.

*Report on the Financial Results of the Income Tax Administration
in the Lower Provinces for the year 1889-90.*

IN his Report on the financial results of the Income Tax Administration in the Lower Provinces for 1889-90, Mr. Gupta draws attention to an anomaly deserving attention from Chambers of Commerce and others whom it less directly concerns :—

The receipts in the Lower Provinces from the income-tax bring into most marked relief the overwhelming preponderance of the capital as compared with all other parts of the province. Under the head of Excise, Calcutta, with a population of only about 1 per cent. of the province, contributes nearly 20 per cent. of the revenue. Under the head of Stamps, it contributes about 15 per cent., but, when the test of the income-tax is applied, it is found to contribute Rs. 16,95,163 out of Rs. 34,36,737, or within a minute

fraction of 50 per cent. Of course this is largely due to the exemption of agricultural incomes from the tax ; but after making every allowance for this, it is surely noteworthy that one-half of the entire income-tax of the province should be paid in the metropolis alone.

Report on the Administration of the Salt Department for the year 1889-90.

MR. GUPTA thinks the figures he has to deal with clearly show that "the action of the Cheshire Salt Syndicate has had a most prejudicial effect on the Liverpool salt trade, and has given a stimulus to imports from other places, notably Hamburg and Aden."

Review of the Revenue Administration of the Province of Oudh for the year ending 30th September 1889.

MR. RAINEY, and responsible politicians who pose at East India Association Meetings, as saviours of oppressed Indian Landlords, are recommended to peruse paragraph 19 of this Report, which runs :—

The tables which give the statistics of the processes employed for the realization of the revenue indicate that very little pressure had to be used with those who were dilatory in payment. One small plot of alluvial land in Hardoi, the property of a non-resident owner, was sold for persistent arrears ; one small estate in Unao was farmed to the mortgagee ; and in two cases in Hardoi transfer of an insolvent share to a solvent co-parcener was required. But in no instance was sequestration necessary, and in the minor processes of attachment of property, and of arrest of the defaulters, there was unexpected decrease. Arrests diminished from 262 to 225, notably in Hardoi ; no imprisonment at all was made for default ; sale of attached property fell from 40 cases to 29. Even attachment of the estate in arrears of revenue was resorted to in only six cases.

*Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society, Madras,
April—September 1890.*

THE readable part of this advertisement commences on page 17 with a paper on *Chingleput and the Village Community*, by Mr. John Adam.

It is resurrection of a chapter of more or less antique local history (with morals attached of Sir H. W. Mairie's invention) ; and possibly it is not without interest for local antiquaries.

Report on the Police of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1889.

IT is not only police mistakes and failures of police organization, etc., etc., that are responsible for poor police results in Bengal. We find the Lieutenant-Governor, in his Resolution on Mr. Veasey's Report for 1889, writing :—

The Lieutenant-Governor concurs with Mr. Veasey in his opinion that Bengal does not “appear to advantage as regards judicial results, and the figures given under test A4 must represent a large number of failures of justice. The high standard of proof demanded, the latitude allowed to the advocates of accused persons, and the dilatory procedure so much in vogue, are all obstacles well-known and to be reckoned with in these provinces.”

Paragraph 14 of the Resolution runs :—

The results of sessions trials were unsatisfactory in the extreme, the percentage of convictions for the whole province falling from 56·0 in 1887 and 51·7 in 1888 to 49·1. For the first time for many years the chances of the escape of an accused person who has been formally committed for trial by an investigating officer appear to be greater than the chances of his conviction. For this result the districts of Pubna and Bogra appear to be very largely responsible, and the Lieutenant-Governor cannot but think that causes other than the alleged misconduct of the police must have contributed to the failures of justice that undoubtedly occurred. The percentage fell in Bogra from 51·7 in 1888 to 22·2 in 1889, and in Pubna from 48·9 to 10·0; and it is worthy of notice that the Jail Report for the past year shows that Pubna headed the list of releases on appeal with a percentage of 22·76, while Bogra was not much better with a percentage of 12·11. These two districts are included in one Sessions charge.

Results in murder cases sent for trial were “very bad” in most divisions, e.g., in the two jury districts of Burdwan and Hughli there was not a single conviction in twenty cases. In the Presidency Division 63 persons were tried for “other murders,” but only 8 were convicted. As the result of ten cases in Dacca, only 2 persons were convicted. In the Patna Division 9 persons were convicted, and 48 acquitted, in 39 murders. “But these are only examples of the general rule of results in 1889.” The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with Mr. Veasey in thinking that most of the failures of justice are due to the police attaching too much weight to confessions, and the Courts too little weight to circumstantial evidence.

Here is another quotation :—

In perusing the brief accounts of important cases given by the Inspector-General, it is melancholy to note that many were due to quarrels between husbands and their youthful wives. In Hughli a school pundit, afterwards shown to be insane, hacked his wife, a girl of 13, about the head with a *kutari*, because she would not or could not satisfy his desires. In Nadiya a husband killed his wife, a sickly girl of 12, for refusing to cohabit. In Maldah a man throttled his child-wife, aged 11, because she could not satisfy his lust. He was treated with extraordinary leniency by the Judge,

who gave him two months' imprisonment for hurt—a sentence enhanced by the High Court to two years for culpable homicide. In Hughli, again, a young wife of 15 refused to cohabit with her husband, and died from the effects of the savagery with which that husband and his two brothers branded her in and about her private parts. .

These are cases that happen to have come to light in spite of the darkness in which such sins against humanity are sedulously shrouded by native society at large. It seems to us that when Bengalee men of light and leading decline to recognize the claims of humanity to be considered in the construction of marriage contracts, a civilized government is in duty bound to enforce recognition of such claims: to compel abstinence from bestiality; to hinder, if it cannot altogether prevent, the national demoralization adumbrated in the paragraph quoted above. A faint shadow, be it remembered, of what is happening day by day in our midst under the sanctions of social approval, and orthodox respectabilities.

Report on the Administration of the Customs Department in the Bengal Presidency for the official year 1889-90.

FROM this Report we gather that:—

Since the year 1882-83, in which the reduction in the salt duty and remission of all import duties, except those leviable on arms and ammunition, liquors and opium, took effect, the revenue exhibited a falling off and rise in alternate years; but in the year under report the increase attained during the year 1888-89 was maintained, and the net receipts show an advance of Rs. 60,791, or '2 per cent. The whole of this increase was due to the larger realisations from import duty on general merchandise, the receipts from export duty and the import duty on salt having both declined, the former by Rs. 47,637 or 2·9 per cent., and the latter by Rs. 1,54,736, or '7 per cent.

The increase in the Import duty noticed above was Rs. 2,63,164, or 12·4 per cent., and was almost wholly contributed by American kerosine oil, the duty on which rose by 2½ lakhs, or 43 per cent.; on the other hand, there was a decline in the duty levied on spirits, viz.,—brandy, rum, and gin.

The decrease in the duty on exports is due mainly to smaller shipments of rice from Calcutta and Chittagong, owing to the extremely high price of the article which checked its exportation.

In the ports of Balasore, Cuttack, Pooree and Backergunge, improvement in net revenue is noticeable.

As usual the bulk of trade is carried on by the United Kingdom, the proportion of trade absorbed by that country being no less than 61·71 per cent. of the whole trade of Bengal. Opium transactions give China the second place. The United States stand third on the register.

Trade with Germany continues to show considerable increase.

Report on the Financial Results of the Excise Administration in the Lower Provinces for the year 1889-90.

PERHAPS Mr. Caine will be glad to read between the lines of this Report, and to think that his Bull-in-a-China-shop *anti-liquor* campaign has led up to substantial strengthening of the hands of the Excise Administration in Bengal :—

“The dual appointments of Assessor-Inspectors employed partly on excise and partly on income tax work have now been abolished, and, as regard excise, a Sub-Inspector has been appointed in the room of each. As vacancies occur in the ranks of Inspectors of Excise, or as these officers are otherwise provided for, they are being replaced by Sub-Inspectors receiving from Rs. 50 to Rs 70 per mensem. By these means a larger number of Sub-Inspectors can be employed, while, at the same time, it is found that the duties of detection, prevention, and inspection of retail shops and outstalls can be as well performed by Sub-Inspectors as by Inspectors.”

The financial results of the year's working show a decrease in the Revenue of Rs. 4,15,547 and an increase in the Charges of Rs. 44,974.

We make the following quotation from the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution in the Report :—

There are at present 17* districts in which the excise control is placed in the hands of a Special Deputy Collector, who is also made responsible for the administration of the income tax, but who is, as a general rule, not entrusted with other revenue or any magisterial functions. Mr. Westmacott speaks very favourably of this arrangement, and observes that with few exceptions the excise administration in the 26 districts, in which it has been entrusted to officers who have much other work to do, has been greatly inferior to that in districts where there are special officers, and he would be glad if Government could place more special officers at his disposal. This view is not altogether accepted by the Board, who are not satisfied that the appointment of a special officer has always resulted in better work, and also point out that the deputation of an officer to excise duties alone is only beneficial when the excise work of the district is such as to occupy the whole of his time during the whole of the year ; and add that it has come to their knowledge that in several districts in which these special officers are employed, the Collectors do not think that they have work enough to occupy the whole of their time, and wish to employ them on other duties. The question is one of considerable practical difficulty, and it is not easy to reconcile the conflicting claims of the head of a department, who naturally contends that the whole of the services of a staff of officers whose salaries are entirely defrayed from his own budget should be placed exclusively at his disposal, with those of district officers who are more interested in the efficiency of their general administration than in that of any particular department, and would gladly utilise the excise officer on general duties whenever necessity arises for doing so. It appears to the Lieutenant-Governor that the solution of this difficulty can only depend on the actual facts in each case. It is desirable that these Deputy Collectors should be employed on judicial duties : so far His Honor accepts Mr. Westmacott's position : but if in

* One Special Deputy Collector is employed as Personal Assistant to the Excise Commissioner.

point of fact a special excise officer's time is not fully employed on excise in any district, it is the duty of the Excise Commissioner to raise no objection to his being employed on general miscellaneous and revenue work so long as excise is not neglected. The pressure of the general administration in all districts is now so great that it is imperatively necessary to insist on the utilisation of all Deputy Collectors and Magistrates to the utmost of their power. Where the whole time of an Excise Deputy Collector is employed for the whole year on excise work, there is nothing left to be said; but where he is not so employed, his services must be fully utilised in the district where he serves.

Triennial Report on the Working of the Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal for the years 1887, 1888 and 1889.

THE total number of dispensaries in Bengal has increased from 234 in 1886 to 261 in 1889. The interest taken in them by Municipalities and District Boards is favourably noticed by the Inspector-General; but he is not so well pleased with the indifference shown by many local committees to local dispensaries. The Lieutenant-Governor, we note, "is of opinion that the individuality of the medical officers attached to the various dispensaries has much to do with this, but would at the same time impress on the Chairman and members of local bodies the importance of supervision and encouragement in the case of institutions of such practical usefulness as these, and would remind them that the remarks recorded by unofficial visitors in the inspection-books provided for the purpose" are often of the greatest service to the authorities in remedying defects and detecting abuses.

On the subject of in-door patients Dr. Hilson remarks:—

"The native of India, when sick, prefers to be treated at his own house, and at such a time will not leave his family if it can possibly be avoided—a characteristic which seems to be more strongly marked in Bengal than elsewhere. The desire is only natural, and he cannot be blamed for it; but it seems to me that one cause of it is to be found in the very limited provision of separate accommodation for the families of patients at dispensaries, and this is a point well worth the attention of Municipal Committees and others interested in these institutions. In the Punjab and North-Western Provinces many of the dispensaries have a few rooms apart from the main building, which are reserved for the accommodation of well-to-do patients and those who bring relatives with them, and they are largely taken advantage of."

Sir Stuart Bayley would be glad to see the above proposal carried out, as he has no doubt that the defect pointed out by the Inspector-General is a serious one.

The increase in the number of out-door patients is held to be very satisfactory, and to speak well for the improved management and popularity of the charitable dispensaries in the mofussil. In them very few cases of small-pox are treated. Cholera is dealt with in all such institutions, but they are not

sufficiently large or adequately equipped to deal with anything approaching to an epidemic of this disease. The number of cases of malarial fever increased from 202,933 in 1887 to 232,582 in 1889. The disease is most prevalent in the Burdwan Presidency, and Rajshahye Divisions.

Very few lepers resort to charitable dispensaries. The increase in the number of surgical operations is held to be very satisfactory. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with Dr. Hilson in thinking that successful operative surgery is greatly appreciated by the poorer classes, and that the performance of major operations by qualified Assistant Surgeons adds much to the popularity of mofussil dispensaries.

*Final Report of Revised Settlement, Hoshiárpur District, 1887-84.,
By Captain J. A. L. Montgomery, Settlement Officer.*

WE have to thank Major J. A. L. Montgomery for a choice collection of proverbial sayings current in the Hoshiárpur District, and illustrative of the conditions of life and society obtaining there and thereabouts. They are inserted by way of an appendix to a much informing final Report of revised settlement in that district, "one of the most fully developed and prosperous in the Punjab."

The new assessment of the whole of the district with which this Report deals (amounting to Rs. 4,71,500) was brought into effect from the autumn of 1884.

Of the total revenue, Rs. 1,00,000 are assigned in jagirs and máfis. The distribution of the assessment inside the estates was evidently made with much care, and this has doubtless conduced towards the success with which the settlement is working. It must not be supposed, however, that there are no points in the settlement which require the special attention of the Collector. On the contrary, the Settlement Officer has shown in paragraph 156 that this is not the case, and it is necessary that careful supervision should be systematically exercised over all estates which are liable to be affected for the worse by the action of the rivers or *chok* (sandy torrents). Government has done its best to prevent litigation between tenants and landlords of the district as will be noticed below, and it is to be hoped that the people of Hoshiárpur will gradually abandon the intense litigious spirit by which they are at present characterised. They are well aware of the ruin to themselves involved in this litigation, and it is to be hoped that experience will, in the end, induce them to avoid it. The people without denying the litigious spirit impute a large part of the blame to the Government: it is a common saying among them that the short term of limitation and the admission of Pleaders in the Courts have ruined the land-holding classes. The Lieutenant-Governor is afraid that there is truth in this complaint, and that the laws and system of legal procedure which we have introduced have been too much above the comprehension of the population and were bound to stimulate much useless litigation. Whether a remedy can be now applied by establishing Rural Courts of Arbitrators and Conciliators is a question which is under deliberation.

In Hoshiárpur, the population numbers about 900,000 souls. Eight-hundred-and-fifteen persons of a population, mainly agricultural, to every square mile of cultivation, that is to say. About one-third of the people profess Islám. The principal non-Mahomedan tribes are Játs, Rájputs, Bráhmans, Gájars, Pathans and Mahtons. "As usual," Játs and Mahtons prove good farmers, Bráhmans and Rájputs indifferent ones, Pathans bad ones. Gájars thrive when they get opportunity to combine cattle-stealing with agriculture. It is noteworthy that, in the Hoshiárpur district, Rájputs in many cases do their own ploughing without losing caste. The moral of which enfranchisement from cant, seems to be, that famines are cogent scholastic agencies. To the 815 per square mile in Hoshiárpur dread of famine is an ever-present remembrancer that hard work is for them the most efficacious of prayers.

Independently of a pressure of population that renders the district as congested and liable to scarcities as Behar, any advantages derivable from rainfall and irrigation must be snatched at precisely the right moment; no other will do. Delays and dubitations are fatal. Wherefore:—

Jan Jat di pai biai,
Kisi nú phuphi, kisi nú tai,
Jan Jat de pake site,
Saki bahin nu denda dhake.

When it is sowing time with a Jat (*i.e.*, when help is required),
So and so is his father's sister, so and so his sister-in-law.
When the Jat's crop is ripe,
Even his own sister is denied.

As to Biddy's "points"—the Hoshiarpurean worships horse-flesh as devoutly as Captain Hayes—it is written:—

Mithi, nithi, patri,
Kamchari, kamros,
Narin ch badiarian,
Turian eho dosh.

To be a slow goer, one that looks down, and is thin,
One that eats little and is seldom angry,
These are signs of good breeding in women,
And are bad signs in horses.

The proverbial philosophy of the Punjab is no respecter of persons, dignities, etc., *per se* they must be backed up by deeds before they are reckoned worshipful, *e. g.*,—

Put janan Khatranian.
Vich vich Bahmanian.

The Khatri woman brings forth (wise) sons,
The Brahmin woman only sometimes,
(To show the superiority of Khatri women,)

so say the Khatris. Here is another side of the shield :—

Char chor, te chare thag,
Char suniar, te chare thathiar,
Char chauke sola,
Sola dúne batrih,
Ek mara jia Khatri.

Four thieves and four "*thags*,"
Four goldsmiths and four brass-workers,
Four times four is sixteen,
Twice sixteen is thirty-two.

One poor creature of a Khatri (is equal to them all in deception).

Popular philosophy amongst Moslems ordains :—

Je Gazi thiwen Rad thin,
Tan hath pakar talwar,
Pahla Rangar marke,
Pichoy Kafar mar.

If you wish to be considered a Ghazi by God,
Then take a sword in your hand,
First kill a Rangar (Rajput),
After that an infidel.

There is Philistinism even in the far Punjab in short. Here is further instance of proverbial recognition of the fact :—

Shah bina pat nahin,
Guru bina gat nahin.

There is no respectability to a man who has not a banker,
Nor heaven for one who has not a *guru* (or priest).

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

A History of Civilization in Ancient India, based on Sanscrit Literature. By Romesh Chunder Dutt, of the Bengal Civil Service; and of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law; Author of Bengali Translation of the Rig Veda Sanhita and other Works. In three Volumes. Vol. III.—Buddhist and Pauranik Ages. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. London: Trübner and Co. 1890.

VOLUME III completes Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, and we, being much of Carlyle's opinion about the importance of a great index, are glad to find it furnished with a full one. Sir Monier Williams said of a previous volume of this history, that, though the author professed to write for the general reader only, and without any intention of making new advances, yet it would be no waste of time even for the special scholar to go over its pages. In this we quite agree, but it is necessary to bear in mind that enthusiasm has been a not inconsiderable factor in the genesis and treatment of Mr. Dutt's picture. Like the Roman presentments of Janus, Mr. Dutt's enthusiasm wears two aspects, of which one, patriotically minded, makes for peace with the old world order and traditions, and the other, inclining towards western ideals of culture and progress, looks askance on the childish superstitions and fairy tales of the world's youth. Mr. Dutt being an enthusiastic artist in black, his blacks are very black indeed, his whites dazzling in their immaculate sheen. If malcontents ask whether this sort of treatment of his subject is history, the proper answer (though it shirks the question) would be that it is better than the Pinnock-Goldsmith style. We do not believe that absolutely impartial, quite colourless history has ever yet been written. Unconsciously, in spite of, or because of conscientiousness, education, mental and moral proclivities, *will* have a finger in the historical pie—because the historian is after all a man. *Cuculus non facit monachum.*

Mr. Dutt's third volume treats of the Buddhist and Pauranik Ages, and opens with a chapter on Asoka and his Edicts. For both, the admiration expressed is unbounded. And yet, judged out of his own mouth, on the evidence of his own edicts, it is evident enough that Asoka must have been one

of the most aggressively conceited men ever born to a high position, an unmitigated prig, a Royal Paul Pry and busybody of the first water. He reminds us strongly, by the way, of the Emperor William of Germany. Asoka's rock-edicts, cave-edicts, pillar-edicts, all and each, commence with the proclamation that they have been engraved by order of King Pyadasi, "beloved of the Gods." No. 1 prohibits feasting in private houses, and, unctuously self-exculpating, says: "At the time when this edict is engraved, three animals only are killed for the (royal) table, two peafowls and a gazelle, and the gazelle not regularly. Even these three animals will not be killed in future." Edict No. 4, equally redolent of the hot-gospelling zeal of a new convert to Buddhism, informs the world at large that it is the intention of "King Pyadasi, 'beloved of the Gods,' to cause the practice of religion to prevail in *sæcula sæculorum*." Edict No. 5 lithographs a truism for the sake of a tag of self-praise: "Thus spake King Pyadasi, 'beloved of the Gods,' the practice of virtue is difficult, and those who practise virtue perform what is difficult. I have myself accomplished many virtuous acts." In another edict this indefatigable blower of his own trumpet glorifies himself, at the expense of the reputations of his predecessors, as being a glutton at routine office work; in another, he notifies the public that, again better than his predecessors who "went out for pastimes," he, King Pyadasi, "beloved of the Gods," has abjured hunting and pastimes, and gives gifts to Brâhmans and Srâmans instead. "It is thus that King Pyadasi 'beloved of the Gods' enjoys the pleasure derived from his virtuous acts." Doubtless Asoka was a bright and shining lamp of civilization in his day and generation. How does Mr. Dutt account for his very name even being popularly forgotten in after generations, till European scholars in the 19th century, notably Mr. James Prinsep, deciphered his lithographings, and rescued his memory from oblivion? How account for the memory of a foreign invader, like Alexander of Macedon, enduring in popular tradition without any adventitious mnemonic aids from pillars or edicts, while that of Asoka, who seems to have devoted the best part of his energies to efforts to perpetuate his name, was lost. Brahman jealousy of Buddhism, and triumph over it, were, doubtless, factors tending to further the effacement. But without other and more cogent predispositions thereto in the body politic, it could not have come about.

Of a certain value, as evidence to fact and character tendered by independent witnesses, is the testimony derived from the journals of Fa Hian and Houen Tsang, two Chinese travellers in Ancient India. When the latter visited the country, Buddhism

was on the wane. In the region around Cabul, where Fa Hian had, two centuries before, left a popular and flourishing cult, Houen Tsang (in the early part of the 6th century A. D.) found the Sanghârâmas waste and desolate.

At Sinhapara, a State subject to Kashmir, he met Jaina sects called Svetambaras and Digambaras. "The laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles of the book of Buddha. . . . The figure of their sacred master (Mâhâvira) they stealthily class with that of Tathâgata (Buddha); it differs only in point of clothing; the points of beauty are absolutely the same." There is no doubt says Mr. Dutt, that Houen Tsang regarded the Jains as separatists from Buddhism. In his day Kashmir was full of the fame of King Kanishka, to whom tributary kings in China had sent hostages.

When the people saw him, they pointed with their fingers, and said to one another: "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler." He was staying in the convent at Nâlanda, with the Rajah of Kamarupa, when Silâditya the Second, King of Kânayakubja, an old world centre of Hindu civilization while Magadha was yet a land of "aboriginal barbarians," summoned him to his capital, and convoked there a religious assembly:—

Then the kings of the twenty countries, who had received instructions from Silâditya, assembled with the Srâmans and Brâhmans, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. It was indeed a religious imperial assemblage, and Silâditya constructed, on the west of the Ganges, a great Sanghârâma, and to the east of it a tower 100 ft. high, and between them he placed a golden life size statue of Buddha. From the 1st to the 21st of the month,—the second month of spring,—he fed and feasted the Srâmans and Brâhmans alike. The entire place, from the Sanghârâma to the king's temporary palace, was decorated with pavilions and stations for musicians who poured forth music. A small image of Buddha was led forth on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant, Silâditya dressed as Indra marching to the left, and the Raja of Kâmarûpa going to the right, each with an escort of 500 war elephants, while 100 elephants marched in front of the statue. Silâditya scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers. The statue was washed and Silâditya carried it on his own shoulders to the western tower and bestowed on it silken garments and precious gems. After a feast, the men of learning were assembled, and there was a learned discussion. In the evening the king retired to his temporary palace.

Buddhism and Brahmanism could join together in the 6th century, it would appear, with as little scandal as Christian worship of God and Mammon in the 19th.

This peep at Silâditya's court is chiefly valuable as illustrating the pagantry of feudal supremacy assumed by that monarch over minor potentates; assumed also, we may fairly infer, by other monarchs strong enough to play the rôle of suzerain in Ancient India.

Notwithstanding the fondness of ancient Hindu Kings

for the pomp of Imperialism, Mr. Dutt assures us, in his chapter on Domestic and Social life, that "the laws of conquest were humane, and annexation was not recommended." He would score his point, if he could show that Indian Kings in ancient times abided in practice by the law's recommendations. Here you have in brief the condition of Ancient Civilization in the kingdom of Allahabad, circa 600 A. D. :—"At the confluence of these two rivers there are everyday many hundreds of men who bathe themselves, and die. The people of the country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown themselves in the waters." There was also a high column in the middle of the river, and people went up this column to gaze on the setting sun until it had gone under the horizon." All the kingdoms which Houen Tsang sentimentally exploited were fertile, highly cultivated, and densely populated, and all the people in them—even the Orissans, although stigmatized as "uncivilized" withal—were fond of learning. Except in Kanodya. But then Buddhism was not much followed in Kanodya; Hinduism prevailed; which, of course, accounts for this phenomenal touch of nature. *A' propos* of dense population, here is an extract from Houen Tsang's Notes :—"In old days the Kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population; their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot wheels girded together." A crowded condition of affairs that must have had its practical inconveniences, one would think, physically as well politico-economically. But of even the rudiments of "the dismal science," Ancient Indian civilization seems to have been ingenuously innocent. When Houen Tsang himself visited Kalinga, its palmy days had departed, and new kingdoms in Bengal and Orissa had been created out of their fragments. "Such has always been the history of India. Kingdoms and races have risen in power and civilization, and declined again by turns; but still the vast confederation of Hindu nations had a political unity, a cohesion in religion, language and civilization, which made India one great country in ancient times." That is a big draft on faith in an unseen world.

Bengal Proper, circa 600 A.D., Bengal, that is, excluding Behar and Orissa, was divided into five kingdoms. Northern Bengal was *Pundra*; Assam and North-east Bengal formed *Kamarûpa*; Eastern Bengal, *Samatata*; South-west Bengal *Tamralipti*; Western Bengal *Karna Suvarna*. The Kingdom of Udra, or Orissa, was 14,000 miles in circuit in Houen Tsang's time, and had its capital near the modern Jajpur. The people, though uncivilized and of a yellowish black

complexion, were, however, Buddhists, and of course fond of learning :—

Already Orissa was a great place of pilgrimage, though the temple of Puri had not yet been built. There was a Sanghârâma called Pushpagiri on a great mountain on the south-west frontiers of the country, and it is said a stone Stûpa of this Sanghârâma emitted a strange light. Buddhists from far and near came to this place and presented beautifully-embroidered umbrellas, and placed them under a vase at the top of the cupola and let them stand as needles in the stone. The custom of planting flags prevails in Jagannâtha to the present day.

North-west from Konkan, and across a great forest infested by wild beasts and robbers, was the great country of Mahââshtra, 1,000 miles in circuit, where the people were honest, but stern and vindictive. Where the robbers infesting this honest neighbourhood came from, we are not told. It is noticeable that this is the only reference made by Houen Tsang to wild beasts and dacoits.—incidents of travel to have been met with frequently in Houen Tsang's time, one would have thought.

In the chapter devoted to Buddhist architecture, Mr. Dutt puts his foot down emphatically on the notion that it was copied from the Greeks. We should have supposed its crude ugliness sufficient refutation of any such notion. And it seems to us supererogatory to insist that "in sculpture, too, the Hindûs are not indebted to the Greeks." Squabness appear to be the special characteristic of early Hindu architecture; and it had affinities for the grotesque.

It was a purely mechanical art, in which intellect had no act or part. Existent remains and traces of the architecture of the Pauranik period have a value for moderns, only because of their crude, unsophisticated fidelity to what the unartistic eye saw in its nakedness, and reproduced as faithfully as it could for temple ornamentation :—

In India the countless temples of gods are sculptured, not only with the images of gods and goddesses, but with a representation of the whole universe, animate and inanimate; of men and women in their daily occupations, their wars, triumphs, and processions; of aerial and imaginary beings, Gandharvas and Apsaras and dancing girls; of horses, snakes, birds, elephants and lions; of trees and creepers of various kinds; of all that the sculptor could think of and his art could depict.

Fergusson is admittedly Mr. Dutt's æsthetic guide and preceptor,—as good a one as could be got, possibly. He is held responsible for statement that the student who has paid a visit to the town of Bhuvanesvara in Orissa knows more of Hindu temple architecture in its purity than pages of description are likely to teach him, which is likely enough.

The great temple is built of stone, and every individual stone has a pattern carved on it; "and this wonderful carving is estimated to have cost three times as much as the erection of the building itself." There you have the keynote of Hindu

architectural design—mosaic work on a monumental scale, and expensive enough for the man who finds the money to build on the cost a reputation for wealth, piety, and hope of perpetual fame. As Fergusson puts it :—

“Most people would be of opinion that a building four times as large would produce a greater and more imposing effect ; but this is not the way a Hindu ever looked at the matter. Infinite labour bestowed on every detail was the mode in which he thought he could render his Temple most worthy of the Deity ; and whether he was right or wrong, the effect of the whole is certainly marvelously beautiful. . . . The sculpture is of a very high order and great beauty of design.” A woodcut of the Black Pagoda of Hanarek restored, the exterior of which “is carved with infinite beauty and variety,” is to be found on page 348 of Mr. Dutt’s book. It happily illustrates Mr. Dutt’s ideal of beauty and variety in art ; especially the variety.

Indian custom in the matter of dress, the fashion of it, the material of it, the fringes to it, is supposed to have remained immutable amongst Hindus from the most ancient times to the middle of the 19th century. In Ancient India well-to-do people (and all the people are represented as well-to-do) used *Kauseya* (silk spun by the wild silk-worms) as material for their garments—in warm weather that is— ; in cold, *Kambala*, (cloth wove from fine goat’s hair). The plutocracy of the period preferred *holali* (stuff made from the fine hair of wild animals) highly priced, and therefore greatly esteemed. India is conservative in all things : idiosyncracies of sartorial sentiment amongst others. As far back as the seventh century A.D., Houen Tsang was impressed with the studious personal cleanliness of the people : he satisfied himself that no remissness in this matter was tolerated, as also that cleanliness was more observable in the personal habits of the people than in their towns—a kindly dispensation of providence, by virtue of which sanitary reform was a triumph reserved for latter-day local self-Government Boards. Notwithstanding the peaceful dispositions of Buddhist and Paurānik kings, and the non-invention of dacoity in Ancient India, “Towns were generally walled, and had gates.” . . . “The town walls were mostly built of bricks and tiles, and the towers of wood and bamboo, architecture in stone being extremely rare, except for the religious edifice and excavations.” The streets and lanes are referred to as tortuous, the thoroughfares dirty. Stalls were arranged on both sides of the road, “with appropriate signs,” Mr. Dutt thinks. Butchers, fishermen, dancers, executioners—a curiously suggestive conjunction—had their abodes outside the city. This was in the seventh century,

A.D. In a chapter specially devoted to early Pauranik civilization, from the sixth to the ninth centuries, Mr. Dutt writes :—"In the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara (Chapter IX) we learn that the Princess Mrigâvatî attained wonderful skill in dancing, singing, and other accomplishments before she was given in marriage. Numerous such passages are to be found in classical literature."

It was not probably as dancers, but as courtesans, that nautch girls were, with scavengers, sent to live outside the town pale. On the other hand, it is a mistake to suppose that Indian dancing women have at any time achieved the social position held by some of the Greek *hetairæ*,—by virtue of their culture and wit; not by means of twinkling feet and voluptuous attitudes.

"Houen Tsang gives an account of education in India which is interesting. He speaks of five Vidyâs or branches of learning, viz., *Sabdavidyâ*, or the science of words; *Silpasthânavidyâ*, treating of the arts; *Chikitsâvidyâ*, or medicine; *Hetuvidyâ*, or philosophy; and *Adhyâtmavidyâ*, or the mysteries of religion. Houen Tsang also speaks of four Vedas recognized in his time; but Manu recognizes only three, and not the Atharva Veda (III, 145; IV, 123; XI, 260 to 265; XII, 112. &c.). Houen Tsang further informs us that men completed their education at 30, rewarded and thanked their teacher and returned to their worldly duties."

Mr Dutt is bitter and sarcastic on the subject of caste, and Brâhman assumptions of prerogative in connection therewith. There is room for bitterness, room for sarcasm, and, may be, he does well to be angry. But, failing nationality and racial coherencies, what so catholic a controlling agency, making for the maintenance of order, and the greatest good of the greatest number; what other agency could have been devised that would have been half as much in accord with the bent and sympathies of oriental minds? The dogma that multiplication of inferior castes arose from illicit unions between the men and women of those fundamentally established, is denounced as a childish myth, and Manu is scoffed at for adopting it. Anent the Vaisya caste it is written :—

Again, when we survey the modern Hindu caste, we do not in many provinces of India find any trace of the ancient Vaisya caste, which formed the mass of the nation in the days of Manu. Where are those Vaisyas gone? When and how did they disappear from most provinces of India? And shall we, consistently with the myth spoken of before, believe that the Vaisyas were so apt to marry women of other castes, and so little fond of their own women that they continually formed alliances with other castes, until they simply married themselves out of their caste-existence?

The student of Indian history is spared the humiliation of accepting such nursery tales! Common sense will suggest to him that the Vaisyas of Manu have now been disunited into new modern castes according to

the professions they follow. Manu knew of goldsmiths and blacksmiths and physicians, and speaks of them as we have seen before, but does not reckon them as separate castes. *They were not castes but professions in Manu's time.* Scribes and physicians and artisans, though looked down upon by Manu, *still belonged to the common undivided Vaisya caste.* Scribes and physicians and artisans were still entitled in Manu's time to the privileges of the ancient Aryans, to acquire religious knowledge, to perform religious rites, and to wear the sacrificial thread. However much, then, we may deplore the results of the caste-system, it is important to remember that even in the centuries immediately subsequent to the Christian era, the system had not reached its worst stage, sacred learning had not yet become the monopoly of priests, and honest citizens, who gained a livelihood as scribes, physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, &c., were still Vaisyas, still united as one caste, and still entitled to all the literary and religious heritage of Aryans.

Those interested in the origin and developments of the caste system should read the chapter on social manners in its entirety, and, in connection with it, the chapter on religion and religious literature, from which we take a few pertinent extracts :—

"The worship of images in temples was unknown to the Hindus before the Buddhist Revolution, but seems to have come into fashion when Buddhism was the prevailing religion."

"The Trinity as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer, was unknown to Manu in the first century before or after Christ; but the idea had become a national property in the time of Kālidāsa in the 6th century A.D."

"It is noteworthy that among the multiplicity of gods mentioned in the Dharma Sastras one rarely finds mention of Krishna."

"The doctrine of transmigration is as firmly engrained in the Hindu mind as the doctrine of resurrection is in the Christian mind, and the lowest Hindu sees a possible relation or kinsman in a new-born babe, or even in a bird or animal."

"Hinduism has been and is a religion regulating life more than defining intellectual beliefs."

Remacu tetigisti. That is the operative side; the side that has had most real bearing on the history of Indian civilizations. Their historian's readings of and glosses on ancient Hindu law and canon concerning child marriages, widow re-marriages, intermarriages between different tribes—all the burning questions affected by social reformers, missionaries, lay iconoclasts, sensationalists at large—lead to the conclusion that Hindus, if they wish to find authority in their orthodox books for any ordinance, or breach or mitigation of ordinance, which they may affect, may do so just as readily as Christians of different churches or sects can point to texts in the Bible supporting their peculiar views. As our author succinctly puts the case, "The Institutes of Manu are somewhat composite in character." He holds distinctly that a candid reader, carefully perusing all the chapters and verses in the Code bearing on the position of women, will, *in spite of some objectionable passages*, certainly form a

high idea of the status of women, and of the Hindu civilization and manners of Manu's time.

Pleasing pictures of domestic life are preserved to us in the Dharma Sāstras, shewing that Hindus have ever appreciated and cultivated domestic virtues through all times and through all vicissitudes of their national fortunes. As we read Vyāsa's account of the duties of a wife as narrated in his second chapter, we can almost fancy it is the picture of a dutious and gentle Hindu wife of modern times, trying to discharge her household duties, and seeking to please all of her husband's family. She will rise before her lord at early dawn, clean the house, sweep and clean the room of worship, clean all the utensils and implements of religious worship and put them in order, wash all the utensils of cooking and wipe the hearth, and having thus performed all the preliminary work of the day, will come and do obeisance to her father-in-law, mother-in-law, and others.

Having then cooked the food, she will feed the children and then her husband, and will then take her meals with the permission of her lord. In the evening her work commences again, and after her husband has gone to bed and fallen asleep, she will lay herself beside him. She is enjoined to abstain from quarrel and avoid harsh language; to avoid extravagance, anger, duplicity, pride, scepticism, &c.; and she is instructed to serve her husband to the best of her ability. Those who know the domestic life of modern Hindus are aware that these injunctions have not been given to Hindu wives in vain, and that in obedience and gentleness and a regard for their husbands, Hindu women will not compare unfavourably with women in any country in the civilized world.

Mr. Dutt's idyll of the pleasures of domestic life in the Pauranik period would be altogether charming, if the reciprocity were not all on one side, as Sir Arthur Helps makes one of his puppets in *Friends in Council* say. The practice of Suttee, by the way, is held to have been unknown in India before Pauranik times, and to have been originally a Scythian custom introduced into Hindustan probably by Scythian invaders in the Buddhist age. The later Dharma Sastras all belaud a custom which was unknown to Manu, or even to Yājñavalkya.

Yājñavalkya stands for the emboliment of old school conservatism opposing itself to the march of progress, declaring: "It has been said that twice-born men marry Śūdra women. This is not my opinion, since one procreates himself on his wife." Later reactionaries, like Sankha and Vyāsa, prohibited absolutely the marriage of twice-born men with Śūdra women.

The ancient eight forms of marriage were also falling into disuse. We have seen that even in the Rationalistic Period, Vasishtha and Apastamba refused to recognize two of these forms as marriage, and this feeling became stronger with the lapse of time. Yājñavalkya (I, 58 to 61) like Manu names all the ancient eight forms of marriage, but distinctly declares that the first four only, viz., the *Brāhma*, the *Daiva*, the *Aśva*, and the *Prājāpatya* are meritorious and purify ancestors and descendants. Similarly, Vishnu mentions all the eight forms, but adds that the first four only are allowed to Brāhmins and purify ancestors and descendants (XXIV, 18 to 32). Sankha recommends the first four forms for Brāhmins (IV, 3); the *Rākshasa* and *Gāndharva* forms of marriage are allowed to the warrior caste alone. Hārita recommends the *Brāhma* rite alone for pious Brāhmins, "although other forms of marriage are also prescribed according to the custom of different castes" (IV, 2 & 3).

In Pauranik times "the king provided gambling houses in towns and appointed guards in such places. (*Yājñavalkya* II, 205 and 206.) We shall find evidence in the dramatic literature of the period that the courtezans of the age were not the degraded creatures of modern times, but possessed some virtues, and received some consideration from the citizens, as among the ancient Greeks. Liquor shops also existed in towns, but were frequented only by the low. Drinking among respectable men was always considered a great sin." Limited Liability Companies were not unknown. When marketable commodities were sold by a first purchaser immediately after his purchase of them, merchants were enjoined to be satisfied with a profit of ten per cent. on imports, and of five per cent. on home manufactures. The King was to fix the prices of commodities. A District Magistrate, or some one having authority, is often asked to do so now-a-days, in times of scarcity, and so forth. Mr. Dutt says: "These artificial rules seem crude in these days of free trade and free competition; but the modern reader cannot forget that laws still more crude regulated trade in Europe a century or two ago." In criminal trials, ordeals by fire, water, and poison, were still resorted to in the Pauranik age, though they were falling into disuse. All cases were decided by oral evidence. *Yājñavalkya* lays down the law that murderers and cattle stealers should be impaled. Also that a man's adultery with a woman of lower caste is not punishable. A fine was the punishment imposed for ravishing a Buddhist nun. A Sudra assuming to instruct a person of higher caste was to have scalding oil dropped into his mouth. That strikes us as a decided improvement on the modern law of libel. Mr. Dutt anathemizes Pauranik statute books: but says "It may safely be asserted that such inhuman laws were never enforced even by Brahman Judges." How many years ago is it since men and women were hanged in England for stealing sixpence by Judges who were not Brahmans? There are those who will tell you that men and women are being hung now-a-days in Ireland "for wearing of the green." Someday, hundreds of years hence, perhaps, some historian of the civilization of modern times may refer to English statute law of the early years of this century, Irish patriotic speeches and songs of to-day, as proof of the barbarity of our criminal procedure. Mr. Dutt's black is too black. Snaffle-bits are of no use with some hobby horses; they should be ridden on a curb. Mr. Dutt's enthusiasm against Brahmanism and vested interests appears to be one of them. Here is his "last word," in this History of Ancient India:—

"It may be England's high privilege to restore to an ancient nation a new and healthy life. Under the vivifying influences

of modern civilization, ancient races in Greece and in Italy have begun a new intellectual and national career. The influence of civilization will spread, and the light of progress which has been lighted in Southern Europe will yet spread to the shores of the Ganges. And if the science and learning, the sympathy and example, of modern Europe help us to regain in some measure a national consciousness and life, Europe will have rendered back to modern India that kindly help and brotherly service which India rendered to 'Europe in ancient days,—in religion, science, and civilization."

Pasteur and Rabies. By Thomas M. Dolan, M.D., F.R.C.S., Ed., Author of "The Nature and Treatment of Hydrophobia" (1878); "Pasteur and Hydrophobia" (1886); "Drink and Pauperism;" etc., etc. London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden. 1890.

PROCLAMATIONS of infallibility are as sure to engender dissent, as the super-excellence of a Stilton cheese to breed maggots. When the bias of conceit inherent in a newly-invented dogma leads to rough riding over susceptibilities, as well as traditions, reaction must, sooner or later, inevitably ensue.

This book of Dr. Dolan's is not only a protest against the claims of "M. Pasteur, Doctor of Chemistry," to medical infallibility; it is also an outward sign and token, in printer's ink, of backward pendulum swing from enthusiasms and credulities that have been imposed upon by pseudo-scientific quackery, and Danton's standard recipe for success—*de l'audace, de l'audace, et encore de l'audace.*

The argument now advanced is that Pasteurism is equally a danger and a mistake. In that contention Dr. Dolan is supported by Professor Peter, "the great French clinician, and successor of Trousseau," who contributes a preface to the book, in which he writes:—

"M. Pasteur's treatment must be judged by the statistics of the annual mortality from hydrophobia in France. This has increased instead of having decreased, as was pompously announced by Vulpian and Pasteur. Pasteur's treatment is equally condemned by the analyses of deaths: their clinical analyses showing that a certain number of fatal cases are due to the inoculations, which explains the increased mortality from hydrophobia in man.

"But M. Pasteur not only conveys rabies to man, but transmits charbon to animals (for details and statistics, see a brochure 'The Value of Pasteur's Treatment as a Preventive against Rabies.' Paris: Asselin and Houzeaux, 1887).

"Inoculation as preventive of charbon was practised upon 4,564 sheep at Kachowka, in Southern Russia, of which 3,696 died. M. Baidach, in August 1888, inoculated 4,564, of which only nineteen per cent. survived. This is called protective inoculation! The promoter of this gigantic

holocaust was M. Meczkow, a Doctor of Philosophy, Director of the Bacteriological Institute of Odessa."

Dr. Dolan makes argumentative capital out of Professor Peter's statistics, and a host more derived from various European sources. We are not inclined to attach too much importance to the array, for statistics can be made to prove anything and everything that a controversialist employing them may desire. He would be a poor literary workman, indeed, who could not make their summing up accord with his own prepossessions. But for all that, Dr Dolan's book is worth reading, as a timely contribution to the literature of a subject necessarily interesting to us in India: non-medical readers, as well as specialists, may find in it matter for consideration, and haply edification, if they realize that hydrophobia is more of a bugbear than an actual menace.

The Handbook of Games. Enlarged Edition, with Contributions by Dr. William Pole, F.R.S.; Major-General Drayson; Robert F. Green; and "Berkeley." In two Volumes. Vol. I.—Table Games. London: George Bell & Sons, York Street, Covent Garden. 1890.

THIS is a carefully compiled handbook and will prove of service to others besides greenhorn beginners. The pages devoted to billiards form an exhaustive treatise on the science and practice of that seductive game, and are written in a catholic spirit. *e.g.*, the author condemns as empirical the laying down of laws relative to choice of a cue in accordance with the standard of a man's inches and fighting weight, and too precise directions as to the manner in which it ought to be held when playing. When a man finds out for himself the cue that best suits his idiosyncracies, let him buy it, and use it without fear of pedagogic cavil. He is furthermore advised to "always play with the same cue." Again, there's a lot of cant about the science of making a bridge. Making a bridge, says General Drayson, "is a matter of no importance in detail, as long as the bridge is firm and steady." Keep in view the cardinal necessity for steadiness, "and then try to obtain this result as best suits the form of hand." Our Handbook guide thinks, that one of the most common causes of bad play among amateurs, is that "they work the right arm like a pump handle"—result of which is that the point of the cue works up and down in a corresponding manner, and induces—skittles. That is why some men's efforts to execute a "screw" eventuate in a "follow;" and then some men grow into a more or less complacent belief that the faculty for "screw" is by nature denied them.

"As a matter of practice, any person may correct this elementary but serious error by securing the services of a looker-on, who ought to stand opposite the player, and tell him when his action is such as to cause the cue to move up and down. The action should then be altered, until the cue is moved backward and forward, in the same straight line.

"No person can ever reach the position of even a moderately good player who does not stand firmly for his stroke, or who works his cue up and down before making his stroke. Several amateurs whom I have taken in hand and drilled as regards these two items, have in consequence, improved fully fifteen points in one hundred. This elementary drill was given to me when I was a mere child, and I have experienced its value in many a tough match.

"The point of the cue should be chalked after every four or five strokes. To 'miss cue,' as it is termed, that is, for the cue to slip off the ball, is almost entirely due to carelessness in not chalking the cue; but such a 'miss' loses many a game with some players."

There is much more of practical advice and example of the sort in this Handbook. Mr. R. F. Green contributes to it a chapter on Chess. And "Berkeley" expounds the mysteries of the machinery of *Rouge Et Noir*, *La Roulette*, *E. O.*, *Hazard* and *Faro*.

The United Service Magazine. A Monthly Review of all Questions Affecting National Interests, October 1890.

IT is a military fashion of the day to believe in the efficacy of sham fights as examples and proofs of what must happen in actual war. To followers of the fashion, we commend the following extract from Captain Altham's paper in the October *United Service Magazine* on the "Cavalry Revival :"—

We have heard a great deal lately of the young Emperor of Germany's charge at the head of seventy squadrons during last year's manœuvres, and we are told that the umpires ruled it a tactical success. Probably the same umpires would have given a similar decision if Waterloo had been a sham fight, and they had been required to give an opinion as to the success of Napoleon's seventy-seven squadrons let loose against the centre of that thin British line, which had already stood the brunt of many hours' hard fighting with all its demoralizing influence. Yet history tells us of the absolute failure of that gigantic and desperate onslaught of cavalry, and that during this battle one English infantry brigade (Haſckett's) succeeded in repulsing no less than eleven cavalry charges.

The Inspector : A Comedy, by Gogol. Translated from the Russian by T. Hart-Davies, Bombay Civil Service. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink and Co. 1890.

THIS is a translation of a characteristically national comedy, which, it would appear from the preface, we ought to have known all about years ago.

It has been a classical work in Russia for fifty years' past, and is said to occupy on the Russian stage a position analogous to that held in England by the ever-green *School for Scandal*. It is popularly pronounced Gogol's masterpiece, and Mr. Hart-Davies tells us that Jubilee performances of it at St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1886 were listened to with an enthusiastic appreciation which plainly showed the conviction of the Russian world that it deserves to rank among those masterpieces which it is the privilege of genius alone to create.

"Yet with all its wit and humour—which caused, according to common tradition, the Emperor Nicholas to laugh till the tears ran down his cheeks at the satire on his administration—the *Reizor*' is a melancholy play." We should like much to be able to read it in Russian, for even through the necessarily imperfect medium of a translation (imperfect, however well done) it is very evident that the play abounds in humorous situations and unartificial humour.

It is moreover valuable, as throwing light on the sordid corruption, petty tyrannies, and mean scoundrelism of Russian officialdom—forty years ago.

Notes on Grant's Xenophon. By Geo. Maddox, B.A., Professor of Logic and History, Doveton College, Madras. "Irish" Press," No. 163, Popham's Broadway, Madras.

THIS little publication ought to be in the hands of every student who has to read "Grant's Xenophon" for the First Examination in Arts of the Calcutta University. The notes given are just such as an Indian student requires. All allusions are explained fully, and every textual difficulty is most carefully elucidated.

Professor Maddox does not have recourse to the superficial method of annotating adopted, all but universally, by so-called Professors of the English Language in native colleges, we mean the habit of giving merely the *meanings of words* and quietly passing over the *explanation of phrases*, the purport of which a student frequently finds he is unable to grasp. To illustrate this, let the reader turn to page 40, and read the note on the phrase "*Gothic Sentimentalism*." He will notice that each word is first explained and next the signification of the whole phrase given in the clearest language. Or, let the reader turn again to page 86, and read the note on "*Utopian excellence*" and he will see how the meaning of this too is brought out.

The readers' attention is also drawn to some of the grammatical peculiarities of the English Language, *e.g.*, a capital note on the termination "*ing*," on pp. 54-55.

In some instances a question is asked to set the student on thinking, and although we are aware that the utility of this method has been questioned by some, we are of opinion that much good might be derived from it, if used judiciously.

The price of the publication is a rupee only, and any student investing that amount in the purchase of these notes will have no cause to repent of it.

The Indian Medical Service. A Guide for intending candidates for Commissions and for the Junior Officers of the Service. By Wm. Wilfrid Webb, M.B., Surgeon, Bengal Army; Late Agency Surgeon at the Court of Bikanir; Superintendent of Dispensaries, Jails and Vaccination in the Bikanir State; and for some time Guardian to H. H. the Maharajah. London: W. Thacker & Co., 87, Newgate Street. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay; Thacker and Company, Limited. 1890.

AS *raison d'être* for this comprehensive and carefully-put-together "Guide," Dr. Webb tells us in his preface that, years ago, when he had just completed his University curriculum, and desired trustworthy information about the Indian Medical Service, he was quite unable to obtain it. To young men of to-day in a similar predicament his handy little book will prove acceptable. Besides a clear exposition of all the chances open to average ability in an Indian Medical Service career, possible "political" and other plums, and particulars as to leave rules, travelling allowances, appointments in England for retired Officers, &c. &c., are duly set forth.

The Indian Magazine. October 1890. Issued by the National Indian Association in Aid of Social Progress and Education in India. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, E.C.

IN a paper on "Ordeals, Past and Present," in the October number of the *Indian Magazine*, Mr. G. F. Sheppard writes:—

Goldsmiths and others in India, swearing by "*Mata*"—a goddess—get out of their oath by saying that they meant to swear by some stout man (*māto*); and boys fancy that if they swear a false oath with the tongue between their front teeth, it is no matter. The same idea is in the English schoolboys' "over the left."

This wanton distortion of a schoolboy slang conspicuous for candour, if for anything, a fair sample of the pernicious teachings to which *The Indian Magazine* appears to have now-a-days devoted its ministrations to young India,

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- The Report on the Progress and Condition of the Government Botanical Gardens, Saharanpore and Mussoorie.* For the year ending 31st March 1890.
- Annual Report of Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies.* 1889
- Report on the Legal Affairs of the Bengal Government.* For the year 1889-90
- Notes on the Administration of the Stamp Department of the Punjab and its Dependencies.* For the year 1889-90.
- Review of the Trade of India in 1889-90.*
- Maps of the Hoshiarpore District Appendix V. Revised Settlement.* 1879-84.
- Annual Report of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta.* For the year 1889-90
- Trade and Navigation Accounts of British India.* For the month of August 1890 and the five months, 1st April to 31st August 1890.
- Accounts of the External Land Trade of British India.* For the three months April to June 1890.
- Annual Report on Grass Operations in the Commissariat, Western Circle (Punjab and Beluchistan).* For 1889-90.
- Report of the Court of Wards, North-Western Provinces.* For the Revenue year 1888-89, ending the 30th September 1890.
- Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India with Foreign Countries, and of the Coasting Trade of the Several Presidencies and Provinces.* For the year ending 31st March 1890.
- Trade and Navigation Accounts of British India.* For the month of September 1890, and the six months, 1st April to 30th September 1890.
- First Forecast of Bhadoi Crops in Bengal.*
- Annual Report on Vaccination in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.* For the year 1889-90.
- Report by the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency* For the year 188-99.
- First Triennial Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal on the Working of the Vaccination Department in Bengal.* During the three years 1887-88, 1888-89 and 1889-90.
- Accounts of the External Land Trade of British India.* For the four months April to July 1890.
- Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India.* For the year ending 31st March 1890.
- Return of the Rail-borne Trade of Bengal.* For the quarter ending the 31st March 1-90
- Report of the Honorary Committee for the Management of the Zoological Gardens* For the year 1889-90.
- Journal of the East India Association.* July 1890.
- The Police and a Gambling Case.* Queen Empress *versus* Babro Jang Bahadoor Singh and others, &c., &c. Mizapur : Printed at the Khichri Samahar Press. 1890.
- Preliminary Forecast of Winter Rice Crop in Bengal up to the 15th September 1890.*
- The National Review.* October 1890.
- Proceedings of the Main Historical Society, Madras.* April-September 1890.
- Travels, Adventures and Sport from Blackwood Mackenzie,* Nos. 8 and 10.
- The Indian Church Quarterly Review* Vol. III. No. 4 October 1890.
- The Diplomatic Fly-Sheet,* 15th October 1890.
- The Indian Magazine,* November 1890.

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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CRITICAL NOTICES :—

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE—

- 7.—A History of Civilization in Ancient India, based on Sanscrit Literature. By Romesh Chunder Dutt, of the Bengal Civil Service ; and of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law ; Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; Author of a Bengali Translation of the Rig Veda Sanhita and other Works. People's Edition. Complete in one volume. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1891 ... xii
- 8.—English Composition and Rhetoric. By Alexander Bain, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. Edited with additions for Indian Students by John Adam, M.A., Principal and Professor of History and Political Economy, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras ; Fellow of the University of Madras ; sometimes Scholar of the University of Aberdeen and of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Linne Labor. Madras : Tawker Sadananda and Co., Esplanade Row, and at Trichinopoly, 1891. ... *ib.*
- 9.—The National Review January 1891. London : W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place. ... xiii
- 10.—Adventures of Thomas Brown, a Griffin. Bombay : Messrs. Thacker and Co., Limited, 1891. ... xiv
- 11.—The Indian Church Quarterly Review. January 1891. Edited by the Rev. H. J. Spence Gray, M.A. London : Messrs. J. Masters, 78, New Bond Street Calcutta : The Oxford Mission Steam Printing Works ... xvi
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

No. 184.—APRIL, 1891.

ART. I.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF MULTAN.*

ACCORDING to Burnes,† Muzaffar Khan, the late Nawáb of Multan, in sinking a well in the city, found a war drum at a depth of sixty feet from the surface. General Cunningham had several wells sunk, from the high ground of the citadel down to the level of the natural soil, and he discovered evidence of man's occupation at a depth varying from 45 to 50 feet, namely, a deposit of ashes and burnt earth, which he takes to be the remains of a conflagration and wholesale massacre that followed the capture of the capital of the Malli by the Macedonian troops of Alexander, exasperated, as they were, by the dangerous wound received by their master in the siege of the place. "Frightful was the carnage," we are told, "made amongst the brave Malli; every man, woman and child that fell into the hands of the Macedonians, was mercilessly butchered."

According to both Arrian and Strabo, Alexander received his wound at the capture of the capital of the Malli, whither, we are informed, many of the inhabitants of other cities had fled for better security. The strong Brahman city from which Alexander led his forces against the chief city of the Malli, is identified by Cunningham with Attari, 34 miles to the north-east of Multan, and on the high road from Tolamba. Multan has unquestionably been the capital of the Lower Panjab, and it possesses the strongest fort in this part of the country. At the time of Alexander's invasion, it had, according to Arrian, the greatest number of defenders, 50,000; and it must have been the strongest place, for, he says, "the

* Continued from No. CLXXXII, for October 1890, p. 400.

† *Travels into Bokhara, &c.*, Vol. III, p. 115.

warlike tribe (the Malli) had abandoned the other cities and concentrated there for better security." Alexander is described as having made two marches from the Brahman city to the capital of the Malli, which agrees exactly with the distance of 34 miles between Attari and Multan. "For these reasons," says General Cunningham, "I am quite satisfied that the capital city of the Malli was the modern city of Multan."

Major Rennel has supposed the metropolis of Multan to have been higher up, and he points to the ruins near Tolamba as the site of the capital of the Malli. But the conclusions drawn by General Cunningham are corroborated by Burnes and other eminent travellers of modern times. It is expressly stated that, after capturing the Brahman city and Oxydracæ (the modern Uch), Alexander crossed the Hydraotes (Ravi), and led his forces to the capital city of the Malli. The distance from the river is but 30 miles, and Multan is a place of undoubted antiquity. "I do not see," says Burnes, "why we should forsake the modern capital when in search of the ancient; had we not the earliest assurances of the age of Multan, its appearance alone would indicate it." *

I have said before that Multan, the Kasyapapura of Hindu mythology, derives its name from Kasyapa, one of the great gods of the Hindu pantheon. These gods, or Rishis, are represented in the heavens by the seven stars of the Great Bear, believed to be united by marriage to the seven Pleiades, or Krittikas. According to local tradition, the manifestation of Vishnu in the Nar Sinh *Avatâr* took place at Multan when Kasyapa was reigning. This old tradition of the origin of the place affords interesting evidence of its importance at the earliest dawn of Indian history, and is proof of the great position which it once held in the Empire of India.

General Cunningham discovered three interesting silver coins in the neighbourhood of Multan (1872-73), all of which he believes to refer to the worship of the sun-god of Multan. They are supposed to belong to a period antecedent to the reign of Chach, towards the middle of the 7th century, when the territory of Multan and Sindh was ruled over by a dynasty of kings known as *Diwalij*, conspicuous for their devotion to sun worship.

The first of these coins was found in the great Tope of Manakyala, which had been thoroughly explored by Mountstuart Elphinstone (1815), General Ventura (1830) and General Court (1834). It was triangular in form, with the

* *Travels into Bokhara, &c.*, Vol. III.

bust of the king, half-turned to the right, covered with a head-dress, ornamented with two trisuls, and surmounted by a tiger's head. The Scythic letters before the face on the obverse are now quite unknown, but the long legend in the Nagri characters around the margin has been satisfactorily delineated, and the following reading has been adopted :—

*Sri Hitivi cha Airdn cha Parameswara
Sri Shalutigim Deva jarita.*

which means—

“The fortunate lord of India and Persia,
The valiant king Deva-jarita.”

The reverse has a bust of a god, which Prinsep attributes to the Mithra of the Iranians, but which Cunningham believes to be the Multan sun-god, called Aditya, for the reason that the head is surrounded by rays arranged after the Indian fashion and quite different from the head-dress of the Persian Mithra. If the theory of General Cunningham in regard to the identification of the coin with the Diwahi dynasty be correct, the date of the coin would be about 500 A.D.

The second coin is of special value, as belonging to the time of Khusrow Parwez, of Persia. It has on the obverse the bust of the king, with the winged head-dress, and a Pahlvi-legend. On the reverse is the bust of the Indian sun-god, with the rayed head-dress. The date inscribed on the coin is the year “37 of the reign,” which corresponds to 626 A.D. The coin is of particular interest, as giving a clue to an important event recorded in the Chachnama, namely, the invasion of Scindh by an army from Persia under the King of Nimroz (Sistan) and the defeat and death of Râe Siharus, the immediate predecessor of the Brahman Chach. General Cunningham supposes the coin to have been struck by Khusrow Parwez in honor of his temporary conquest of the Indian Empire.

The third coin bears a close analogy to the last. It has on the obverse the bust of a king with a winged head-dress, as in the coin of Khusrow Parwez. The Pahlvi-legend has been read by Mr. Thomas as follows :—

Left of the head—*Siv Varsii Tef.*

Round the margin—*Pûn shami dât siv varsao Tef, Wah-
man Ach Mûltân Malka.*

Meaning—

“*In nomine justî judicis siv Varsao Tef Brâhman,
King of Mûltân.*”

On the reverse appears the rayed head of the sun-god, as in the two coins beforementioned. On the right of the head

is the inscription *Sri Vāsū Vāsū Deva*, and on the left *Panchai sāvulistan*.

The last coin has, it would appear, direct reference to Multan, the rayed bust on the coin being identified with the famous sun-god Aditya. General Cunningham identifies Vasu Deva with Rajhra, who ruled Multan when that country was usurped by Chach. He was a relative of *Shasi*, and is described as having had "large dominions" and possessed "great abilities." According to the Chachnama, his nephew, Sahiwal, was governor of the Fort of *Sikka*, opposite Multan, and, with the assistance of *Ajri*, his cousin, he opposed Chach on the banks of the Bias for three months.

Another place of great antiquity in Multan, directly associated with the ancient worship of the sun-god "Multan," is the tank of "*Suraj Kund*," or the pool of the sun, famous, in modern times, as the position of the British troops under Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake during the siege of Multan in 1848. It is about five miles to the south of Multan, on the road to Bahawalpur, and is a place of great sanctity with the Hindus. The tank is 132 feet in diameter and 10 feet deep when full of water. Sarwan Mal, the Sikh Diwan, surrounded it with an octagonal wall. It is a great place of pilgrimage, and two fairs are held on the site annually,—one on the seventh of the waning moon of Bhadon, and the other on the seventh of the waning moon of Magh,—the numbers having apparently reference to the seven horses of the Sun's chariot, according to the Hindu mythology, or the seven Rishis, sons of Manu, a direct descendant of Brahma, the father of Kasyapa, the fabulous founder of Multan.

The modern city of Multan is built on a mound of considerable height, formed of the debris of most ancient cities and the rubbish accumulated during the lapse of many centuries. The city is surrounded with a wall, the whole circuit, including the citadel, being 15,000 feet, or nearly three miles. But Multan, like the other great Eastern cities (Shiraz, Ispahan, Kabul, &c.), has extensive suburbs, which are unwalled, and, including these, measures about five miles, which agrees exactly with the estimate furnished by the Chinese traveller Houen Tsang, who makes the circuit of Multan 30 Li, or just five miles.* It also very nearly agrees with the estimate of Elphinstone, who describes Multan as "about four-miles-and-a-half in circumference."† The citadel, situated on the opposite banks of the old bed of the Ravi, and now dismantled, had no ditch when visited by Elphinstone and Burnes,

* Ancient Geography, p. 231.

† Elphinstone's Cabul, p. 27.

but Sarwan Mal, the popular and energetic viceroy of Multan under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, surrounded it with a broad, deep ditch, having ready communication with the waters of the Ravi canal. The walls were built by Morad Baksh, the fourth and youngest son of Shah Jahan, when viceroy of Multan, in 1627 A.D., or towards the close of the reign of that Emperor. The Prince was fond of arms, and delighted in hunting lions and wild boars, which then abounded in the jungles of Multan.

The fort is, in shape, half an irregular octagon, with a circuit of 6,600 feet, or a mile-and-a-quarter. It had originally forty-six towers and bastions, including two flanking towers at each of the four gates.

Al Idrisi, writing of Multan in the beginning of the twelfth century, describes it as "a large city commanded by a citadel, which has four gates, and is surrounded by a moat." The fort has still four gates: that to the north being called the *Khizr* gate, from Syud Khizr Khan, governor of Multan at the time of Tymur's invasion; that to the west, the *De* gate; that to the south, the *Rahr* gate; and that to the east, the *Sikki* gate. The *De* gate is believed to have reference to the Dewal shrine in the temple of the sun, and, according to General Cunningham, indicates its true position. That it must have formed the principal approach to the temple of the sun, is also apparent from the large drain called by the same name (*De*), which must have led from the temple to the streets. The *Sikki* gate has obvious reference to the old fortified town of Sikka mentioned by the historians of Scindh and Arabia. We have already alluded to the fort of Multan being called "Sikka-Multan" by the early Arab authors. The transcription of M. Vivien and de St. Martin, of *Mulasthanipura* into mulo-san-upu-lo of the Chinese Pilgrim Hsuen Tsang, is clearly borne out by the dialect of the people themselves, and the identity of Multan with Mula-sthan, which agrees exactly with the name Mula-tana, quoted by Abu Rihan, on the authority of Kashmerian writers. *Mula* in Sanscrit means "root," or "origin," and *sthan*, or *than*, signifies "spot" or "place." The orb of the sun is the root of light, and in the *Amarakosha* one of the names given to the sun is Vradhna, which is the synonym of Mula. Thus *Mula-thana*, *Mula-tana*, or *Mula-sthana*, means simply the shrine, or temple of Mula, or the sun. This view was held by Professor Wilson and has been fully endorsed by General Cunningham.*

* Ancient Geography, page 234. The sun is regarded as the lord of the ethereal space, diffusing light by its rays into the world, and hence came to be worshipped as a god itself.

Munshi Hukm Chand, in his *History of Multan*, gives the following description of the origin of Multan :—"According to the Hindus there lived in olden times Haran Kishab Rakshal and Prahlad Bhagat. That was the age of the *sat yug*. People describe the origin of Multan thus : First, that there lived a tribe here called Mul. The city came to be called Multan after their name. Secondly, the word *Mul* means in Sanscrit *beginning*. The city, having presumably been founded towards the commencement of the human habitation, was called *Mul-trang*, which, by lapse of ages, came to be styled Multan. Thirdly, *Mul* also means 'centre,' and *sthan* means 'a place.' The city, being founded in a central part of the country, was called Mulsthan, namely, a central place." *

According to Ferishta, Multan was founded by a great grandson of Noah, after his own name. According to other Mahomedan historians, Yáfis, a son of Noah, settled here after the deluge, and became a *Kafir*, or infidel. Hans, a descendant of Yáfis, who afterwards became a celebrated raja, laid the foundation of the city, which came to be called after his name, *Hanspur*. The city flourished for five hundred years. During the next five hundred it remained waste, after which Raja Bhagat Kishen repopulated it. Being again desolated, after five hundred years, it remained depopulated for the same period, when it was once more peopled by Raja Sham Prem Nath, when the city was, after his name, called Shampur. The city was then swept away by the river, only the citadel, which was situated on high ground, being saved from the effects of the inundation. Five hundred years after, Raja More came here from Hindústan on a hunting excursion, and he, having re-peopled the city, called it *Mor-taran*, which, in after times, came to be called *Mol-taran*, and again *Moltana*, or *Múltan*. † When the place was visited by Shah Gurdez Eúsúf, no trace of the citadel existed, and what was visible was a

* *Tawarikh Zilla Multan*, by Munshi Hukm Chand, p. 42, 1884.

† According to Edward Thomas, the orthography of Multan on the coin is simply *بلتان* without any dots, "which," continues he, "for a long time made me hesitate in admitting the present rendering, but which is now fully established by the legend on the coins of Uzbeg Pai, and I have singular confirmation of the disregard of the true sounds of M and B prevailing at this period, in the fact that many MSS. of the *Tabakat-i Nasiri*—the original of which was of nearly contemporaneous composition—defines the name as *بُلْتَان* (*Búltan*), a circumstance which has led to amusing confusion in the printed editions prepared in Calcutta."—*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* : by Edward Thomas, p. 76, London, 1871.

large mound of earth. The site of the present town was partly the bed of the river and partly included the opposite bank of the same. The river flowed by the side of the mausoleum of Shah Eúsúf. The modern city was founded eight hundred years ago, and the Ravi then flowed by the side of the city walls, towards the north-west. Traces of the ancient bed of the river can still be seen close to the city walls, though the Ravi now flows at a distance of 5 or 6 miles to the west of the city.

Some maintain that the old city of Multan was situated towards the east of the modern town, and that it was re-peopled to the south, at the spot, where the mausoleum of Mulla Mouj now stands. This view is borne out by the fact that, to the east and south of the modern town, ancient ruins are found scattered over the surface of the country for miles. At the time of Alexander's memorable invasion of the Malli, the city was situated to the south. This result agrees exactly with the view held by Cunningham, who has supposed that Alexander opened his campaign against the Malli by advancing upon Multan from the east. The bulk of the ancient ruins are to the south-east in the direction of Suraj Kund, and it is probable that the old city of Multan was situated in that direction, not far from the modern town. That the city of Multan repeatedly rose and fell, with the tide of fortune, and was peopled and re-peopled at different periods, would be best illustrated from the following saying, widely current amongst the people :—

*Hánsþúr, Bhágsþúr, Shámpsþúr, choutha þúr Múltan,
Panchwánsþúr Bhajkirthi si Aripúr Súltan.*

Meaning—

*“Hánsþúr, Bhágsþúr, Shámpsþúr, and the fourth þúr is Múltan,
The fifth þúr is Bhajkirthi or Aripúr Súltan.”*

The above distich corroborates the accounts previously given of the changes of habitation, so far as the walled portion of the city is concerned. There is also a belief prevailing among the inhabitants that the old city of Multan was situated on either bank of the Ravi.*

This description corresponds exactly with the description of Multan given by the early Arab Geographers, who described the position of the Fort of Sikka, on the bank of the Ravi, a short distance east of Multan. General Cunningham also arrives at the same conclusion. He writes :—“The Fort of Sikka must have been somewhat near the present Márf

* *History of Múltan*, by Munshi Hukm Chand, p. 42.

Sital, which is on the bank of the old bed of the Ravi, two-and-a-half miles to the east of Multan.*

The Mahomedans, during a rule of upwards of twelve centuries, completely eradicated all traces of idolatry and Hindu worship from Multan; and this utter absence of Hindu remains led General Cunningham to sink several wells in the fort, in the hope of discovering some relics that might be more ancient than the Mahomedan conquest. One well was carried down to the depth of forty feet in 1864. It was sunk just outside the wall of the roofless temple of Pahladpuri, and the result was highly interesting. One of the objects of sinking the well was to obtain some reliable data for fixing the approximate period of the accumulation of the vast debris which constitute the special features of this ancient town. At a depth of 10 or 11 feet were discovered a coin of Mozuddin Keku-bad (A.D. 1286-89), a glazed blue oil-lamp and several fragments of glazed pottery. The circumstance is unquestionable proof of the fact that glazed tiles were introduced into India by the Mahomedans. The ten feet of accumulation thus gave a period of 600 years, or nearly one-and-a-half foot per century. Lower down, at a depth of 12 feet, was found a coin of Sri Samanta Deva—Circa A.D. 900-950—which gave a period of 900 years for twelve feet. At a depth of 13 and 14 feet were found bricks, $11 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2$; at 15, 16 and 17 feet, red ashes, 2 feet deep; at 18 feet, black ashes, 6 to 9 inches, and bricks $11 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2$; and at 21 feet, fragments of large bricks, $14 \times 11 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$. The bricks increased in size with the depth, the Moghul being small, the Pathan nearly double the size, and the Buddhist still larger.

At a depth of 30 to 32 feet, was found a layer of ashes and burnt earth, 2 feet thick, together with a silk-spinner's ball, a shoe-maker's sharpening stone, and a copper vessel with about 200 coins. From 36 to 39 feet was natural soil, unmixed.

Now, the principal discoveries made in this archaeological excavation were two, namely, the great masses of ashes and burnt substances at two different depths. The upper one, which extended from 15 to nearly 18 feet, and which consisted of a deposit of red ashes overlying a thin cover of black ashes, was not limited to the area of the well, but extended round it on every side. The position of the deposit corresponds exactly with the conquest of Multan by Mahomed Kasim, Lieutenant of Al Hajjajin, in A.D. 712, when, we are told, the whole garrison was put to the sword.

The other deposit of ashes and burnt earth, 2 feet in thickness, at a depth of 30 to 32 feet, corresponds very nearly to

* Ancient Geography, p. 238.

the period of Alexander's conquest of the capital of the Malli, when the Macedonians, exasperated by the wound received by their royal master at the siege of the citadel, made wholesale massacres, sparing neither age nor sex. General Cunningham thinks it probable that this deep layer of ashes may be the remains of some conflagration that attended the massacres.

The further discovery made just below the level of the burnt earth, consisted of a silk-spinner's ball of clay, a shoe-maker's sharpening stone, and a copper utensil filled with about 200 coins. These latter were square in form, but were unrecognizable, being altogether corroded.*

These are important results, establishing, beyond doubt, the great antiquity of Multan and its association with events of the first importance in the history of India.

The only Hindu remains of Multan are the enormous stone rings, called *Nāls* and *Mankās* (believed to be the thumb rings of *Nougazas*, or the nine yarders, the "*Glazis* and *Shahids*," or "warriors and martyrs for the faith of Islam," who first invaded the country and were killed in the action). Similar stone rings have been also found in the ruins of Harappa (the most extensive of the old ruins along the banks of the Ravi), and some fragments of statues of a temple near the Haram gate of the city.

But the chief peculiarity of Multan is the amazing extent of the ruins of tombs, mosques and shrines that cover the suburbs, and are even more numerous than those of Láhore. Mounds of enormous size, called in the dialect of the country *Blir*, or *Th-le*, are found scattered over the surface of the country for miles around, and covered with fragments of bricks and pottery of household use. These are undoubtedly the remains of ancient towns and habitations. These mounds, or *Blurs*, are numerous in the Multan district, but I give overleaf a list of the principal ones noted either for their extent or antiquity. These are objects of great interest to the antiquarian, being situated in a region full of historic sites, and give promise of unfolding forgotten chapters of history, if the same zeal be displayed in their examination, as has been shown by the Archæological Department in the Fort of Multan.

* Archæological Survey Report, Vol. V, pp. 126-29.

Name of Parganá.	Name of Village	Name of Mound or Bhir.	Approximate date of foundation.	Approximate date of depopulation.	REMARKS.
Multán	Jailpúr	Jailpur-wálá	Ten generations back	In the time of the Mah-rattas	
Do.	Mául Rawa	Mául-wálá	500 or 600 years ago	Before the time of Nawáb Moz-zuffer Khan	Or before 1779 A.D.
Do.	Juma Khasá Taraí	Bákar-abád.	In the time of the Delhi Emperors	Do.	
Do.	Khagga-wálá	Kodr-wálá	600 years ago	300 years	
Do.	Kotli Nijábut	Núrkhá-wálá	Before the time of the Nawábs	Before the Sikh time	Depopulated by the Bhangí Misl.
Do.	Makhdum-púr.	Bhir Múltán-wálá	Before the time of Báber	Not known	
Lodhrán	Mochi Baohau	Th-he machi Baohau wálá	500 years ago	100 years	
Do.	Jalalabad	Th-he Jalalabad Kuhua	400 years ago	Not known	
Do.	Khánpur	Th-he Khan-pur wálá	Not known	Do.	Old bricks of Choughatta period are found here on digging the earth.
Do.	Khánwáh	Bhir Bhárá-wálá	500 years	200 years	Ditto ditto.
Do.	Moth	Th-he Samandar Shahid-wálá	700 years	400 years	Ditto ditto.
Do.	Garran	Talwára	800 years	600 years	Old burnt bricks are found here. The place was destroyed by conflagration. The date corresponds with Chach's usurpation fixed by Sir Henry Elliot at 10 A.H. or 631 A.D.
Do.	Kot Lal-shah	Hot	Do.	400 years	

Name of Parganá.	Name of Village.	Name of Mound or Bhir.	Approximate date of foundation.	Approximate date of depopulation.	REMARKS.
Lodhrán	Vaghumul	Bhir Jamal Fattawáá	600 years	300 years	Destroyed by conflagration. Black and red ashes and coal are found on digging the ground. The period nearly corresponds with the invasion of Múltún by Husein Arghún in the name of Báber, when a stubborn resistance, prolonged during fifteen months, was made by Shujaulmulk, guardian of the infant son of Mahmud of Langa dynasty.
Do.	Karam Ali-wálá	Bohtan-wálá	500 years	200 years	Old bricks are found here.
Do.	Thatta Ghulwan	Bháiwala	600 years	300 years	Ditto ditto.
Do.	Do.	Nazar Sultanwálá	Do.	200 years	Ditto ditto.
Do.	Lutpur	Mir Hassan Jabáwán	700 years	300 years	
Sarae Suddhu	Dádúwálá	Pindi Raj-jowali	Not known	Not known	Copper coins and old bricks are found here on excavation.
Do.	Jodhpur	Prátá	Do.	Do.	Burnt grain is found here on excavation.
Do.	Phaddi	Phaddi	1,930 years	Do.	According to popular belief the place was founded by Rújá Basalu.
Melsi	Waka Máhní	Bhar Sago-wán	550 years	During the Sikh monarchy	
Do.	Kádírpur	Kot Kanjan	800 years	When the Bias changed its course	
Do.	Sargana	Sárang-wálá	500 years	During the famine of 1858.	An old Masjid stands here.
Do.	Malik Wáhn	Malik Wahan	300 years	In the beginning of the Sikh rule.	Old copper coins are found after heavy rain.

Name of Parāṇā.	Name of Village.	Name of Mound or Bhir.	Approximate date of foundation.	Approximate date of depopula- tion.	REMARKS.
Melsi	Govt. Jungle	The Ja- hanian- wālā	800 years	500 years	This is a very large mound. It is situate across Di- wanwah nala, in the Gov- ernment Forest, one-and- a-half mile south of village Matrā. The Bhir is called after the name of Pir Jahanian whose mausoleum is si- tuated in its vicinity.
Shuja- habad	Vāhi Raja Rām	Tibba Sheikh Rājū	Before the Biaschang- ed its course	Not known	
Do.	Rasti Mahārān- wālā	Tibba Mahārānwālā	Not known	Do.	

The walled city of Multan has six gates, *Delhi*, *Dowlat*, *Lahori*, *Behar*, *Haram*, and *Pak*, of which the *Bohar* gate leads to the west and the *Delhi* gate to the south. There were four more gates in olden times (the *De*, *Sikki*, *Hareri*, and *Khazri*) leading towards the citadel, but these have now been dismantled. The city walls were built by Nawāb Ali Mahomed, Khan *Khakwani*, in 1170 A.H., corresponding to 1756 A.D. The walls were originally high, but have been reduced during the British period, on sanitary grounds.

Notwithstanding the undoubted Hindu origin of Multan, there are no places of archæological interest in it which can be pointed to by the Hindus as furnishing a trace of their sovereignty, for the reason, already mentioned, that the sweeping conquest of the Mahomedans has left not a single vestige of their supremacy and power. Yet the famous temple of Pahladpuri, however altered in shape, and the tank of Suraj Kund, previously mentioned, may be pointed to as the two principal places of Hindu pilgrimage in the district of Multan.

According to the *Narsingh Purāṇā*, Raja Haran Kishab flourished at Multan at the time of the *sat yug*. He was considered by the Hindus a *Kafir*, or unbeliever. This Raja had a son, by name Prahlad Bhagat. The boy, at the age of five, was observed by his father worshipping Parneswar and singing hymns in praise of the Lord. Haran Kishab became angry with the child for repeating the name of God and offering him adoration, and enjoined on him the necessity of worshipping himself. It is to be noted here that, according to tradition,

Brahma had promised to Haran Kishab that he should be imperishable, and that neither God, nor man, nor beast, would destroy him. He had received an express pledge from the that deity neither earth, nor air, nor fire, nor water should affect him during the day, or by night, and that sword, or bow, or arrow, or any other instrument should cause him no harm. Haran Kishab, considering himself to be immortal, and not liable to extinction, became puffed-up with pride, and directed his subjects to pay him divine worship and honors.

Prahlad was also directed to obey his father's behests. But the remonstrances of the father had no effect on the youthful worshipper of Vishnu, who continued in his pursuits as zealously as ever. The Raja subjected his son to various tortures, but even this did not induce him to desist from the course which he had adopted. At length the Raja had a column (or pillar) of gold constructed, and, causing it to be heated with fire, had the youthful Prahlad bound to it, thinking that he would be burnt to death. While the lad was being subjected to this excruciating torture and pain, Nar Singh (or Nar Sinh) *Avatár* made his appearance from the burning column, in the form of a man, but with the head of a lion; and immediately the metal became as cold as ice. Nar Sinh Ji, whose fury at the the insolence of the Raja had no bounds, ripped open his abdomen, and, being pleased with the devotions of the youthful Prahlad Bhagat, placed him on the throne of his father. The god then disappeared. The *mandar* of Prahladpuri (or Pahladpuri, as it is now called) was then made of pure gold, the supporting columns of the roof being of the same material. Some time after, so the tradition goes, the *mandar*, from some unknown cause, sank below the ground. On the site of the old *mandar* a new one was then constructed, and a new column erected in place of this golden one, with which the young Prahlad had been bound by his father.

Such is the story concerning the origin of this ancient temple recorded in the Hindu *Puránás*. Haran Kishab, of the Hindu *Puránás*, is the same as Haranya Kasipú, whose father, Kasyapa, is believed, according to the Sanscrit texts, to have founded Kasyapapura (otherwise known as Multan), the oldest name preserved by Abu Rihán under its Sanscrit form.

Being unroofed by the explosion of the powder magazine in 1849, the *mandar* was quite deserted for many years. It was restored, thirty years ago, by Bawa Ram Das, the hereditary guardian of the shrine, chiefly with money raised by subscription, and the present *mandar* was built at a cost of 11,000 rupees.

The position of the *Suraj Kund* has already been described. The tank claims the same antiquity as the shrine of Prahladpuri. According to the Hindu *Puránás*, when Nar

Sinh Ji *Avatár* killed Raja Haran Kishab, his rage had no bounds. The *Devatás*, to alleviate his wrath, conducted him to this spot, and here all the gods (Nar Sinh Ji being the greater god) refreshed themselves. Among the other notables was the *Suraj Devatá*, or the sun-god, who took a fancy to the charming spot. The gods retired quite recruited, and much delighted at the brief repose they had enjoyed at the spot, and, after they had gone, people sunk a well there in commemoration of the event. *Suraj-ji-Maharaj* then manifested himself, and joyfully declared, "whosoever shall bathe in this tank, his sins will be forgiven, and he will be benefited both in this world and in the next." This voice from the god of light was enough to rouse the spirit of the faithful. Votaries now flock to it from all sides at particular seasons of the year, and it is believed that bathing in its sacred water, besides ensuring emancipation in a future state of existence, has the quality of healing sores and ulcers and conferring blessings in the present life. Besides the two annual fairs previously mentioned, people (men and women) assemble here every Sunday and Friday.

The other places of importance at Multan, connected with the Hindu mythology, are the following:—

Mandar Narsinhpuri in the city of Multan.—After the incarnation of Vishnú, in the manner previously indicated, Nar Sinh Ji *Avatár* took his seat in the fort. In consequence of the difficulty experienced by the votaries in finding access to the fort, Bawá Ram Das Pujári set up the image for worship in the city, and eighty years ago the present shrine was built to compose the god here. A large fair is held at this shrine, every year, in Jeth, when thousands of people assemble and make offerings to the god.

Mandar Totla Mai, in the *Haram* gate of the city, is believed to be a very ancient shrine. The Hindus maintain that it flourished when Nar Sinh *Avatár* made his appearance in the lion's shape. When Aurungzeb, whose lifelong object was to destroy idolatry and convert the whole world to the Mahomedan Faith, began to persecute* the Hindus, the Devi Ji, so the *Puránás* say, having walked on foot, threw herself into the well of the *Dairah*. The well is pointed out to this day in a corner of the shrine as the place where the goddess, overwhelmed with grief, drowned herself. Under the orders of the king, the temple dedicated to the goddess was dismantled, and, according to the fashion of the day, a mosque was built on it. The same night, the king's son, having fallen seriously ill, was cured by the treatment of Kalian Dás *Misser*, the traditionary

* Aurungzeb is said to have massacred 10,000 persons in Multan for desecration of Mahomedan mosques and shrines.—*Vide "The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh :"* by David Ross, p. 101. London 1883.

guardian of the shrine, who was also well versed in physic. In reward for this service, the Misser obtained the king's permission to restore the shrine, and the image of Devi Ji, having been taken out of the well, was set up in a quarter of the city, and a temple raised in its honor, to which the faithful now flock to offer their devotions. Such is the story told by the Hindus regarding the restoration of the shrine, though it is difficult to believe that a bigoted king, like Aurungzeb, should have ordered the restoration of the temple.

Mandar Jog Máýá, one mile distant from the city of Multan.—At the grand convention of gods held at Multan to allay the fury and indignation of Nar Sinh Ji, the goddess Jog Máýá is said also to have graced the meeting with her presence. The place where she made her first halt at Multan came to be worshipped by the people, and a *mandar* (or temple) having been built on it, the image of Devi Ji was set up, and the place was called the Asthan of *Jog Máýá*. The real name of the goddess is *Jot Máýá*, having reference to the rays of the sun (*jot* in Hindi meaning rays), but, as offerings of bullocks and buffaloes were made before her for sacrifice, it came to be called *Jog Máýá* (*jog* in Panjabi meaning buffalo or bullock). The present *mandar* was built by Dewan Sarwan Mul, at a cost of Rs. 10,000.

Maudar kām Tirath.—This shrine is situated about a mile to the east of Multan and has a dharmshala and a tank of *pucka* masonry attached to it. The Hindus maintain that Raja Ram Chandar, the hero of the Ramayana, in his journeyings in the garb of a mendicant (Ban Bans), came to Multan and put up at this spot. The place was consequently held sacred, and a tank was dug to commemorate the visit of Ram Chandar to this part of the country. Bathing in this tank is considered by the Hindus equal to pilgrimage to the sacred Ganges. The tank was surrounded with stairs of *pucka* masonry by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, at an expense of 20,000 rupees. On the *puran-mashi* (or the day of the full moon) of Bhadro of every year, a large fair is held here.

The Samadhi of Badhlá Sant, or the devotee Bádhlá.—The *Samadhi* is situated in Mouzah Dograna, 15 miles east of Multan City. A dharmshala, with a large tank and quarters for the accommodation of travellers was, built close to it by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, at a cost of Rs. 75,000. On the Bikrami (new year's day) a large fair is held at this shrine, at which about twenty thousand people assemble from Multan and the neighbouring districts of Mozaffargarh, Montgomery, Jhang and Bahawalpur. The place is dedicated to the memory of Bádhlá Bhagat, whose original name was Buddhu. He resided in Makhdumpur, Pargana Serai Suddhú, and worked

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as a weighman. It is related that once, while he was weighing corn, a Fakir came to his shop. Buddhu was at that time weighing the contents of the nineteenth scale. It is the practice of the weighman to repeat loudly the number of the weight weighed. So Buddhu was saying in an audible voice: "*Kul únhi he*" (total nineteen). But the words also signify: "He is the only one," having reference to the omnipotence of the Almighty. The Fakir, who heard this, said to the weighman: "Will you absorb your whole attention in the worldly *únhi* (19), or will you also attend to the real *únhi* (meaning the sole one—the Almighty). The words of the Fakir went straight to the heart of the pious Buddhu, who forthwith relinquishing his business went into the jungle and became a Fakir. His friends and relations pursued him and exhorted him to return to his business, but he had resolved to pass his life as a recluse. He carried this resolution into effect, and his fame as a hermit spread far and wide. It is said that when the people followed him to the jungle, he separated the joints of his body, whereon the people got frightened and returned. He is credited with having worked numerous miracles. At length, having slept one night below a *jál*'tree, he miraculously disappeared, and his *samadhi* (or tomb) was built close to this tree. Hindus and Mahomedans, while on a visit to this shrine, are forbidden the use of meat as an article of food. It is said that, when the tank was under construction, certain Musalman masons slaughtered a sheep and feasted on it. Thirteen of them died immediately, while the surviving two were heard vehemently repeating the words "*Râm Râm*."

Mandar Ram Choutra—It is beautifully situated in a garden on the banks of the Ravi, five *kos* north-east of Serai Suddhú. The temple was built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh at a cost of Rs. 12,000. It is said that, when Raja Ram Chandar came to this part of the country in the course of his famous journey, he had in his train Lachman Ji and Sita Ji. Near Ram Choutra, Ram Chandar Ji took off his clothes, and bathed in the Ravi, Lachman and Sita being at that time separately engaged in worship. The place of the worship of each became famous in after times. That where Ram Chandar had taken off his clothes and bathed is called "*Ram Choutra*;" that where Lachman was engaged in worship is known as "*Lachman Choutra*;" and that which was occupied by Sita is styled "*Sital Kund*." In the time of Akbar, Sitanand Swâmi, an ascetic of the Byragi sect, having come here from Brindra Ban, built a *Thakurdoara*, and the Emperor generously made a grant of land for the maintenance of the institution. On the Bysákhi day a large fair is held at this place, which is attended by the people of the neighbouring districts. The spot is picturesque,

the river on either side being studded with date, palm and the shady *Bohar* and *Shisham* trees, which render the journey of travellers in hot weather delightful. One rather curious peculiarity of this place is that for about ten miles the Ravi flows quite straight, without exhibiting the least tendency to bend its course on either Bank, while above and below the points the land on both sides is subjected to diluvion. The Hindus explain this circumstance as follows :—While Ram Chandar Ji was bathing in the Ravi, his wife, Sita, stood at a distance of ten miles from him, on the river bank. That the sage might cast his looks directly on Sita, the river became as straight as the flight of an arrow, and the sage was thus able to see his wife. The simple fact, however, is that the ground at this spot is hard and firm, and is, on this account, not liable to the action of the river at times of high floods.

The city of Multan and its environs abound with Mahomedan remains of historical and archæological interest. Prominent among these are the long brick tombs assigned to *Nongasas*, or the “nine yarders,” a term applied in India to the warriors and martyrs of Islam who, at the time of the early invasions of the Mahomedans, fell in action against the Hindus.

General Cunningham counted no less than fifteen of such tombs in Multan, varying from $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards to $54\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length. Outside the *Delhi* gate, beside the tomb of Pír Ghor Sultan, $35\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, there is a stone of a chocolate color, with marks of light yellow on it, 27 inches in diameter and 18 inches thick, with a hole through the middle 9 inches in diameter. It is called Manka. People say the saint wore it round his neck, while some maintain it was his thumb ring. The tomb is asserted to be 1,300 years old. It is possible, says General Cunningham, that it may belong to the times of the early Mahomedan invasion under Mahomed Kasam, the Lieutenant of Al Hajjajin.

The Musjid of Ali Mahomed Khan, a fine and superb building, is situate in the midst of the city, in the *Chouk Bazar*, called also the *Gudri Bazar*, from the daily market being held there. It was built by Nawáb Ali Mahomed Khan *Khákwaní*, in 1171 A.H. (1757 A.D.), when viceroy of Multan in the time of Alamgir II. The mosque is provided with a reservoir for the ablutions of the faithful, baths, and a large hall for prayers. It is maintained as a place of worship from the income of the shops attached to it, which amounts to from Rs. 20 to 25 a month. People say that, before the construction of the Musjid, the river flowed at this spot in a rapid current, causing much damage to the people, and that, when the river changed its course, it became a *bela* (or waste) wherein a ferocious

lion lived.* When the city was peopled, it became a place for the punishment of criminals, and, as the population increased, the court of the kutwāl was established here.

Ali Mahomed Khan built on its site the present mosque. During the Sikh period, the gateway of the Musjid was used as the court-house of the *Nazim*, while the great halls were utilized for keeping the *Granth*, or the holy book of the Sikhs. The Musjid was restored to the Mahomedans by the British Government at the commencement of the British rule. Over the gateway, of the Musjid the following Persian inscription appears:—

*Ba jazli ezado Nabī akhīre zamān,
Ba yūmne hīzrate Jil ne Ghouse havo Jahān,
Baine shahnae bāzār bekre hodme fisād,
Ke būd chahutī ro dāre jurm o zulm ayān,
Bi-de masjudo hammāmo enaho houe ajīb,
Bisakht barvare bāzār nāsime Māldān,
Barde sāle bināyash ze ghob hūtif-gūft.
Namūd Masjide 'Alī' Ali Mahomed Khān.*

Translation :

"By the grace of God and Prophet, the last of the Prophets,
And the favor of the Saint of Jilan esteemed in both worlds.
On the site of the Chief Police Magistrate's Court, and with the object
of up-rooting wickedness,
For the place was a manifest source of crime and cruelty,
This Musjid, bath, well, and admirable cistern
Were built on the street by the Governor of Multan.
The invisible voice ordained for the year of its foundation ;
The lofty Musjid has been built by Ali Mahomed Khan," 1171 A.H.

The numerical value of the last line (*Namūd Masjide 'Alī' Ali Mahomed Khān*), according to the *Ahjad* rule, is 1171, which gives the Hijra year of the foundation of the mosque.

Musjid Phul Hattān Wāli.—This mosque is situated in the *Choupar Bazar* of the city. The building is ascribed to Furrokh Sere, Emperor of Hindūstan (1713 to 1718 A.D.). It is said that the Emperor on his visit to Multan, being childless, asked a *Fakir* to pray on his behalf, that he might be blessed with male issue. The *Fakir* prayed for him, and a son was born to the Empress. His Majesty, through the Governor of Multan, presented the *Fakir* with an offering of Rs. 80,000, and with this money the liberal-minded man had this mosque built. It is called Phul Hattān Wāli from the shops attached to it being used by the flower sellers, called *gulfarosh*.

The Idgāh.—This magnificent and spacious mosque is situated about a mile to the north of the fort. It was here that Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson retired for safety

* A similar story is prevalent at Lāhore with regard to the Kutwali, or the Police Court in the city. Close to it is the celebrated mosque of Wazir Khan, the Physician Royal of the Emperor Shah Jahan.

during the siege of Multan, in 1848-49, were surrounded, and finally killed. The length of the mosque exceeds 250 feet, and the breadth is 50 feet. The walls, substantially built of brick and mortar, are thick. The building has seven cupolas, a larger one in the centre and three smaller ones on either side. In the western wall is inserted a tablet, on which is inscribed :—

Within this dome,
On 19th April 1848 A.D.,
Were cruelly murdered
PATRICK VANS AGNEW, ESQUIRE,
Bengal Civil Service,
and
LIEUT. WILLIAM ANDERSON,
First Bombay Fusiliers.

The mosque was built in 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.) by Nawáb Abdul Samad Khan, when viceroy of Multan, during the reign of Mahomed Shah. At the commencement of the British rule, Civil Courts were held here, but it was subsequently restored to the Mahomedans, on condition of their preserving the tablet above mentioned.

The Musjid of Bakar Abád.—This is situated within the boundary of the village Taraf Juma Khalsa, two miles east of Multan. It was built by Bakar Ali Khan, Nawáb of Multan, in the time of the Moghals. During the vicerealty of Diwan Sarwan Mal, oaths were administered to the litigants on the *Kerán* in this mosque.

The Am Khas.—Prince Morad Baksh, when viceroy of Multan, gave private audience to the grandees of State in the citadel, and public audience to the people and the officials of the Crown in this building, which, on that account, came to be called *Am Khas*. Diwan Sarwan Mal also held his court here, and added to it a *Baradari*, or a summer house, which exists to this day. The edifice stands in the midst of a beautiful garden, and the Diwan planted a number of *Bohar* and *Pipul* trees, which give shelter to the people. The building is now utilized as a Tehsil Court.

The Shish Mahal, or the Palace of Mirrors, was constructed by Nawáb Mozaffar Khan for his residence, 80 years ago. It is a superb edifice, though divested now of its mirrors, and is utilized as a public office.

The Mausoleum of Shakh Mahomed Eúsíf.—This is situated in the city, close to the city walls, in the quarter known as the Gurdezi *mohulla*. It is a quadrangular building, about thirty feet high, decorated with enamelled or glazed tiles. The ceilings are elaborately embellished with tracery in stucco, inlaid with small convex mirrors. There is a fine and chaste mosque to the south, and a building, called *Imam Bara*, constructed at a cost of 8,000 rupees. To the north is a small turret, in which is placed a stone with the impression of a foot on it. The

Mahomedans believe that this is the impression of the foot of Ali-ul-murtaza, the son-in-law of Mahomed. The saint, who lies buried here, was born at Gurdez, in 450 A.H. (1058 A. D.), and he moved to Multan in 481 A.H., or 1088 A.D. He obtained great reputation for sanctity and miracles. It is said that, once upon a time, while he was yet a boy, the Shekh was sitting in the presence of his grandfather, Abdullah (a great grandson of Syed Mahomed Ali), when a man came and asked the grandfather for prayers on behalf of his son, who was suffering from some dangerous disease. Abdullah refused to pray. The man's son died, and people were taking his corpse to the grave-yard to bury, when Shekh Eúsuf, hearing the lamentations and shrieks of the deceased's parents, took compassion on him and prayed in his behalf. The dead boy was restored to life, but the old man, the grandfather of the saint, was intensely vexed at the miracle shewn by Eúsuf, and forthwith turned him out of his house. Eúsuf then took to travel, and at last came to India and settled in Multan in the time of Masúd II. He died in 531 A.H. (1136 A.D.), and was buried at the spot where he used to perform his devotions.

Numerous miracles are related of this saint ; but the following, having reference to the contents of the verses inscribed over the gateway of the mausoleum, deserves mention. It is said that, once upon a time, the *jungle* in the neighbourhood of Multan was infested with a ferocious lion, which caused great havoc among the people. The saint was asked to exercise his spiritual power in taming the animal, which had become a terror to the town and its neighbourhood. The saint proceeded to the jungle where the lion lurked, but the beast no sooner saw him than it went up to him quietly, and, like a tame cat, threw itself at his feet. The Shekh, mounted on the back of the lion, was returning to the city, when on the way a serpent appeared and paid him homage. The sage caught the serpent and used it as a whip for the animal on which he was riding. In this manner he returned to the city.

He made numerous disciples during his residence in Multan. Among the Mahomedans, the ceremony of making a disciple consists in the spiritual guide stretching out his hands to grasp those of the intending disciple, who holds out his towards the guide with due humility and respect. Some verses of the *Korán*, or holy Arabic passages, are then read, and the ceremony ends with the recital of the *Fatiha* (or reading chapters of the Korán for the benefit of the souls of the dead). The ceremony is then completed. It is called "*Byat*," or disciple-making. It is related of the Saint Shekh Eúsuf that a man, living in a remote country, having heard of his fame for piety and sanctity, came to Multan about the time of his death, to become

his disciple. On arrival there, he learnt, to his great regret and disappointment, that the object of his faith and reverence was no more. Thereupon he went to his tomb to pay his adorations; but, to his great joy, the hands of the Shekh came out of the grave, and the "*Byat*" was made. A hole in the grave is pointed out by the faithful to this day, from which, it is said, the saint put forth his hands to make a proselyte.

The following Persian couplets are inscribed over the gateway of the mausoleum :—

*Dānt sawāde sher ki dar dast mār kard,
Makhdūm shah Eúsūf in-jā karār kard,—
Aqar geti sarāsar bāa gūad,
Cherāghe Mukbilān hargiz na mirad.
Shah i Eúsūf tuwallādush me dān,
Shah i Gurdez rá wisāl bi khāwn.*

Translation :—

Are you aware of the lion rider who held a serpent in his hands,
He was Makhdūm Shah Eúsūf, who lies here buried.
Should a hurricane blow throughout the length and breadth of the world,
The lamp of the saints cannot be extinguished.

The date of his birth is obtained from the words "Shah Eúsūf" (462) :
And the date of his death from the words "Shah Gurdez" (557).*

But the saint most famous by far throughout the country watered by the Acesines (Chenáb) and the Indus, is Baháwal Hak, the lofty and majestic dome of whose mausoleum is seen for miles around. He is a saint whose name is repeated for the sake of benedictions by a nawáb in his palace, a ploughman in his field, and a boatman while navigating his boat in the midst of a swollen stream. The boatmen, as they ply their poles in the deep waters of the Chenáb, or Attock, may be heard repeating, with a loud frantic voice, "*Dam Baháwal Hak*," and the phrase is fervently repeated until the boat, with its contents, is carried safely to the opposite bank of the river, when oblations of sweetmeats and corn are offered to the saint, the belief being that his departed soul has command over the rivers, and alone has to do with the safe arrival of the boat at its appointed place. A story is current to this day that, by a word, he raised a vessel which had foundered; hence the boatmen of the Chenáb and the Indus invoke his name as their Patron Saint.

Shekh Bahá-ud-din Zakaria (the Ornament of the Faith), better known by the name of Baháwal Hak, was born at Kot Karor, in Leia, Zilla Dera Ismail Khan, on the 28th Ramazan, 566 A.H. (1170 A.D.).† He was a lineal descendant of

* Both the dates given in the couplets are wrong. The correct dates have been recorded by us before.

† The date given in the *Imperial Gazetteer* 1149 A.D. is wrong. Compare Griffin's *Punjab Chiefs*, p. 490, with Múnshí Hukm Chand's *Tawarikh Multan*, p. 73.

Asad, the son of Hášham, the grandfather of the Prophet, and the family is consequently called *Kureshi*, the tribe to which Mahomed belonged. His ancestor Sultán Husein, ninth in descent from Hášham, accompanied Mahomed of Guzni on that sovereign's invasion of Hindústan, and settled at Karor. According to other accounts, the first to leave Mecca was Kamál-ud-din, grandfather of Baháwal IIak, fifth in descent from Sultán Husein, who went first to Khorasan, then to Multan, and finally settled in Kairor. He married his son Wajih-ud-din to the daughter of Moulána Hisam-ud-din *Turmaudi* of Kot Karor, and the result of the union was Shekh Bahá-ud-din Zakaria, born on the morning of Friday, the 28th of Ramadan, 566 A.H. Bahá-ud-din was twelve years of age when his father Wajih-ud-din died. At an early age Bahá-ud-din, leaving his home, went to Khorasan, and then travelled to Bokhára, where he prosecuted his studies and became a great scholar. For fifteen years he gave instruction to the people, and his fame as a teacher and a saint spread far and wide. He next performed a holy pilgrimage to Mecca, and was for five years employed as an attendant at the Prophet's shrine in Medina. He then visited the temple at Jerusalem, and, travelling over the greater part of Mahomedan Asia, including Syria, went to Baghdad, where he became a disciple of Shekh-ul-Shayukh Shahab-ud-din *Seharwardi*. The Shekh, after seventeen days, bestowed on his disciple a dress of honor, in recognition of his great attainments, and this excited the envy of the other disciples who had been attendant on him for many years, and, notwithstanding all their devotions, had not reached that degree of proficiency which Zakaria had attained. On this, the learned Shekh, addressing his pupils, observed :—"You are like the green branches of a tree, and Zakaria is like a dried branch which consumes quickly when brought in contact with a burning fire. It is not your fault, but the aptitude of Zakaria to catch the fire of the love of God." The disciples were satisfied with this explanation, and murmured no more about the distinction bestowed on the foreigner.

After his wanderings, Bahá-ud-din Zakaria settled in Multan in 1222 A.D. This was opposed at first, but acquiesced in subsequently, and the fame of Zakaria for sanctity, piety and learning spread throughout the country, and gained for him numerous disciples. He was visited by Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki, the famous Saint of Delhi, in the time of Nasir-ud-din *Kubancha*, the Turkish slave of Mahomed Ghorí, who had conquered Multan and Scindh in A.D. 1217, but who was compelled to abandon the conquered country by the army sent against him by Shams-ud-din *Altamash*, and

was drowned in the river while attempting to reach the lower country from the Fort of Bhakkar (1225 A.D.). This saint lived to the age of a hundred years. When the time of his death approached, an old man with hoary head and beard suddenly appeared, and, according to the "Chronicles" preserved by the hereditary guardian of the shrine, delivered the sealed cover of a letter to his son Sadr-ud-din (*alias* Sadr Jamál), intimating that it was intended for his aged father. The son took the letter to the father in his closet, and, after delivering it, returned. Immediately the invisible voice came "*Dost ba Dost rasíd*," meaning, that "friend had joined friend," and the death of the saint was soon announced*. His death occurred in 666 A.H., or 1267 A.D. He was contemporary with Ghias-ud-din Ghori, and his age comprises the greater portion of the period during which the house of Ghor and the Slave Kings reigned in India. He was still alive at the accession of Ghias-ud-din Balban, in 1266 A.D., and flourished when Mahomed, the learned son of Ghias-ud-din Balban, who met his death in a conflict with the Moghals, was viceroy of Multan.

The mausoleum is a square of 51 feet 9 inches, measured internally. Above this is an octagon, about half the height of the square, which is surmounted by a hemispherical dome. The mausoleum was almost completely ruined during the siege of 1848, but was soon afterwards restored by the Mahomedans. The portion to the east, however, still preserves the diaper decorations of enamelled or glazed tiles with which the whole building was originally covered. Sadr-ud-din, the son of Baháwal Hak, is also buried beneath this dome. He was married to Bibi Rásti, and the result of the union was Shekh Rukn-ud-din Abul Fath, commonly known by the title of Rukni Alam,—"*Pillar of the world*,"—born in 680 A.H. (1281 A.D.).

The mausoleum of the saint last-named (Rukni Alam) is the glory of Multan. Like the tomb of his grandfather, it is in the fort close to the *De* gate on the left. This elegant building is an octagon, 51 feet 9 inches in diameter, internally, with walls 41 feet 4 inches high and 13 feet 3 inches thick, supported at the angles by sloping towers. Over this is a smaller octagon 25 feet 8 inches, on the exterior side, and 26 feet 10 inches high, leaving a narrow passage all round the top of the lower storey for the *Moazzan*, or public crier to prayers. The whole is surmounted by a hemispherical dome of 58 feet, external diameter. The total height of the building, including a plinth of 3 feet, is 100 feet 2 inches; but it stands on high ground, and the total height above the country is 150 feet. This contributes materially to the majestic and colossal appearance

* "Chronicles of the Family of Gurdez" in possession of the Sajjada Nishin of the Khángah of Baháwal Hak of Multan.

of the tomb, making it the most prominent object of view to the traveller for a distance of fifteen miles all round.

The structure is entirely of red brick, the whole exterior being elaborately decorated with glazed tile patterns and string courses and battlements. The colours used are dark blue, azure and white, which, contrasted with the deep red of the finely polished bricks, give it a most agreeable effect. "These mosaics," observes General Cunningham, "are not, like those of later days, mere plain surfaces, but the patterns are raised from half-an-inch to two inches above the back ground. This mode of construction must have been very troublesome, but its increased effect is undeniable, as it unites all the beauty of variety of colour with the light and shade of a raised pattern."

It is said that the tomb was built by the Emperor Ghias-ud-din Toghlak for himself, but, the Emperor having met with his fatal accident at Delhi, his son Mahomed Toghlak made it over to Rukn-ud-din as his last resting-place. A most important clue to a rather mysterious fact recorded in the History of India is here obtained. Ghias-ud-din Toghlak (originally the son of a Turki slave of Ghias-ud-din *Balban*) was returning to the capital, after the conquest of Telinganá and the capture of Warangal, when he was met near the city by his eldest son Juna Khan (afterwards Sultán Mahomed Toghlak). The prince gave his father a most cordial reception, and the aged king was sumptuously entertained in a wooden pavilion erected for the occasion on the plain beyond Delhi. On the conclusion of the ceremonies, the prince and the nobles having preceded the king, His Majesty was following them with five of his *omerahs*, when the roof gave way, and the king, with his immediate attendants, was crushed to death under its ruins. It is quite possible that the misfortune may have been purely accidental, but the unusualness of erecting such a structure at all at a distance from the city, the opportune withdrawal of the heir-apparent and his associates at the moment, and the fact that Mahmúd, the second son of the Emperor, who enjoyed the confidence of the old sovereign, was involved in the calamity, fixed strong suspicions upon Mahomed, for whom everything turned to so much advantage. Ferishta, usually an acute observer, after reviewing contemporary historians, acquits the prince of the charge of designing the catastrophe, but if so high an authority as the saint of Multan referred to by Ibní Batuta, a foreign writer, is to be believed, the conclusion is unavoidable, that the prince had designed the murder of his own father, and that what happened was the result of a deep plot laid by him against the king's life, in conjunction with Malik Ziada, Superintendent of Public Buildings, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of Wazir, with the title of Khwajah

Jahan, in recognition, apparently, of this great service to the prince. The Saint Rukni Alam was an *eye-witness* to this catastrophe, and the accounts given by Ibni Batuta were obtained direct from him. The traveller writes: "Shekh Rukn-ud-din (Rukni Alam) told me that he was then near the Sultán, and that the Sultán's favourite son, Mahmúd, was with them. Thereupon, Mahomed came, and said to the Shekh—'Master, it is now time for afternoon prayers, go down and pray.' 'I went down,' said the Shekh, 'and they brought the elephants upon one side, *as the prince and his confidant had arranged*; when the animals passed along that side, the building fell down upon the Sultán and his son Mahmúd. I heard the noise, and I returned without having said my prayers. I saw that the building had fallen. The Sultán's son Mahomed ordered pick-axes and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, *but he made signs for them not to hurry*, and the tools were not brought till after sunset. Then they began to dig, and they found the Sultán who had bent over his son to save him from death.'"^{*}

We are further told by Ibni Batuta that Mahomed had built this pavilion on the bank of the river in the course of three days, "making it chiefly of wood." It was raised from the the ground and rested on pillars of wood. Malik Ziadu, whose real name was Ahmad (son of Ayas), who had been charged with the execution of the work, had planned it scientifically. "The object which these two persons kept in view in building the *kuslik* was this,—that it should fall down with a crash when the elephants touched it in a certain part."

"The Sultán," continues the author, "stopped at this building and feasted the people, who afterwards dispersed. His son asked permission to parade the elephants before him, fully accoutred. The Sultán consented."[†]

We see here how anxious Prince Mahomed was to save the Multan Saint to whom he afterwards gave the picturesque edifice to enshrine his holy remains after death, the object being to purchase his silence regarding the plot against the life of his father.[‡]

^{*} Ibni Batuta, p. 130. Elliott, III. 610-11.

[†] Ibni Batuta.

[‡] Such plots are not unknown to Oriental tricks. In 1840 Prince Nou Nehál Singh, son of Maharaja Kharak Singh of the Panjab, was, on the very day of his intended coronation, crushed to death by the fall of the battlements of an archway, as he was passing beneath it, after performing the funeral ceremonies of his father on 5th November. The suspicion was never removed that the catastrophe had been designed by the Jammú Rajas, who even did not hesitate to allow the sacrifice of one of their own sons (Mian Údham Singh) in the prosecution of their plan, the Mian who was walking close to the prince at the time being also killed on the spot by the accident.

Rukni Alam, though somewhat inferior in piety and sanctity to his illustrious grandfather Baháwal Hak, was one of the most accomplished men of his age. He taught his disciples a modified form of metempsychosis, and he discoursed with the people on metaphysical subjects. He maintained that, on the Day of Judgment, the wicked would rise in the form of beasts, according to the nature of the sins they had committed on earth. Thus cruel men would rise as leopards; licentious men as goats; the gluttons as pigs, and so on, with reference to the characters they had borne in their state of existence in the world.

He was on terms of great friendship with the Saint Nizam-ud-din of Delhi, and was visited by the Emperors of Delhi more than once. He died on 16th of Rajab, 735 A.H. (1334 A.D.), at the age of 88. The hereditary guardians of the shrines of Baháwal Hak and Rukni Alam are called the Makhdúms of Multan, and they have thousands of disciples in the south of the Panjab and in Sindh.

The Mausoleum of Shamsi *Tabrez* stands about a quarter of a mile to the east of the fort, on the high bank of the old bed of the river Ravi. The tomb is a square, 30 feet in height, surmounted by a hemispherical dome, ornamented with glazed sky-blue tiles. The name of the saint is Shams-ud-din, son of Shah Salah son of Shah Momin, a descendant of Syed Ismail, the son of *Iman* Jaffar. He was born on 17th Rajab, 565 A.H. (1166 A.D.), and died on 21st Ramzan, 675 A.H. (1276 A.D.). The original tomb was built by his grandson Sadr-ud-din in 730 A.H. (1329 A.D.), but in the time of Makhdúm Safdar Ali (*alias* Makhdúm Jiwan Shah), a disciple, by name Syad Mehír Ali, rebuilt it in 1194 A.H. (1779 A.D.) at an expense of 75,000 rupees.*

It is related that while Bahá-ud-din Zakaria was in the zenith of his fame and power, the Saint Shamsi Tabrez, accompanied by a disciple, arrived at Multan from his home in Persia, having miraculously crossed the Indus on his *mosalla*, or a small praying carpet. Bahá-ud-din, having heard of his arrival, sent for him a cup filled to the brim with milk, implying thereby that Multan was already full of saints, and that there was no room for a new comer. Shams-ud-din returned the milk to the Multan Saint, after placing a flower on its surface, meaning that, while the others were like milk, he was himself more distinguished, and possessed the quality of a flower, which imparted fragrant flavour and smell. Bahá-ud-din was very much annoyed at the slight shown to him by Shams, whom he regarded as an intruder, and he had it proclaimed in the city that

* *Tauwárikh Zilláh Múltán*, p. 85.

nobody was to assist Shams, in any way, and that he should not even be supplied with food. The unwelcome comer was himself quite independent of food, but his disciple, a boy of thirteen years of age, on becoming hungry, cried for food. Doves from the wilderness came at the call of the saint, who killed one of these after the orthodox fashion of the Mahomedans. He then sent the boy to the city to get fire with which to cook it. But Bahá-ud-din's orders were meant to be implicitly obeyed. Nobody would supply the hungry young man with fire. Indeed, one confectioner, to whom the boy had gone to ask for fire, had the insolence to dash a vessel of milk against his face. The boy returned to his master, with tears in his eyes. The saint's anger was roused, and he called out loudly to the sun—"O Sun! your name is *Shams* (*Shams* in Arabic meaning Sun) and my name is *Shams*, come near and furnish me with heat to cook my food, which these wicked people deny me?" The sun at once drew nearer and the food was cooked; but it did not return, and it is asserted that to this day it is one spear's length nearer Multan than to any other part of the globe.

Such is the legend about Shamsi Tabrez and the intense heat of Multan. It is related in various ways; but all accounts agree in attributing the great heat of Multan to the miracle of the saint who caused the luminary to descend nearer to the place, to cook the venison. Burnes heard one of these stories, which he relates thus:—

"Shamsi Tabrez was a saint from Bagdad who is believed to have performed many miracles and even raised the dead. This worthy, as the story is told, was flayed alive for his pretensions. He had long begged his bread in the city, and in his hunger caught a fish, which he held to the sun and brought that luminary near enough to roast it.

This established his memory and equivocal fame on a firmer basis. The natives to this day attribute the heat of Multan, which is proverbial to this incident.*

There are two inscriptions on the door of the tomb of Shamsi Tabrez, in the Persian characters, of twelve and fourteen lines respectively, in praise of the miraculous powers of the saint. One of the alcoves in the corridor has decorations in enamelled blue tiles, with the words, "O God," in the centre; near it is the impression of a hand spread out, called "Panja."

Close to the mausoleum of Baháwal Hak is the tomb of Nawáb Mozaffar Khan, who fell fighting nobly against the Sikhs in 1818, when Misser Diwan Chand, the General of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, having invested and captured the city,

* *Travels into Bokhara, &c.*, Vol. III, p. 116.

subjected the fort to a bombardment, which continued from early in February till the 2nd of June, when two large breaches had been effected in the wall by the famous *Zamsama* gun of Ahmad Shah Durrani, which had been brought from Láhore for the purpose. The noble spirit and the heroic bravery displayed by the old Nawáb and a handful of his faithful followers in this memorable war are matters belonging to comparatively modern times, the history of which will not be attempted in this paper ; yet the following passage, describing the circumstances of his death, may not be out of place here :—" The defenders of the fort," says Sir Lepel Griffin in his '*Panjab Chiefs*,' " were at length reduced to two or three hundred fighting men, most of them of the family or tribe of Mozaffar Khan. The rest had either been killed, or had gone over to the enemy, for they had been heavily bribed to desert their master, and many of them were unable to resist the temptation. At length, on the 2nd June, an Akali, by name Sádhu Singh, determined to surpass what Phula Singh had done in 1816, rushed, with a few desperate followers into an outwork of the fort, and, taking the Afghans by surprise, captured it. The Sikh forces, seeing their success, advanced to the assault, and mounted the breach at the Khizri gate. Here the old Nawáb, with his eight sons, and all that remained of the garrison, stood sword in hand resolved to fight to the death. So many fell beneath the keen Afghan sword, that the Sikhs drew back and opened fire on the little party with their match-locks. ' Come on like men ! ' shouted the Afghans, ' and let us fall in fair fight ? ' but this was an invitation the Sikhs did not care to accept. There died the white-bearded Mozaffar Khan, scorning to accept quarter, and there died his five sons, Shahnawaz Khan, Mumtaz Khan, Azaz Khan, Hak Nawaz Khan, Shah Baz Khan" * Thus fell Nawáb Mozaffar Khan, the last Mahomedan ruler of Multan, doing his duty to his countrymen to the last. His memory is esteemed to this day, as the last of the Saddozie tribe of the Afghans who ruled over the southern Panjab.

The tomb of Nawáb Mozaffar Khan is adorned with bright green tiles. Over the top of the entrance is inscribed the Mahomedan confession of faith, and an inscription in the Persian character of which the following is the translation :—

The brave son of the brave
HAJI AKBAR ZIE MOZAFFAR,
In the day of battle

He made an onset with his sword
In the game of victory.
When he ceased to hear, he exclaimed—
Know that this is the day of triumph :
1233 A.H., 1818 A.D.

* *Panjab Chiefs*, p. 486.

On the eastern wall is the inscription :—

The dome of this garden
Is meditated on by the world,
The world by this dome was made fortunate.
The world of imagination
Was purified by this garden,
And its garden became like the flower
Of the planet Saturn.
When I asked reason for the date, it said—
Like its rose he was fortunate.
By the labour of Pīr Mahomed. *

To the right of the shrine of Baháwal Hak, and beyond the well dug by General Cunningham, to examine the strata in the inner court, is an obelisk about 50 feet high, with five tall steps, to a pedestal 5 feet high. The following inscription appears on a white tablet on the west face of the pedestal :—

Beneath this Monument
Lie the remains
of
PATRICK ALEXANDER VANS AGNEW,
of the Bengal Civil Service,
and
WILLIAM ANDERSON,
Lieutenant, 1st Bombay Fusilier Regiment,
Assistants to the Resident at Láhore,
Who being deputed by the Government to
Relieve, at his own request,
Diwan Mul Raj, Viceroy of Múltan,
Of the fortress and the authority which
he held,
Were attacked and wounded by the Garrison
On the 19th April 1848,
And, being treacherously deserted by the
Sikh escort,
Were, on the following day,
In flagrant breach
Of national faith and hospitality,
Barbarously murdered
In the Idgah under the walls of Múltan.
Thus fell
These two young public servants
At the ages of 25 and 28 years,
Full of high hopes, rare talents, and promise of
Future usefulness. Even in their death
Doing their country honor.
Wounded and forsaken, they could
Oppose no resistance,

* Eastwick's *Hand-book of the Panjab*, p. 222.

But, hand in hand, calmly awaited the
 Onset of their assailants ;
 . Nobly they refused to yield,
 Foretelling the day
 When thousands of Englishmen should come
 To avenge their death
 And destroy Mul Raj, his army and fortress.
 History records
 How their prediction was fulfilled.
 Borne to the grave
 By their victorious brother soldiers and
 Countrymen, they were
 Buried with Military honors
 Here,
 On the summit of the captured citadel,
 On 25th January 1849.
 The annexation of the Panjab to the Empire,
 Was the result of the war,
 Of which their assassination
 Was the commencement. *

The ancient commerce of Multan, consisting chiefly of silk, piece-goods, cotton, indigo and the manufactures of the country was carried on from Sindh, to the ports of Arabia in the Red Sea, or up the Persian Gulf to the Euphrates, and thence into Phoenicia by the Syrian desert, and finally to Europe. The Arabs monopolised this commerce for many centuries, and they brought from Ceylon, the Indian Archipelago and the coasts of India, perfumes, spices, cassia and cinnamon. Multan is, to this day, a great centre of the Panjab trade by means of railways and water communication.

Multan is also celebrated for its silks and fine cotton fabrics of peculiar quality. Very fine *khases* and *lungis*, with gold borders, are made here, and are considered of great richness and beauty. Some very elegant *shuja khani* silks are produced at Multan.

Beautiful glazed pottery work, in blue and white patterns and in plain colours, has been made at Multan from the time of the early Mahomedan conquest. The art is known under the name of *kansi* or *chini*, and, according to local tradition, was introduced from China, through Persia, by the Moghals, through the influence of Tamerlane's Chinese wife. The practice of decorating walls of mosques with coloured porcelain seems to have been introduced simultaneously with the conquest of Persia by the Moghals. On the other hand, it is admitted that

* A graphic account of the cruel murder of these officers is given by Sir Herbert B. Edwards in his interesting work "A Year on the Panjab Frontier in 1848-49," Vol. II.

the art of glazing bricks, &c., was known to the ancient Semitic races, namely, the Chaldeans and the Arabians, and was introduced by the latter into European countries. Multan has always been famous for the elegance of design and superiority of finish of its glazed ornamental pottery; and very fine glazed garden vases, dishes, cups and other forms of pottery are made here.

The passion for conquest and self-aggrandizement, aroused by the preachings of Mahomed and his zealous followers, led to the conquest of Scindh by the Arabs, who, within a short period of their early conquests in that country, penetrated as far as the valley of the Indus. The early Mahomedan rulers proved for the most part intolerant, and they persecuted their Hindu subjects, who showed a tendency to resent such treatment on the first favourable opportunity. The resentment was each time severe and attended with much bloodshed. The Musalmans, in their turn, were equally severe in punishing the Hindu resentment and in repressing their spirit of rebellion. This fanatical hostility of the two races towards each other resulted in great massacres and serious damage. We have observed before how the shrine of Prahladpuri was repeatedly destroyed by the Mahomedans, who built mosques in its streets, and how the image was again set up by the Hindus with as much pomp and zeal as ever. Ibn Batuta has preserved a record of an Arabic inscription of Ghias-ud-din Toghlok Shah on the *Jami Masjid*, or the cathedral mosque of Multan, that had been built close to the ancient *Mandir* of Prahladpuri. This inscription, the eminent traveller and historian says, he had himself seen; and it is to the following effect:—

انى فالتُ اسْتَرْ تَعَمَّ وَ عَشْرِينَ مَرَّةً فَهَزَمْتُهُمْ مَحْنَةً سَمِيَّةً
بِالْمَلِكِ الْغَازِي

Meaning:—

"I have waged war on the Tartars on twenty-nine occasions and put them to flight; hence I am known by the name of *Malik-ul Ghazi*, or the hero who fights against the Infidels."*

The passage is repeated by Zia Barni.†

A sketch of the history of the different Mahomedan sovereignties of Multan, from the early Arab conquests in Sindh to the collapse of the Mahomedan power in the Southern Panjab, has already been given. It may now be interesting to describe briefly the history of the Provincial Governors who played an important part in the politics of this country, during the more eventful period of the Moghals and the Sadozies.

When Babar conquered the country, he gave the government

* Ibn Batuta, p. 202.

† Zia Barni, p. 416.

of Multan to his son Mirza Askeri, brother of Húmáyun. Askeri, having been recalled to the Imperial Court, was succeeded by Sef-ud-din Khan Popal Zie.

Húmáyun, as already noted, gave the Panjab to his brother Kamran Mirza, on ascending the throne. The latter sent his Amir to govern the Suba of Multan.

In the time of Akbar, the government of Multan was held by Moin-ud-din Khan, and during the reign of his successor, Jahangir, by Fatteh Khan.

Shah Jahan, on ascending the throne, put his youngest son, Murad Baksh, in charge of the government, but, having subsequently deputed the prince to the Deccan, made over the government to Nijabat Khan. Multan was also given, as jagir, to Aurangzeb and Dara Shekoh successively.

During the time of Aurangzeb, Lashkar Khan, *Subedar* of Kashmir, was appointed viceroy of Multan. It was then given as jagir to prince Mahomed Moazzam, and again to Prince Mahomed Akbar. After various changes of governors that ever suspicious monarch gave it as jagir to Prince Moz-ud-din, and subsequently appointed Hayat Khan as Governor. Hayat Khan having died in 1141 A.H. (1728 A.D.), Mahomed Shah, the then reigning Emperor, put Abdul Samad Khan Durrani at the head of government. Abdul Samad Khan dying in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.), Záhíd Khan, the ancestor of Nawáb Mozaffar Khan, who had held Rangpur on the right bank of the Chenáb as jagir, and who was sixth in descent from Saddo Khan, the common ancestor,* was acknowledged by the Delhi Emperor as the first Nawáb of Multan. He was a man of considerable learning and ability, and he obtained the acknowledgment through the interest of his friend Kamr-ud-din Khan, Minister at the Court of Delhi, when the Empire was already on the wane and the country had been invaded by the adventurous Nadir Shah. This was in 1738. Ishak Khan, the governor, on behalf of the Emperor, would not submit to the authority of the newly-created Nawáb, but he was defeated in a severe action that took place between his troops and those of Záhíd Khan, and was finally ousted.

When the Durrani Ahmad Sháh invaded India, in 1747, he confirmed Záhíd Khan in his government of Multan. This led the Delhi Court to suspect the fidelity of Záhíd Khan, and Shah Nawáz Khan was sent to supersede him as Governor. Záhíd Khan yielded at first, but, subsequently collecting his Afghans, gave Shah Nawaz Khan battle. The latter was defeated and put to flight. Shah Nawaz Khan, on his discomfiture, asked the assistance of Mir Moinulmulk,

* Born in 1558 A.D. From one branch of Saddo Khan descended the Saddozie Nawábs of Multan, while from another branch, that of Khizr Khan, descended Ahmed Shah Durrani and the Khizr Khyles.

commonly known by his title of Mir Mannú, the governor of Láhore, but the latter, who always hated Shah Nawaz as his rival, instead of rendering him any help, sent a force against him under his Diwan, Koura Mal, whom he appointed his deputy at Multan. A fight took place between the troops of Koura Mal and Shah Nawaz Khan, at a place about 40 miles from Multan, in which the latter was defeated and slain.

On the approach of Koura Mal, who had been created Rájá by the viceroy of Láhore in recognition of his services, Záhid Khan retired to Sitapur, and the Rájá assumed the governorship of Multan.

Koura Mal was slain in a war with Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1752, and Mir Mannú, having made peace with that sovereign, appointed Ali Mahomed Khan,* an Afghan officer, governor of Multan.

The Mahrattas overran the Panjab in 1757, and sent Saleh Beg and Sanjli Beg to capture Multan. Ali Mahomed Khan fled on their approach, and Multan was occupied by the Mahrattas. These mercenaries did not, however, remain long in the Panjab, and Ahmed Shah, being again on the scene, appointed Khwaja Yakut to the government of Multan. The Khwaja proved a feeble governor, and was, on the departure of Ahmad Shah from the country, expelled by Ali Mahomed Khan, who again resumed the Nawábship.

Záhid Khan died in 1749. Ahmad Shah Durrani, on hearing of the change of governorship in Multan, wrote to Shuja Khan, son of Záhid Khan, to assume the Nawábship.

Shuja Khan, collecting his Afghans, expelled Ali Mahomed Khan, who submitted, and Shuja Khan became the Nawáb. In 1817 Samvat he built the beautiful city of Shuja Abad and its fortress, twenty-three miles south of Multan. This city he surrounded with a wall, which was made *pucca* in after-times by Diwan Sarwan Mal. The restless Ali Mahomed Khan appeared in arms against Shuja Khan, who was defeated and thrown into prison, and Ali Mahomed Khan once more became Nawáb. Incensed at these proceedings, the Durrani monarch reached Multan in 1767, and the turbulent Ali Mahomed Khan and his sons were both ripped up. Their bodies were thrown across the back of camels and paraded through the streets of Multan, and it was promulgated by beat of drum that such would be the fate of any one who should dare to show opposition to a Saddozic ruler. Shuja Khan again resumed the government, and Ahmed Shah retraced his steps to Kabul. Shuja Khan was the father of Mozaffar Khan, the last Mahomedan ruler of Multan.

M. L.

* He was the founder of the Jami Masjid in the Chouk of Multan.

ART. II.—CHARLES MARVIN AND CENTRAL ASIA.

THE name of Charles Marvin must continue, during the present generation, to be as closely allied with Central Asia in the mind of the average Englishman, as is that of Stanley with Central Africa. It is true that Marvin can claim only to have familiarised his contemporaries with the wild tracts lying to the north of Afghanistan and India, whilst Stanley, before writing of the forests and the great lakes of Central Africa, first discovered them. But the general public do not make fine distinctions. Let the claims of Professor Vambéry, Prince Krapotkine, Madame de Novikoff, Mr. E. B. Lanin, or the host of other writers who have delivered their souls upon the apparently inexhaustible topic of the Russian advance in Central Asia, be what they may, Charles Marvin has, in recent years, been recognised on all hands as the first authority on that and kindred subjects. The popular judgment was not, in my opinion, mistaken. In addition to a thorough knowledge of the Russian language and an intimate acquaintance with the conditions of life obtaining in the more remote districts owning Russian sway, he possessed a fine discrimination of character, a power of logical deduction from certain ascertained facts, and a keen appreciation of the results likely to arise from each fresh political complication, which are not often found concentrated in the same individuality. Marvin was, above all, a veritable Barnum, or Augustus Harris, in literature. He knew how to dress his communications so as to make them palatable: the *mise en scène* of his work betrayed the spirit of the stage manager. His books were timely and attractive, their titles well chosen, and their style couched in a vigorous English, well calculated to draw a wide audience. It cannot be denied that he at times twanged the long-bow of the political alarmist. But he only exaggerated; the severest critics could never accuse him of wilful misrepresentation. It must be remembered that he wrote for a living, and when Russia and Afghanistan, General Ignatieff and Colonel Alikhanoff, had temporarily subsided into the mists of the deserts, whilst dynamite outrages and Whitechapel murders for the moment held the field, he could hardly be blamed for re-awakening the vigilance of Englishmen, by telling them that Russia was at the gates of Herat, or that India was in danger. Apart from this tendency to paint in bold colours Marvin was undoubtedly the greatest authority of his age and generation on the many and intricate questions connected with the opening-up by Russia of the vague territory described indefinitely as Central Asia. In these

matters it is well to ask how others see us. When, therefore, we find the best of Continental and Trans-Atlantic opinion confirming this view of Marvin's position as a writer, we may rest assured that there is some substantial ground for the claim. The Vienna *Freie Presse* and the Berlin *Zeitung* gave him this pre-eminence; the New York *Tribune* took a similar view; whilst *La France Militaire* wrote:—"L'occupation récente de Merv par les Russes a provoqué en Angleterre, dans les journaux publics et dans les Chambres, une agitation très marquée, dont l'expression la mieux définie se traduit, à notre avis, par les écrits de M. Charles Marvin, le voyageur et l'écrivain, en ces questions, de la plus undéniable compétence." The Russian press, in the face of the censor, have, as a rule, been discreetly silent on the merits of English criticism of Russian affairs, but most of Marvin's writings were very widely copied throughout the Czar's realms whenever their nature permitted it.

Charles Marvin's early training peculiarly fitted him for the important imperial, though non-official, rôle, which he was afterwards destined to fill in connection with the delicate relations between England and Russia on the Afghan frontier. At the age of sixteen he accompanied his father, when the latter was appointed to a position in Baird's great engineering works on the Neva. Here were constructed the engines of the famous but useless *Poyofkas* and the ironclad *Peter the Great*, a number of torpedo boats and river steamers, gun carriages for the army and navy, cartridges, and the thousand-and-one munitions of war turned out from such establishments. Mr. Marvin, *père*, came into contact at one time or another, with most of the leading men of Russia; and naturally his observant and quick-witted son was not slow to improve upon the official acquaintanceship thus formed. Another incident, valuable to his future career, was the close relation which existed between him and the family of Colonel Volykoff, of the Imperial Cuirassiers of the Guard, who also had the honour to command the Empress's Body-guard. Colonel Volykoff's son and young Marvin were, *à la mode Russe*, educated together, and spent several years as student companions, either living in St. Petersburg, or on the family estates at Tamboff, or travelling about the country. In 1875, when 21 years of age, Marvin came to London to earn a living in literature, and, of course, failed. So he took to copying for Government, and this haphazard choice of a means of livelihood determined the bent of his after life. It was whilst employed in the Treaty Department of the Foreign Office in May 1878, that he came into possession of the famous Secret Treaty between Russia and England, the publication of which led to such an outbreak of indignation in England and caused exciting scenes

in the Houses of Parliament. Marvin was not, I believe, guilty of an absolute breach of faith in giving the information to the *Globe*, but it was certainly an indiscretion, and he further erred in his unsparing denunciation of Lord Salisbury, when the latter persisted in his denial of the accuracy of the summary published by the newspaper. The affair reflected credit upon neither Lord Salisbury nor Marvin, but it certainly gave the latter a decided impulse in the direction of writing upon Russia and the Russians. An ill-advised Government prosecution, which failed, caused Marvin to indulge in an equally ill-advised book, "Our Public Offices," which also failed. Having thus had the rough corners rubbed off by the angles of adversity, Marvin then really entered the literary arena, and volume succeeded volume, alternating with the well-known yellow pamphlets and letters to the newspapers, until he had advanced himself to the front rank of his profession. But my present purpose is not to write his biography. I have only given this brief sketch of his career to demonstrate his fitness for arriving at sound decisions upon matters of vital interest to Englishmen, and especially to Englishmen in India.

In 1880 I met Marvin at one of the well-known five o'clock teas given by Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P., in the office of the *Newcastle Chronicle*. At these light but classic repasts every one in the North of England connected with literature or the press put in an appearance when in Newcastle; and, at that time, Marvin had just completed a series of most interesting and remarkable "interviews" with Russian political celebrities, to obtain which Mr. Cowen had specially commissioned him to go to Russia. The general conversation turned upon a remark made by General Annenkoff, to the effect that the Afghan frontier dispute would never be properly settled until Russia and England had jointly constructed a good railway through Afghanistan. Lord Hartington, in a recent speech, had laughed at the project, and declared the Russian Military Engineer to be "a foolish fellow." "It is not," said Marvin, "General Annenkoff who is foolish, but the British public, in its childish treatment of Russia. What do Englishmen expect Russians to do? The necessities of the case compel them to constantly attack and bring into subjection the nomad tribes on their southern and south-eastern borders. We might as well expect England to leave the Punjab alone as imagine that Russia can resist advancing along the Caucasus, or into the lands of the Tekke Turkomans. Englishmen cannot, or will not, understand this primary factor in Central Asian affairs. Russia is the only power there enthroned, and all the little places round about fly to her like needles

to a magnet. Whether they like it or not, they go. Look here"—he went on, addressing those who were in his immediate circle, and placing his finger on a map of Asiatic Russia and the adjoining countries, which was affixed to the wall—"In a very few years there will be a line of railway across the desert from the Caspian to Merv, and then stretching upwards by Samarkhand and Bokhara to a junction with the Siberian Railway, which will follow the general direction of the Great Military Road through Tomsk to Vladivostock. It simply remains to be seen how long the stupidity of Englishmen will prevent the formation of a branch line from Merv to the south, to join the Anglo-Indian line to Herat."

Now, at that time, I regret to say, I regarded Mr. Marvin as a visionary enthusiast, and this view was shared by many who heard him. But there was something so earnest in his manner, not usually so demonstrative as on this occasion, and there was such confidence in his tone, that the words were at once deeply impressed on my memory, and although I have no written notes of the conversation, the sentences I have quoted are practically *verbatim et literatim*, even to the exactitude of the slight verbal mistake which placed Samarkhand before Bokhara. He gave it then as his opinion that the railway he spoke of, and which was actually, at that moment, under consideration in St. Petersburg, would start on the eastern shore of the Caspian at Krasnovodsk, and, turning south by the Naptha Hills, proceed *via* Chat, on the Atrek River, behind the Kopet Dag Mountains, to Shirvan and Chebishti, thence travelling east to Dooshak and Merv. By this route he deemed it possible to avoid most of the fearful desert traversed subsequently by General Annenkoff's railway battalions. The events of the next few months gave the first signs of fulfilment to this remarkable prophecy. The final Akhal Tekke expedition was undertaken by Skobelev in the latter part of 1880, and, in January 1881, Geok Tepe was carried by storm. To further the progress of stores and military equipment for the army, General Annenkoff constructed the first 146 miles of the line now known as the Transcaspian Railway, though, as a matter of fact, the rails were of little use for the actual purposes of the expedition, the first section to Kizil Arvat not being completed until December in the latter year. Marvin was proved to be right so far. It is true that the terminus of the line was fixed at Oozoon Ada, in place of Krasnovodsk, and the direct route across the desert was taken, thus bringing the alignment further north than he expected; but the object was the same, namely, the nearest possible point to India. A curious verification of his belief in Krasnovodsk being the most suitable starting-point on the Caspian for the line, came

to hand only a few months ago in the shape of Mr. George Dobson's book, "Russia's Railway Advance into Central Asia." Herein that undoubted authority on Russian affairs—he has been for many years the *Times'* correspondent in St. Petersburg—says, after discussing the somewhat gigantic project of diverting the waters of the Amu Darya to the Caspian:—"A far more pressing question, about which there has been a good deal of discussion, is the advisability of transferring the starting-point of the Transcaspian Railway from Oozoon Ada to Krasnovodsk, on account of the deeper water and better accommodation for steamers at the latter place." This proposal has now been indefinitely shelved, owing to the great expense necessarily attendant upon such a change, but the fact that, after a lapse of nearly a decade, it is still thought worthy of debate, demonstrates Mr. Marvin's foresight in naming Krasnovodsk as the most suitable locality, long before the Russian punitive force had been formed to penetrate the Merv oasis. How far, in other respects, has his scheme remained unfulfilled? There is not a great deal wanting. The Transcaspian line is now 900 miles long and has reached Samarkhand; the latest telegraphic news from Russia shows that the next budget will contain provision for a Siberian railway, and other lines, which I will mention later on, and even the Government of India has advanced to Chaman, which is not so very far from Kandahar.

The development of railways in Central Asia—Russia to the east and south, England to the north—contains the germ of the final settlement—whether it be pacific or otherwise, no man can tell—of the vexed questions which have haunted the past and present generations of Russian and English statesmen, and have engaged the constant attention of the military leaders of both countries. To this matter Marvin devoted himself continually. Every phase of railway enterprise in either direction found him constantly on the alert and he was quick to observe the manner in which the new departure altered prior conditions. Thus, in July 1888, whilst treating of Russia's constant progress towards India by rail, he wrote:—"If Russia asked England to extend the Indian system to Herat, this would be a frank avowal of her relinquishment of territorial designs on Afghanistan. Russia is not likely to do this, for once her railway communications with Meshed are complete, she will be able to render Herat difficult for either Amir or Viceroy to control, unless England wisely pushes on a railway to Herat whilst Russia's hands are, to a certain extent, tied in Europe, and several links in the Moscow-Meshed line of communication remain incomplete." Here we have the key to Marvin's English policy for the treatment of the Central

Asian difficulty. If an Indian line ran into Herat, our present trade disputes with the Amir of Afghanistan would disappear. There would be little use in the Kabul potentate levying a duty of £6 on each camel-load of goods passing through the Peshawar Pass, when the same articles could be conveyed to and from Kandahar, from Lahore or Quetta, for as many shillings or rupees.

In order that the far-reaching nature of the proposal to connect Calais and Calcutta by rail may be thoroughly realized, I purpose to go into the matter in some detail, though it is not possible, in the space at command, to do more than merely glance at the salient points. M. Ferdinand de Lesseps was the first man to place on paper a thoroughly practical scheme for the construction of the entire line. The total distance to be covered was 7,500 miles, and existing European lines would be utilized as far as Orenburg. From Orenburg to Samarkhand the rails would be laid by Russia, and from Samarkhand to Peshawar by England. The Russians, who knew Central Asia, and who were acquainted with the commercial and political advantages sure to accrue from the establishment of the railway, welcomed the idea with avidity: the English, who did not know Central Asia, and whose acquaintance with its trade capacities was very limited indeed, scouted it. Nevertheless M. de Lesseps went to work, formed the inevitable society in Paris, and finally despatched a party of French engineers to India to survey the ground from the English side. When they reached the Afghan frontier, they were politely, but firmly, told from Simla that they must go back, as Lord Granville was afraid that England might, by their action, become involved with the turbulent spirits across the border. By this magnificent exhibition of Fabian tactics, England has seemingly for ever lost her chance of gaining a really strong foothold in the great marts of Turkomania. Next came the Akhal Tekke campaigns, which caused General Annenkoff to throw his steel-road across the desert, and later, the Penjdeh incident, followed by the further progress of the line towards the Gate of India. The insurmountable difficulties which led that shrewd statesman, Lord Hartington, to term the Russian soldier engineer "a foolish fellow," vanished before the breath of the steam engine; and the wild desert, which was to have for ever engulfed rails, stations, rolling-stock, and telegraph wires, in one night's storm, has proved so far tractable that trains run now from Oozoon Ada to Samarkhand with as much regularity as from Cannon Street to Charing Cross (I am afraid that the simile is not my own, and I cannot remember at the moment whether it should be credited to Marvin or some other writer, but it is forcibly

true). But it is not the face of Nature alone that has been conquered. Hear how a late traveller in that district describes the task which Russia has accomplished :—"The opening of the Central Asian Railway took place on Sunday, May 27th, 1888, or, as the Russian calendar has it, on May 15th. It is a great feat, of which the Russians have good reason to be proud, whether regarded from the point of view of the statesman or the engineer. It seems but the other day that the tract of territory through which the railway passes was hunted by as fierce and untractable a set of man-stealers and murderers as ever plagued the world. For centuries the borderland between Persia and Turkistan had been the unhappy hunting-ground of wild tribes whose occupation was rapine, and who swept off the victims of their forays to be sold like cattle in the great slave mart of Merv. . . . For a thousand miles right into the heart of the mysterious Central Asian regions, the Russian military engineer has thrust his wonder-working parallel rails ; and it is possible at this moment to reach the tomb of Tamerlane, in the heart of Southern Tartary, nine days after leaving St. Petersburg."

Two years ago Marvin called general attention to certain conferences between the Russian Minister of Railways, Admiral Possiet, and the Governor of the Caucasus, Prince Dondukoff-Korsakoff, which evidently had for their object the extension of the Russian system into Persia and towards India. "In this country" (England), he wrote, "public apathy is complete. Since the death of Sir William Andrew, who advocated the Euphrates Railway for more than quarter of a century, no one has concerned himself any further about that route : and, in spite of occasional rumours, the projects of a railway through Asia Minor, from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf and India, have dropped almost entirely into the background." No such sluggishness or indifference was visible, he pointed out, in the actions of the Russian authorities. Three separate theses were presented to them for solution by the advocates of the Persian route :—*First*, how the connection between the Caucasus and Russia and the rest of Europe was to be shortened ; *secondly*, how to extend the Russo-Caucasian system into Persia ; and, *lastly*, how to bring about a junction of these lines with those in the north-west of India, and thus, says Marvin, "defeat all rival attempts to tap the land traffic of the East." It was not altogether patriotic or prudential motives which inspired the promoters of the Moscow-Tsantzin-Meshed route. Jealousy of the immense success gained by, and Imperial favour shown to, General Annenkoff, partly accounted for their zeal. The Transcaspian, or, as it is more geographically convenient to call it, the Central Asian line, which

attracted so much notice, was the creation of the Russian War Department, and the civil authorities had had nothing whatever to do with it. The interest which was wont to be centred in the Caucasus had been transferred to the other side of the Caspian, and something had to be done to recall the wandering affections of the Czar, whose passion seems to lie in the territorial aggrandisement of Russia. Owing to the passive position of England, no complete scheme could be formulated, but the rival projectors were at full liberty to discuss their plans, the details of which Marvin speedily placed his fellow countrymen in possession of. With the Transcaspian route we are already familiar, but the alternative alignment requires the reproduction of Mr. Marvin's description, which, if my readers will only take the trouble to trace it out on a map, will be soon recognised as the only actual land route between Calais and Calcutta, avoiding the shipment of passengers and goods across the Caspian Sea. It follows the line selected by Napoleon for his contemplated Franco-Russian invasion of India, and traverses the Caspian provinces of Persia and Khorassan. At present the railway system of Russia penetrates south as far as Vladikavkaz, at the foot of the Caucasus range, which Russia would have liked to tunnel long ago, but could not do so for want of means. To complete connection with the Transcaspian line, the railway is now being extended to Petrovsk, on the western littoral of the Caspian. Here the Oozoon-Ada-Merv-Kandahar people would stop, But the Caucasian people say: "No; avoid the passage of the Caspian by carrying the line from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis, over the Caucasus by way of the Daniel Pass, and thus not only secure a land route without interruption, but also penetrate into a fertile country, and form a junction with the existing lines from Batoum and Poti on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian." Peter the Great is credited with many more things than his apocryphal will, which has always been a sort of Sybilline scroll to the Government of India, and, among others, he is said to have exclaimed, after the capture of Baku: "We have won the key of the Caspian. Yonder"—pointing towards Asterabad and Herat,—“lies the road to India.” The main line of the proposed railway need not run into Baku—and here I may incidentally note, that, in January of the present year, formal sanction was given in St. Petersburg for the construction of the Vladikavkaz-Tiflis section. It would probably proceed straight to Resht and Asterabad. The remainder of the run to Herat, *via* Meshed, would be pretty plain sailing, whilst an excellent agricultural and stock-growing country is traversed in Persia and Khorassan. Taking Oozoon Ada and Asterabad as two points equi-distant from Moscow, on the opposing routes,

and not forgetting that, before Oozoon Ada is reached, the Caspian must be crossed by steamer, the projects work out respectively as follows:—Oozoon Ada to Askabad, 300 miles; Askabad to Sarakhs, 200 miles; Sarakhs to Pul-i-khatun, 40 miles; Pul-i-khatun to Khombon, 76 miles; and Khombon to Herat, 113 miles: or a total of 729 miles. On the other hand, from Asterabad to Budjurd is 182 miles; Budjurd to Kutchan, 66 miles; Kutchan to Meshed, 93 miles; and Meshed to Herat, 223 miles: or a total of 564 miles. Marvin's latest views on the entire question may be summed up in a word. He did not believe that Russia will just yet attempt to push on any line through Afghanistan to India, but that she will devote her energies to "completing her own communications between Moscow and Merv, and establishing railway intercourse with Meshed."

When interviewed not long ago on the prospects of the Anglo-Russian Junction Railway, General Annenkoff said:—"It all depends upon England, and the construction of a line through Kandahar to Herat. If that were done, I would undertake to deliver the reliefs, officers and men, for the Indian Army at Kandahar in nine days after leaving London." Of course the go-ahead General meant that he would perform this feat—which may occur sometime when the lion lies down with the lamb—after the necessary links of rail on the Russian side are finished, and this, as I have already pointed out, is rapidly being done.

When it was observed that the cost of transit would render the relief of the British garrison in India, *via* Moscow and Central Asia, too expensive a luxury save in war time, when it might be impossible, he made this noteworthy reply:—"In that case your route would be the Canadian Pacific, or the Cape, not *via* Suez. But why should there be war. I am the best friend that England has, I assure you. Our interests in Central Asia are exactly the same, and the more business there is done the better. There is no opposition of interests between us; for we are so different. But we must partition Afghanistan. Of that there is no doubt. I had Captain Yate and Mr. Peacock staying with me at Tchardjui for some days, and we discussed the question thoroughly. We all came to the same conclusion. There is no other way out of it. You must take one part, and we will take the other,—by amicable arrangement, of course; a quarrel is out of the question." I can well imagine Mr. Marvin regarding General Annenkoff as a man and a brother, had he heard him deliver these sentiments. That they meet Marvin's own views cannot be doubted, and had English statesmen been

inclined to follow his advice, we should now have had a fairly firm grip on Bokhara and Samarkhand, so that Annenkoff's partition scheme would have been unnecessary. Marvin was ever and anon urging his countrymen to take more interest in the affairs of our Northern and North-Western Indian frontiers. One of the last public letters he wrote, dating only a few weeks before his death, pointed out the facilities offered by Beluchistan for British enterprise and British capital, which were being lavished in South America and elsewhere, but persistently withheld from the latest additions to the Indian Empire. Englishmen in these matters are slower than their neighbours, and, taking into consideration the fact that they are the best and most successful colonists the world has ever seen, it cannot be denied in some respects that the policy is a good one. Besides, it must not be forgotten that, although Russia has made great strides in Central Asia, she has only given a menagerie-training as yet to the human specimens of *feræ naturæ* she found there. The nomadic tribes, it is true, are beginning to settle down, and, whilst the rank and file still live in their *kibitkas*, or tents, the Khans have commenced to build brick houses for their own accommodation. The railways, and stations, and telegraph wires, with regular arrival and departure of trains, and frequent despatch of posts, all seem to point to civilization, but there is nothing behind all this. Women are still sold as articles of merchandize, and a very handsome wife can be bought for £150—rather a high price, some people might think. An excessive immorality prevails, which is only fostered by the Russians, and, to put it plainly, though the dominant race can govern well, they do not do much to humanize, or improve, those subject to their sway. The Hon'ble George N. Curzon, M.P., in his book on "Russia in Central Asia in 1889," thus forcibly describes Russian policy in the wide spheres of education, manners, religion, and morals:—"There seems to be altogether lacking that moral impulse which induces unselfish or Christian exertion on behalf of a subject people. Broad and statesman-like schemes for the material development of the country, for the amelioration of the condition of the natives, for their adaptation to a higher order of things, are either not entertained, or are crushed out of existence by the superior exigencies of a military *régime*. Barracks, ports, military roads, railway stations, post and telegraph offices, the necessary adjuncts of Government, abound; but the institutions or buildings that bespeak a people's progress have yet to appear. Hence, while there may exist the tranquillity arising from peaceful and conciliatory combination, there is not the harmony that can result only from final coalescence! Hence Englishmen have little need to fear contrast between Russian rule in Turkomania

and British rule in India : the one is powerful on the surface, the other has not only the semblance but the reality of strength. When the day comes that we do join the Russian rails at Kandahar, it will be wholly for our benefit in commercial progress. The richest marts of the East—Bokhara and Samarkhand—and the whole of the productive region lying away towards Mantchuria, will be, to some extent, brought within our reach, and there should be a golden future for British trade in that direction." Meanwhile we should not forget the Russian view of the question, which Marvin constantly kept in the foreground. Shortly after the Penjdeh incident, a St. Petersburg paper put the following pertinent query :—" A couple more Penjdehs and Maiwands, and where would be British rule in India?" whilst the *Neva*, a very popular non-political weekly illustrated paper, when publishing a series of sketches of the Central Asian Railway, headed them "On the Road to India." Marvin pithily put the situation into a few sentences : "In spite of all that has been written on the subject, few Englishmen have got as far yet as to expect that India will be joined to Europe by a railway in their lifetime. On the other hand, the Russians look upon it as simply a matter of two or three years. While the British public still mixes and muddles the vast steppes and deserts of Turkistan and the lofty passes of the Hindu Koosh with the short routes and easy roads of the region between Merv and Quetta, the Russians thoroughly understand the insignificance of the Afghan barrier, and are convinced that, at no distant date, the overland trade of India must again traverse the Caspian on its way to Europe." But there is another disturbing element, in addition to the ever-present thought in the Russian's inmost breast, that some day he may be enabled to pounce upon India. On the Afghan frontier there are located in command several of the most able and ambitious officers in the Russian service. Foremost among these is Colonel Alikhanoff, who is the strongest and cleverest official in Transcaspia. He is fully persuaded that, by the aid of Persia and Afghanistan, he can make a future for himself, and it will not be his fault if the necessary disturbances in that direction are delayed to a period when they will be of little use to him.

The prolongation of the Russian line to Tiflis and the certain future extension to Meshed, along the route I have previously indicated, mean that Northern Persia has for ever passed under Russian influence. Why should not England, or rather the Government of India, take steps to secure Southern Persia for British trade? Foremost among many eminent writers, Marvin has often directed England's gaze to Persia and the Karun River, the history of which must always be bound up with the records of

Russia and England in Central Asia. Here there is a magnificent field for our commercial enterprise ; if we stir before it is too late, and nerve the Persians to rescue themselves, and their fine country from the fate which they seem to regard as inevitable, that of becoming a Russian province. This, again, opens up a wide arena for argumentative comment, but I must now briefly deal with what I regard as the last phase of Marvin's connexion with Central Asia, namely, the Great Siberian Railway.

Like the line to Samarkhand, which was speedily decided upon, the Czar did not take long to consider when the project of connecting European Russia with Vladivostock in Eastern Siberia was broached. Although it meant the construction of a railway 4,000 miles in length, and the expenditure of about 40 millions sterling, the Czar briefly wrote, five years ago, at the top of a despatch to his ministers, " Let a railway be built across Siberia—the shortest possible." But Russia is not rich, so she had to wait from 1886 until 1891 before any genuine attempt could be made to put the Czar's mandate into force. At present the Russian lines extend to Nijni Novgorod, famous for its fair, and thence the traveller goes by steamer down the River Volga and up the River Kama to the town of Perm. Joining the line again, a run is made across the Ural mountains through Ekaterinburg to Tinmin. From this point the great internal river navigation of Siberia begins, and steamers carry the traveller 1,800 miles further, to Tomsk, thus in a circuitous manner following the line of the *trakht*, or post-road, the Via Dolorosa of modern years, along which so many thousand political convicts have passed to the hopelessness and void of Siberia. There is a southern route *viâ* Orenburg, but it is not much used:

The Great Russian Pacific Railway, however, will run about midway between these lines. The section from Samara, on the Volga, the starting-point, to Ufa in the Urals, has already been laid, and runs through a beautiful country. Marvin not long since indulged in a prophecy concerning this railway, in amplification of that which I heard him utter in Newcastle. He said :—" The absolute route throughout has not yet been decided upon in all its details, but the following are the points believed to be favourable—Ufa, Zlataoust, Tcheliab, Kurgan, the southern part of the Ishem district, Omsk, Tomsk, Lake Baikal (landing-stage), the upper course of the Oldura or Ura, the Upper Amoor gold-fields, the middle part of the River Zey, Central Bureia, Little Khingan, Khabarovka on the Amoor, the Ussuri Valley, and Vladivostock." The official plans have not, so far as I am aware, been published, though Reuter recently telegraphed that the construction of the line would this year be actually undertaken ; but, when they do appear, it

will be of much interest to note how far Marvin was correct in his forecast. He very aptly describes this line as "between St. Petersburg and Peking." It is in fact designed to tap the inland trade of China on the one hand; whilst, on the other, it consolidates the Russian grip on the Pacific littoral. The year 1898 has been fixed upon by Marvin as the date which will see this last and greatest of Russia's works accomplished. And then—*nous verrons ce que nous verrons*. Russia and Canada will become near neighbours, and further complications may ensue. Marvin, however, gave it as his latest and most matured opinion, that, in the lamentable event of a war between England and Russia, the real scene of action will be the Helmund, and it is to the progress of our "hereditary foe" in that direction that we should pay most attention. It is not within the scope of the present article to inquire what has been done, or is under contemplation, by the Government of India and the Home authorities to arm against the evil day, should it ever arrive, when the British and Muscovite armies will meet at the gates of Herat. Nor can I branch off into discussion of the great services rendered by the departed journalist to trade circles by his admirable judgments upon the mineral oil supplies of Canada, the Caspian, Burma and Beluchistan. I have endeavoured to jot down, in a cursory manner, I fear, some few impressions of the great light thrown upon the erstwhile darkest portion of Asia by one who thoroughly understood the many problems he undertook to elucidate. Though only in the full vigour of manhood when stricken down, Marvin had already achieved much. He had toiled hard and disinterestedly, ever holding the advantage of England before his eyes, and a place cannot be denied him among the honoured list of Britons who have served their country well and faithfully.

LOUIS TRACY.

ART. III.—THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KAVYA LITERATURE OF INDIA.

*Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunst-
poesie von G Bühler wirklichem Mitgliede der Kaiserlichen
Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien, 1890.*

IT is, no doubt, well-known to our readers that of late years an element of certainty has been introduced into Indian history by the discovery and deciphering of Indian inscriptions. In the pamphlet recently published by Professor Bühler, to which we desire to draw attention, an attempt is made to fix approximately the date of the rise of the Indian artificial, or, as it is sometimes called, classical poetry, by the help of the 3rd volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, recently published by Mr. J. F. Fleet. To quote Dr. Bühler's own words: 'This exceedingly important work contains a large number of inscriptions, partly or altogether metrical, with perfectly certain dates. Taken together with other documents, already known to us by trustworthy editions, these inscriptions enable us to prove the existence of a Kāvya literature in India, in Sanskrit, and Prakrit during the first five centuries of our Era, and to show that the great literary period which secured for the style of the poetical school of Vidarbha, or Berar, general recognition in India, must be placed before the middle of the fourth century. They make it also very probable that the year 472 A.D. should be fixed as the *terminus ad quem* for the poet Kālidāsa.'

These conclusions may, as Professor Bühler observes, seem unimportant to students occupied with the investigation of the history and literature of European nations, but unfortunately the votaries of Indian Philology and Archæology are not in a position to despise such insignificant results. For the history, properly so speaking, of the Indian artificial poetry, does not begin until the first half of the seventh century of our Era, not, in fact, until the reign of the powerful King Harsha or Harshavardhana of Thānesar and Kanauj, who ruled over the whole of Northern India from 606 to 648 A.D. The works of his favourite, Bānabhatta, who attempted to describe the fortunes of his master and himself in the unfinished novel Sri Harsha Charita, and, in addition, wrote the romance of Kādambarī and the hymn Chandikāsataka, perhaps also the drama Párvatiparinaya, are the oldest productions of the Muse of Court poetry of which the date of composition can be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

Before this time, if we accept the Brihat Sanhita, Varāhamihira's metrical treatise on Astrology, which exhibits the influence of the peculiar Kāvya style, and was composed about the middle of the sixth century, there is, according to Professor Bühler, no classical composition of which the date is known. We have no reliable information about the date of the most famous classical poet Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bhāravi, Pravarasena and Guṇādhyā. We can only affirm that their fame was widely extended in the first half of the seventh century, as they are mentioned by Bāna and in the Aihole-Meguti inscription of 634 A.D. If the date of the most important poets is so doubtful, it may easily be imagined that it is no less difficult to fix with any certainty the date of the origin of the Kāvya literature. Some students of Indian literature have, accordingly, assigned a very late period for the development of the Indian artificial poetry. Professor Bühler thinks that Mr. Fleet's recently published volume of "Inscriptions" enables him considerably to antedate this period.

He first selects for examination the famous Mandasor inscription published in Mr. Fleet's volume, to which Mr. R. C. Dutt refers in the third volume of his "History of Civilization in Ancient India." This inscription is dated (in words) 529 of the Mālava Era (or Era of Vikramāditya), *i.e.*, 473 A.D. We learn from it that the Temple of the Sun at Mandasor, the ancient Dasapura, was erected at the expense of a guild of silk weavers who had migrated to that place from Lāta or Gujārāt. Professor Bühler considers that this metrical inscription belongs to the class of Prasastis, or panegyrics. A detailed criticism leads him to the conclusion that, in respect of variety of metric, diction, rhetorical tropes, and other points, the inscription—or poem, as it may be called,—contains unmistakable evidence of the influence of Kāvyas, and of treatises on Poetic and Rhetoric. We do not propose to follow Professor Bühler into this detailed examination, which can be of interest only to Sanskritists. Suffice it to say, that the author, Vatsabhattacharya, states himself to have composed, "with great labour," the poem in question, and that it contains many passages, which can be paralleled from the Kāvyas, and especially from the works of Kālidāsa,* and follows closely the canons of Indian poetry. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that there existed in the fifth century a Kāvya literature precisely resembling that known to us. This conclusion

* Professor Bühler is of opinion that, in certain passages, Vatsabhattacharya is making a deliberate attempt to vie with Kālidāsa. The parallels which he draws are certainly very striking. It is clear that Vatsabhattacharya was a mere imitator, and it is highly probable that he showed his good taste by selecting for imitation some of Kālidāsa's most striking descriptions.

is strengthened by the fact that all the other panegyrics in Mr. Fleet's volume, which were composed between the year 400 and the date of Vatsabhattacharya's poem, exhibit the same close parallelism with the Kāvya known to us.

Professor Bühler next proceeds to examine Harishena's panegyric on Samudragupta, which is inscribed on a pillar at Allahabad, and was composed about 375-390 A.D. It contains nine verses, and the rest of it is in poetical prose. It is described by the author himself—who declares himself to have been a minister for foreign affairs and war—as a *kāvya*, or poem. Professor Bühler shows, that it is written in the usual style of the Kāvya. He draws attention to the fact that the poet compliments the King (who is, by the way, occasionally represented on his coins with a lyre in his hand) on his skill in composing verses. Professor Bühler is of opinion that “during the reign of Samudragupta, the Kāvya literature was in full bloom, and the state of affairs at his Court was much such as is related of the Courts of Kanauj, Káśmír, Ujjain, Dhárá, and Kalyáni, and is still sometimes found here and there in India. The cultivators of Sanskrit poetry, who were called *kavi*, as well as *budha* and *vidvas*, were not natural bards, but members of a literary guild, or Pandits who had studied the Sástras, that is to say, at any rate, Grammar, Lexicography, Rhetoric, and Metre, and, as the form of Harishena's composition shows, wrote according to fixed poetic canons. The Sanskrit Kāvya, which owed its origin to Court patronage, and by virtue of its origin could only exist thereby, was zealously cultivated at the Court. The King encouraged and maintained poets, and he himself and his higher officials vied with their *protégés* in their art.”

To sum up, it is proved by an examination of Harishena's panegyric, that the Kāvya literature was flourishing during the whole of the fourth century, and that the works composed at the time differed little from the specimens of the Vaidarbha style preserved to us. But the date of the Kāvya literature can be carried still further back by the Rudradáman inscription on the famous rock on the road leading from Junágadh to the holy mount of Girnar. Its date is ascertained by the name of the grandfather of Rudradáman, Chashtana, who is the same as the Tiastanes mentioned by Ptolemy as ruling in Ozene, or Ujjain, and also by the date of the storm that destroyed the embankment of the Sudarsana tank, the restoration of which it commemorates. Professor Bühler agrees with Dr. Bhagwan Lal in fixing the date of this document between 160 and 170 A.D. This inscription proves by its style the existence of a Kāvya literature in the second half of the second century of our Era, and makes it very probable

that even the Scythian conquerors of India were fascinated by Indian literature, since Rudradáman, though the grandson of an Indo-Scythian satrap, is praised for his skill in composition.

Professor Bühler next passes to the consideration of a Násik inscription composed in the 19th year of the reign of Siri-Pulamáyí, a King of the Andra dynasty, who is usually identified with the Siri-Polemios, or Siro-Polemaios, mentioned by Ptolemy as sovereign of Baithana, that is to say, Paithhána, or Pratishthána, on the Godávari. The date of this inscription is, therefore, fixed at about the middle of the second century. This date is supported by other evidence into which it is not necessary to enter. It is of the nature of a panegyric. Though not in metrical form, it possesses all the distinguishing characteristics of the Indian artificial, or classical, poetry. For the ancient Indians, like our own Sir Philip Sidney, did not consider metre an inseparable adjunct of poetry.

The results of Professor Bühler's investigations briefly amount to this: That, in the second century of our Era, the classical style of composition, both in prose and verse, sanctioned by the canons of Indian rhetoric, prevailed extensively, and was by no means interfered with by the invasion of barbarian strangers, to speak from the Indian point of view. On the contrary, the evidence rather goes to show that the *ferus victor* was attracted by the literary culture of India, at any rate, that the immediate descendants of barbarian conquerors found its spell too potent to be resisted. It is also clear that in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries of our Era, this artificial style of poetry was in full bloom, and in high favour in the Courts of Indian princes.

It is obvious, as Professor Bühler points out, that these results are incompatible with Professor Max Müller's theory of a renaissance of Indian literature, after its destruction by an inroad of barbarian conquerors in the first and second centuries of our Era. In the first place, the barbarian conquerors never occupied more than a fifth part of India. In the next place, there is ample evidence to show that they were, to borrow an expression of Sir Alfred Lyall's, rapidly Hinduized. They were, in fact, like the German conquerors of the Roman Empire, unable to resist the influences of a higher civilisation. They patronized Buddhism and tolerated Jainism. Many of them adopted Indian names. Some even condescended to compose in Indian languages, and, like the Welshman, Owen Glendower, in the case of the English language, "gave the tongue a helpful ornament."

Another view, held by Max Müller and other scholars, that the sixth century of our Era was the flourishing

period *par excellence* of the Indian artificial Court poetry, must give way before the evidence of inscriptions. On the contrary, it is clear that there were many flourishing periods of this style of composition. Moreover, Dr. Fergusson's theory, that the Vikramāditya Era was, to use Mr. Dutt's words, "fixed in 544 A.D., by a Vikramāditya then reigning, and thrown back by six centuries," is completely overthrown by Mr. Fleet's discoveries. "For they prove (1) that the Era commencing 56-57 B.C. was not invented in the sixth century, but was in use for more than a century before that, under the title of Málava Era; (2) that no Sákas could, at that time, have been driven out of Western India, because that country had been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years before that date; (3) that, on the other hand, other barbarian conquerors, namely, the Húnas, were driven out of Western India during the first half of the sixth century—not, however, by a Vikramāditya, but by Yasódharmān, or Vishnuvardhana; and that (4), consequently, there is no room in the sixth century for a powerful Vikramāditya of Ujjain, supposed to have provoked by his exploits a national revival in India."

It is obvious that, if the Fergussonian hypothesis of a sixth-century Vikramāditya falls to the ground, the attempt to assign to this period the flourishing of the poet Kálidāsa and other Coryphæi of Indian literature, simply on the ground of their traditional connexion with the name of that sovereign, must be given up, or supported by other arguments. The well-known, but slenderly attested verse, which reckons Kálidāsa as one of the nine jewels at the Court of Vikramāditya, and makes him a contemporary of the astronomer Varáhamihira, loses all its evidential value. We are now in a position to affirm that no Vikramāditya of Ujjain was in existence in the first half of the sixth century.

But the theory that Kálidāsa lived in the sixth century is supported by other arguments. It is assumed that Mallinātha is correct in maintaining, in his commentary on the 14th stanza of the Meghadūta, that Kálidāsa is there referring to an opponent of the name of Dignāga. It is also assumed that this Dignāga is identical with the Buddhist teacher Dignāga, and that, moreover, the Buddhist teacher Dignāga was the pupil of Vasubandhu and A'sanga, as is stated by Tárānātha, who lived in the sixteenth, and Ratnadharmarāja, who lived in the eighteenth century. Then the positive assumption is made, based on the untenable theory of the sixth-century Vikramāditya, that the two brothers, Vasubandhu and A'sanga, flourished about 550 A.D.

This assumption is incompatible with a Chinese statement, quoted by Professor Max Müller, that Kumárajīva translated

works of Vasubandhu's in the year 404 A.D. It is also contradicted by a Chinese tradition mentioned by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, according to which Kumárajīva translated a life of Vasubandhu.

A third argument is based upon the fact that Kálidása appears to have been acquainted with Greek astronomy. It is, therefore, supposed that he must have lived after A'ryabhata, who wrote in 499 A.D. But Dr. Thibaut has fixed 400 A.D. as the *terminus ad quem* for the Romaka and Paulīsa Siddhāntas, which also bear traces of Greek influence. It is clear, therefore, that no reliance can be placed on this argument.

A fourth argument is adduced by Dr Huth, in a carefully-composed essay on "The Age of Kálidása." He lays stress upon the fact that the Huns are mentioned among the border-tribes of India in Raghuvamsā IV. 68. He supposes that Kálidása is transferring the political relations of his own time to that of Raghu, and that the White Huns are meant who occupied Kábul during two distinct periods—from the end of the second century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D.; and again from the beginning of the fifth century A.D. to the end of the sixth. As it is for several reasons improbable that Kálidása can have lived at the time of the first conquest, Dr. Huth concludes that he must have lived during the period of the second occupation, and he accordingly fixes the end of the sixth century as his *terminus ad quem*. Professor Bühler rejoins that this theory will now have to be modified to bring it into accordance with the testimony of the Gupta inscriptions. It is, however, not necessary to enter into this question as it is probable that Kálidása's description of his hero's *digvijaya*, or "conquest of various countries in all directions," is purely conventional. The probability of this view is supported by Professor Bühler with arguments and examples which seem to us convincing.

Finally, he expresses his opinion, "that the question of the age of Kálidása and of the other Coryphæi of Indian literature, whose dates are not fixed by precise documents, is not likely to be much advanced by the method hitherto followed by most Sanskritists. In order to arrive at trustworthy conclusions, it will be necessary to investigate carefully the language, the style, and the poetical *technik* of separate poems, and to compare them with the corresponding features in literary works and epigraphical documents the age of which is precisely or approximately fixed, and also with the canons of the older treatises on poetical ornament. Should this investigation be extended to the epics, we should be able to

obtain a perfect picture of the gradual development of Indian poetry."

We have dwelt at greater length on that part of Professor Bühler's essay which deals with the age of Kālidāsa, as we think that anything connected with the most famous of the Indian classical poets must have a special attraction for Indian readers. They will, perhaps, also take a pleasure in observing that the recent tendency of the investigations of European scholars, is to throw back the date of Indian classical poetry to a period more in accordance with Indian traditions than that assigned to it by the pioneers in the field of Sanskrit Philology. At any rate no one can help agreeing with Professor Bühler in the cordial commendation which he bestows on the labours of Mr. Fleet.

ART. IV.—BENGAL POLICE REFORM.

No. 1.

A VERY important Committee is now sitting to consider the question of Police reform in Bengal. Though His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, in creating the Committee, invited the cordial co-operation of the public, the subject, beyond eliciting casual notice in some of the newspapers, does not seem to have excited such warm public interest as it deserves. The inefficiency and want of integrity of our Police have become a byword, and the public press has of recent years been vehemently attacking the Force. Public opinion in the matter has now been fully endorsed by Government and proved by statistics of crime for the last eleven years. The silence of the public in a matter of such vital importance, when the time for action has come, is, therefore, all the more surprising. The attention of those who have not yet studied the subject is invited to the important Government Resolution, dated the 24th September last, published in pages 1986-1990 of the *Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette* of the 1st October 1890. I have tried to embody my views concisely in the following pages, but my main object is to invite public opinion and stimulate public interest.

2. The present unsatisfactory state of things can be best described by a quotation from the Government Resolution : " Although crime generally is not positively great in Bengal, and is decreasing relatively to the increase of population, certain offences show a tendency to increase ; an unduly large proportion of the crime actually occurring is not brought to the notice of the Police or of the Magistrates, and is therefore never enquired into ; the Police enquiry into a large number of cases taken up is fruitless, and such cases never come before the Courts ; and a disproportionate number of the persons brought before the Courts are acquitted. *The broad result is that upwards of 70 per cent. of serious crime goes unpunished ; that at least 90 per cent. of the most dangerous offences against property remain undetected ; and that in the eleven years under review (1878-1888) the percentage of convictions among the total number of persons tried by the Courts, and charged with offences included in classes I, II, III, and V, never exceeded 56, and in one year fell to 52.*"

These statistics disclose a most lamentable state of things and fully deserve thorough enquiry by a Special Committee such as has been constituted. Besides these, there are a large number of crimes committed, but not reported, the extent of which cannot be given even by guess. We all know well how prone the

Panchayets, Chaukidars, Zemindars and their Amlah are to hush up crime. The proverbial timidity and carelessness of the masses give ample facilities, if they are not direct incentives, to theft and other offences against property. In Eastern Bengal, the houses of the people are generally made of mats, and cash and jewels are kept in insecure boxes and not unfrequently in earthen pots. It requires very little effort to commit a burglary or theft, and, the country being intersected by rivers and khals, it is extremely easy to remove and dispose of property in boats without fear of detection. Again, the people are so timid that they will not even pursue a thief for fear of being killed or hurt, and make no attempt to defend their property. Then the desire to keep quiet and hush up crime is very natural. In 90 cases out of 100, the reporting of crime, if the offender is not arrested, would be productive of no good, but is, on the contrary, sure to cause trouble and expense to the person robbed. In the absence of a high standard of truth and public morality, the villagers, including the Panchayets and Chaukidars, often combine to hush up crime, and in many places, particularly villages remote from the Police Stations and the ordinary sphere of influence of the Police and the Magistracy, crime can be easily concealed with impunity. Then, again, the Zemindars, Planters, and other men of influence, hear and dispose of many cases in out-of-the-way places where the Magistrate and the Police are not yet familiar. I had ample proof of this fact last year in the District of Jessore, only a few hours' journey from the metropolis of British India. People not unfrequently prefer the prompt and summary mode of justice administered by these men to the tardy and expensive procedure of our Courts.

3. I fully endorse the remarks in this connection of Mr. Macpherson, approvingly quoted in para. 7 of the Government Resolution creating the Police Reform Committee, but I do not think that the only remedy for the want of public spirit is to spread education among the masses. The spread of education among the higher and middle classes has not materially improved the detection of crime. The higher and the educated classes are the most reluctant to give evidence in cases, even when they are cognizant of facts material to their decision. It will take generations, I suppose, to establish a high standard of truth and public morality and general sympathy with public justice here, but much might be done by taking measures for the prevention of offences by clearly defining and extending the responsibilities of the public, by prompt and intelligent enquiry, and by simplifying the procedure and securing better administration of criminal justice.

4. These matters being premised, I will now proceed to consider the means which should be devised for the better administration of criminal justice in its various stages. In the natural order of things the whole question can, I think, be best divided into the following classes :—

- (1) Measures for the prevention of offences ;
- (2) Reporting of crime ;
- (3) Investigation of cases and detection of crime ; and
- (4) Trial of cases and conduct of prosecutions.

These I will consider in their order.

5. First, as to the measures for the prevention of offences. "Prevention is better than cure" is a maxim which applies as much to crime as to disease. It will be a truism to say that the existing measures for the prevention of crime are insufficient. This may be attributed to defects either in the law, or in its administration, or both. The present law, regarding the prevention of offences, is contained in Part IV, and sections 44 and 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and sections 154, 155 and 156 of the Indian Penal Code. The law lays down : That every person is bound to give immediate information to the Magistrate, or the Police, of the commission of certain serious offences ; that Village Headmen, Watchmen and Landholders and their Agents are bound to give some further information, such as of the movements of suspected and bad characters, and the occurrence of sudden and unnatural deaths. Landholders and their Agents are punishable for riots committed in their lands. When there is probability of a breach of the peace, the Magistrate is empowered to bind down parties likely to disturb the peace and issue temporary injunctions, if necessary. He can also bind down persons who are reported to be of notoriously bad or suspicious character.

6. In practice, neither the Landholders nor their Agents in Lower Bengal give any information as required by section 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and, as far as I am aware, they are never taken to task for the omission. It is the Chaukidars who supply such information. The Landholders and their Agents are sometimes prosecuted under sections 154, 155 and 156, Indian Penal Code, when a riot does take place, but this is after the mischief is done. They are generally aware of everything going on in the village, and their responsibility, under section 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code, should, I think, be strictly enforced. In section 44 there is no mention of thefts among the offences of the commission or intention to commit which the public are bound to give immediate information. I think the offences described in sections 379, 380, 381, 411, 412, 413 and 414, Indian Penal Code, should be added to the list of offences of which the public are bound to give information

under section 44 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Immediate information is very necessary regarding the commission of, or intention to commit, thefts and the allied offences. It should be remarked that the failure of the Police is most noticeable in the detection of such offences and burglaries. Under the present law, a private person is not bound to give information of theft, nor is he bound to proceed against the thief, though it is an offence to take a gratification in consideration of his not proceeding. More stringent provisions, in the direction I have indicated, seem to me very necessary. In the absence of a high standard of truth and public morality among the masses, the fear of punishment is the most powerful incentive to the prevention and detection of crime, and I feel confident of a better state of things if the responsibilities of Landholders and their Agents and the public generally are extended and rigidly enforced. In the absence of recognized Village Headmen, I would substitute members of the Village Panchayet under section 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code. To ensure better prevention of offences, I think clauses (a) and (c) of section 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code should be extended in the following manner.

For clause (a) I would substitute the following :—

“(a) The permanent or temporary residence of any notorious or habitual thief, robber, housebreaker, receiver or vendor of stolen property, of any person who habitually commits intimidation, extortion or hurt, of any person who is taking precautions to conceal his presence and there is reason to believe that he does so with a view to committing an offence, and of any person who has no ostensible means of subsistence, or who cannot give a satisfactory account of himself, in any village of which he is Headman, Panchayet, Watchman or Police Officer, or in which he owns, or occupies land, or is Agent, or collects revenue or rent.” The word “intimidation” should be added before, and the word “hurt” after, the word “extortion” in the first clause of section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The words “or cognizable” should be added after the word “non-bailable” and before the word “offence” in clause (c) of section 45.

7. I think it is necessary to set forth fully the reasons for the additions and amendments I have suggested above.

There are no recognized Village Headmen, now, corresponding to the Mahtos and Mundas of Chota Nagpur, in Lower Bengal, but in those villages to which the Chaukidari Act VI (B. C.) of 1870 has been extended, we have, in their stead, the Panchayet, whose duties and functions are defined by the Act. I think a village agency should be created in every village where there is none at present. Village communities and village officials were indigenous institutions in ancient India, and

though decayed and almost swept away from Lower Bengal, they are likely to succeed in the rural tracts of modern India if revived and recognized by law and fostered by Government. In Lower Bengal the Panchayet should, I think, be the village agency. Their duties and responsibilities should be enlarged and clearly defined by law. At present the position of the Panchayet is not good enough to attract the best men in the village. I think their status might be easily improved and made more attractive by three very simple means, namely, by offering them (1) immunity from payment of Chaukidari-cess, (2) possession of arms without a license, and (3) eligibility for election as members of the Local Board. The members of the Panchayet are men of the village, and are generally well acquainted with its affairs. I have therefore proposed that they should be made responsible for the duties under section 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

8. I now come to deal with the most important factor in the prevention of crime—the Chaukidar. He is the village official and the unit of our administration. His primary duties are to keep watch and ward and to report crime, and he is theoretically the foremost agent for the prevention of crime; but his inefficiency has become proverbial. The reasons are not far to seek. He is ill-paid, and, not being a whole-time officer, he generally performs his duties perfunctorily; and being too much under the influence of Zemindars and his co-villagers, he has not the courage and independence to proceed against them when necessary, and it need hardly be added that he can be easily bought. The salary of a Chaukidar varies under the law from Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 per mensem. In Eastern Bengal, and in Lower Bengal generally, the earnings of an ordinary coolie vary from Rs. 7 to Rs. 10, and it cannot be expected that Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 will attract good men as Chaukidars, or even if it did, that they would devote their whole time to the performance of their duties. Their salaries, small as they are, are not regularly realized. As a matter of fact, the Chaukidar spends the greater part of his time in cultivation and other profitable pursuits, and cares very little for his duties as a public servant. He rarely, if ever, comes out at night to keep watch, and does not even attend the thannah regularly. In Lower Bengal, about twenty-five per cent. of the Chaukidars are absent on their attendance days at the Police-station. They are punished right and left, but they care very little for their posts. They are not unfrequently in league with the thieves and bad characters of the neighbourhood, and often share their booty. It cannot be expected that such men will be the terror of thieves, or capable of preventing and detecting crime.

9. The improvement of the Chaukidars is, I think, a *sine qua non* for the better detection and prevention of crime, and the following measures appear to be necessary for the purpose :—

- (1.) The salary of the Chaukidar should be raised to at least what a Constable gets.
- (2.) His whole time must be devoted to the performance of his duties as Chaukidar, and he should be altogether debarred from carrying on any other trade or profession.
- (3.) He must frequently move in his village to collect information and keep watch from 10 o'clock to dawn of day.
- (4.) He must be trained and drilled, as far as possible, like Constables, and be put under the immediate control and supervision of the District Superintendent of Police, and should be eligible for promotion to the Regular Police.
- (5.) The appointment of outsiders, who are likely to be independent of village influences, should be encouraged.
- (6.) The appointment of separate Chaukidars for roads and river ghâts, where thefts and robberies are often committed.

Under the Moghul rule, there were such Chaukidars, and we find remains of the old institution in some parts of Behar and Chota Nagpur: the Road Chaukidars are called *Shah-Rahi*, and the River, or Ghât, Chaukidars, *Sail-Daria*.

The performance of duties already imposed by the law must also be enforced. All these innovations, of course, mean an increase of Chaukidari-tax, but this cannot be avoided. The reasons for the measures suggested by me are obvious.

10. Better provision should be made for the collection of Chaukidari-tax and regular payment of the Chaukidars' salaries. The assessment of the tax may be left with the Panchayets, as now, but the collection should be made by a paid Tahsildar appointed for a compact circle, consisting of several villages, the Tahsildar being paid from the Chaukidari Fund. This system is in force in Chota Nagpur and works very satisfactorily. These Tahsildars should also supervise the work of Chaukidars, and should be made liable for reporting crime and furnishing the information within their circles, as required for villages by section 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code, to be amended as proposed by me. I may here mention that, only a few years ago, a class of officers, called *Daffadars*, were appointed in the District of Monghyr, at the suggestion of Colonel Ramsay, the District Superintendent of Police, and they worked exceedingly well. They were appointed to supervise the

working of about twenty Chaukidars, and worked them up to a pretty high state of efficiency. They also distinguished themselves by intelligently aiding in the investigation and detection of crime. It is a big jump from the Chaukidar to the Police, and there is a missing link in the chain. I think the Chaukidari Tahsildars can be made to supply the link and act as Daffadars as well as Collectors of Chaukidari-tax. I do not think the Panchayets of Bengal will ever be efficient in collecting the tax and regularly paying the Chaukidars. They are honorary men and generally consider their appointment a necessary evil. They rarely keep regular and correct accounts. I have personal knowledge that the really best and most independent men in a village do not seek to be members of Panchayets, and those who seek the appointment often do so from love of power or desire of illicit gain. The Panchayets naturally want to be on good terms with their neighbours, and are unwilling to incur their displeasure by realizing arrears of Chaukidari-tax by distress and sale of their co-villager's property. If Union Committees under the Local Self-Government were established in Bengal, the collection of Chaukidari-cess and payment of Chaukidars could be made over to them with advantage.

11. The next point for consideration is the reporting of crime. In my remarks in the foregoing paragraphs about the prevention of crime, I have already anticipated what I intended to say under this head. If a better class of men are appointed as Chaukidars, and sections 44, 45, 109, and 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code are amended in the manner I have suggested, and the responsibility attaching to the Landholders, Panchayets and the public generally, for giving information, is amplified, crime will be better reported. I may here mention that one of the complaints against the Police is that, when complainants, or Chaukidars, give information, the Station Officers take down their statements perfunctorily and inaccurately, and often omit material portions of their story in such a way as to spoil the case altogether. In the course of the trial of many cases I have had reason to believe that such complaints were well founded. I think complainants should be given the option of filing written complaints before the Police, in the same way as they are allowed to do before the Magistrate, the Police, of course, reserving the right to examine them, and elicit any information that may be necessary.

12. The next link in the chain of criminal administration is the investigation of crime, together with which I may treat of the detection of offences. The results of investigation of crime are at present most unsatisfactory, and very little detective ability is shown by the Bengal Police. Unless the robber or thief is caught, or stolen property traced beforehand by the

Chaukidar, complainant, or his villagers, our Police find it next to impossible to trace out the offender. Their knowledge of the bad characters and their movements, and the routes and modes by which stolen property is disposed of, is extremely poor, and it is not surprising that they generally grope in the dark. The energy and promptitude and the intelligent pursuit which are essential to the successful detection of crime are, unhappily, generally wanting in our Police. An increase in the efficiency of the Police means an improvement in the quality, as well as an increase in the numbers, of the Police Force, which again involves increased expenditure; but since Government has now seriously mooted the question, it is, I think, prepared to meet an increased expenditure. The question of the safety of the lives and property of the people is under consideration, and if the improvement of criminal administration involves an increase of expenditure, the people should be willing to bear increased taxation, if that is unavoidable.

13. The question of improvement in the efficiency of the Police leads me to consider the position and functions of the different members of the Force, as now constituted, and the changes which should be effected. To the Superior Police service belong the District Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Police. Their duties are principally controlling and inspecting. They rarely investigate cases. Even the investigation of cases against Subordinate Police Officers, which the District Superintendent is required by Rule 13, Chapter II, page 6, Volume I of the Police Manual, to make personally, is left to the Inspectors. I think it is a serious drawback to the present system that the District and Assistant Superintendents of Police never have any training in detective work, and it is not surprising that they should imperfectly supervise, in their subordinates, the performance of duties of which they have no personal experience. A good General must be himself a good soldier, if he is to maintain an efficient army and infuse energy into them and lead them to victory. Our Commissioners and District Officers who have to supervise and control the work of Subordinate Magistrates are trained as Judicial Officers, but our District and Assistant Superintendents never have the training of Investigating and Detective Officers. Whatever method may be hereafter approved by Government for securing better Superintendents of Police, they should, I think, be thoroughly trained in investigating and detective work.

14. I think the standard of education and general attainments required from an Assistant Superintendent of Police, and, by implication, from the District Superintendent, should be raised. I am therefore glad to see a suggestion made in

certain quarters that Assistant Superintendents should be chosen from unsuccessful candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service, who occupy high positions in the competitive examinations, but fail to secure appointments in the Civil Service. I think a better arrangement would be to hold a separate examination, with less stiff intellectual tests, but requiring better physical attainments. As the question of rewarding distinguished Inspectors of Police by promotion to the posts of Assistant and District Superintendents has been mooted in para. 11 of the Government Resolution, I think it right to say that European District Superintendents will be better able to drill and keep the Force in discipline, but there would be various manifest advantages in promoting distinguished and well-educated Inspectors to be the heads of the District Police. An Inspector has a thorough practical knowledge of the working of the Police, and often himself possesses detective ability, and, if he is honest and educated, he should make an efficient District Superintendent of Police. I understand that the few Inspectors of Police who were promoted to the posts of District Superintendents of Police during the incumbency of Mr. Munro as Inspector-General of Police, have generally worked well. I must say, however, that the standard of education of the Inspectors of Police at present in the service—who are almost, as a rule, promoted from the post of Sub-Inspectors—is generally low. But if some stiff intellectual tests were prescribed for Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, as I shall suggest below, and if these Officers had even remote hopes of becoming Assistant and District Superintendents of Police, a superior class of Officers would enter the service, who should, with experience and training, be fit for the highest posts in the Police Department. I am entirely against the promotion of Inspectors to Deputy Magistrateships. The few Officers who have been so promoted, have, if I am correctly informed, generally been failures. A good Detective will not be a good Judicial Officer. Quite different temperaments of mind are required for a Police Officer and a Judicial Officer. I have as much objection to promoting an Inspector to a Deputy Magistrateship, as a District Superintendent of Police to the post of a District and Sessions Judge.

15. The Inspectors of Police now rarely investigate cases. They are the connecting links between the District Superintendent and the Sub-Inspector and Head Constable, who are the Investigating Officers. They are virtually Assistants of the District Superintendent in the different Sub-Divisions. I think the inspection work should be mostly left to the District and Assistant Superintendents, and Inspectors told off to investigate the most important cases in the Sub-Division.

This will secure the services of experienced and able Officers for the detection of important crime. The investigation and detection of crime are now principally in the hands of the Sub-Inspectors. The method of their appointment in the different Districts is not uniform; their standard of education is generally low; and there is every reason to believe that they are untrustworthy. The Head Constable is an uneducated and ill-paid officer, and generally dishonest and quite untrustworthy; his powers are large, and it is too much to expect such an ill-paid and uneducated officer to discharge his important duties honestly. He often investigates important cases. As suggested in para. 14 of the Government Resolution, the Head Constable should be simply what his name implies. There should be a sharp line of demarcation between him and the Sub-Inspector; well-educated men of respectable families should be appointed directly to Sub-Inspectorships, and the post of Sub-Inspector should also be made attractive by an increase in pay. The lowest grade of Sub-Inspector now carries a salary of only Rs 30 per month, and no man of education and respectability can be expected to take up and honestly discharge the duties and responsibilities of a Sub-Inspector on such a low salary. The initial pay should be at least Rs. 50. The investigation of cases should be taken away altogether from Head Constables, who should be employed only in keeping the peace and maintaining order and making miscellaneous enquiries. The number of Head Constables could thus be reduced, but the number of Sub-Inspectors would have to be increased in proportion. The positions of Writer Constable and Constable may remain unchanged, but their salary should vary in different Districts, according to the costliness of living. Living in Eastern Bengal, for instance, is at least twice as dear as in Behar, and a Constable here practically gets half as much as he gets in the Upper Provinces.

16. I will now consider the best mode of appointing Sub-Inspectors, on which opinion has been invited in para. 14 of the Government Resolution. I think the most suitable and least objectionable method is limited competition. In the first place, only those should be admitted to competitive examination who possess certain physical and educational attainments. A certificate of respectability and education equal to that of an Undergraduate of the Calcutta University should be produced from some one who exercises any of the powers of a Magistrate; certificate of health and physical robustness from a Civil Surgeon; and a certificate of ability to ride well enough for administrative purposes from an Executive Officer of Government not below the rank of a Sub-Divisional Officer.

The candidates who satisfy these tests should then be subjected to a competitive examination in English Literature, History, Geography, Mathematics, Criminal and Police Law, and the number of vacancies filled up with the most successful candidates. Those who are selected by this examination should be kept on probation for a period of two years, and confirmed, if they give satisfaction. The examination would be best conducted in the Inspector-General's Office in Calcutta and at the head-quarters of each Divisional Commissioner.

17. A great deal of assistance in the detection of crime would be obtained from informers, if rewards were offered. People who have the requisite knowledge of crime, but have not sufficient sense of public morality to give information to the authorities and volunteer their evidence, would come forward if the temptation of rewards were thrown in their way. At present the offer of rewards under Rule 21, Chapter II, page 9, Volume I of the Police Manual, is rather rare. I think a reward should be offered in every important case, whenever the Police fail to discover the crime; and, in cases of offences against property, the Criminal Procedure Code might be so amended as to empower the Criminal Courts to order the owners to pay a certain proportion of the money value of property recovered as a reward to the informer through whose instrumentality the recovery had been made.

18. I come now to the last link in the chain of criminal administration,—the trial of cases. At present the Court Sub-Inspector looks after the prosecution in Police cases before the Magistrate. He is not a lawyer, and the prosecution generally suffers if questions of law are involved and good Pleaders are engaged for the defence. The Government Pleader cannot be engaged to appear for the prosecution in trials before Magistrates without the Legal Remembrancer's previous sanction. I think the District Magistrate should be authorized to engage the Government Pleader, or any other reliable Pleader or Mukhtiar practising in the District, to appear for the prosecution in trials before Magistrates when the Court Sub-Inspector is no match for the defence, and such a course appears advisable. I am inclined to think that there would be a decided improvement in the results of criminal trials if the Crown were better represented.

19. Regarding the absence of legal training among the Native Subordinate Magistrates referred to in para. 17 of the Government Resolution, I think the same objection applies to the Covenanted Civilians, but the latter are more in touch with the District Magistrate and Sessions Judge, and have therefore a much better chance of learning the mode of criminal trials than the former. The present system of appointing

Deputy Magistrates by examination and keeping them on probation for some time, is expected partly to remove the difficulty. As remarked in para. 16 of the Government Resolution, the supervision by the District Magistrate of the work of Subordinate Magistrates is not sufficiently systematic and persistent, and I think the real remedy lies in compelling the District Officers to examine regularly the Judicial work of their subordinates, and instruct them thoroughly how to try cases practically. The District Magistrate often finds fault with the Subordinate Magistrates, but he has very little sympathy with them, and, as a rule, he does not take care to train the Junior Officers, and there is not that kindly and frequent interposition without which there can be no real instruction. The District Judge, when inspecting the work of Munsiffs and Subordinate Judges, generally sits in their Courts, and hears how they conduct cases, and gives them practical instruction; but, as far as I am aware, the District Magistrate rarely does so in regard to his subordinates. The Judicial training of Junior Officers is never watched, or practically examined, by the District Officers, though he often examines their records and gives his opinion regarding the legality or regularity of their proceedings. He has to inspect the Revenue department of his office once every half year and submit a report, but he has to do nothing of the kind in connection with Magisterial work. I think District Magistrates should be made to sit periodically in the Courts of the Subordinate Magistrates, particularly Junior and Probationary Officers, to watch their mode of conducting cases in practice, and give them instructions then and there, and submit half-yearly reports of such inspections. This system would give them a better insight into the work of their subordinates, and, at the same time, enable them to train the Junior Officers. The Joint Magistrate, or, in his absence, the Senior Deputy Magistrate, might be deputed to examine and instruct the Junior Officers in the same way. Cases in which accused persons are discharged or acquitted, should be immediately brought before the District Magistrate, in order that he may take prompt action whenever the discharges and acquittals are found to be improper.

20. I cannot close this article without expressing my conviction that, to ensure a better administration of criminal justice, it is necessary that the Magistrate and the Police should be brought nearer the homes of the people than they are at present. Now they are often too distant and unfamiliar authorities, particularly in large and remote districts, and the result is that people in the remote mofussil often appeal to the Zemindars and other influential men for justice, and these men decide cases in their summary way. Only last year, in the District of Jessore, I found abundant evidence to show

that the Planters and Zemindars tried a large number of civil and criminal cases and even heard appeals. More Police Outposts should be opened, and Deputy Magistrates posted in the interior, just in the same way as Munsiffs. All this, of course, means increased expenditure of money, but the public should be protected from criminals, and the people should be glad to pay increased taxation, if that becomes necessary.

A. T. GUPTA.

The 15th December 1890.

II.

FROM the number of letters that are being published in the different newspapers on the subject of "Police Reform," it is evident that the question is one of some little interest to the public ; and that this should be so is not surprising, considering what an important part the Police play in the administration of a country. Many suggestions have been made as to the direction which the reformation should take, but all seem agreed that the first thing to do is to raise the pay of the lower grades of investigating officers. This would certainly be a step in the right direction, so far as it went, but the intention of Government appears to be to raise the pay of the *higher* grade of investigating officers, *i.e.*, the Sub-Inspectors, and, at the same time, to reduce their number ; that is to say, certain investigating officers will receive higher pay, but the bulk of investigating work will still be done by underpaid men. How this is to raise the morale of the Force, it is hard to see ; as it is not likely that men who are to commence their career as investigators on insufficient pay, will be kept honest by the distant prospect of possibly drawing a more liberal salary in their old age. As a matter of fact, the present pay of Sub-Inspectors is quite sufficient ; the cost of living for a native is regulated much more by his tastes and social standing than by his official rank, and Sub-Inspectors of Police are paid quite as well as clerks, and others, of the same social status and equal attainments. It is the Head-Constables on Rs. 20, 15, and 10, who now do the greater portion of the investigating work of the country, and whose pay requires raising. No officer should be entrusted with investigating powers whose salary is less than Rs. 30 or 25 a month. The Head-Constables on Rs. 20 and 15 might be employed for round duty, looking up bad characters, and similar irresponsible work ; and the grade of Rs. 10 should be done away with altogether. But if raising the pay of

investigating officers, be it in the higher or lower grade, is all that is contemplated, it will be money wasted. There is a great deal more that requires looking into ; and, if any real improvement is to be expected, radical changes must be made. To begin with the organization of the District Force. District Superintendents were appointed under Act V of 1861, by which Act the present Police Force—on the model, we believe, of the Royal Irish Constabulary—was first called into existence. Under certain sections of this Act, such District Superintendents were vested with full departmental powers over their officers and men, subject to the *general* control of the District Magistrate, and these powers were exercised by them from 1862 up to 1871 ; but the District Superintendents so empowered were chiefly Military men. They trod upon the corns of the autocratic District Magistrate of those “Jo Hookum” days, and strife arose ; and, to end this strife, Act V of 1861 was “amended” by *Circulars* of the Provincial Government, which created the District Magistrate actual and immediate Departmental head of the District Police, and made the District Superintendent his “Assistant” in the Police Department. But the District Magistrate has far too much to do ever to be the working head of the Police ; and, as a rule, if a Civilian, he has neither sympathy with, nor experience of, the difficulties of maintaining discipline in a large and scattered force, such as the Police.

The nett result of the changes initiated in 1871, and consolidated in subsequent years, has been the establishment of a system of dual control in each District, very advantageous to the peccant Policeman when the District Magistrate and District Superintendent do not pull together, but of no benefit to any one else. For, while it may be conceded that there ought to be one head of the District Criminal administration, it does not follow that he should also be the *Departmental* head of the working machinery. On the contrary, the Criminal Procedure Code recognizes the fact that a Policeman cannot be an impartial trying Magistrate ; and most Magistrates, and probably all District Superintendents, in Bengal, could quote instances in which the knowledge possessed by the District Magistrate, as Departmental head of the Police, prejudiced his action as a judicial officer. In fact, the Magistrate, as head of the Police, may be, and often is, in possession of information, which, as trying officer, he should not possess under the Evidence Act ; and he would need to be more than human if his judgment were not affected by this. In short, this system of dual control has not only impaired the value of the District Magistrate, as a judicial officer, but has practically stamped out the authority of the District Superintendent ; for it must

be obvious to any one possessing any knowledge and experience of the management and control of large bodies of disciplined men, that, unless the person in command is absolute, his position is an impossible one, especially where Asiatics are concerned; and the manner in which this dual control has worked in the Bengal Police is disclosed by the fact that, after nineteen years' fair trial, it has been found necessary to appoint a Commission "to enquire into and report on the causes of its present inefficient condition!"

The fact that this dual control system was introduced only after ten years' trial of unamended Act V of 1861, is no argument in its favour; for, in 1871, there was no police officer in Bengal of more than ten years' experience, whereas in 1890 there is no District Superintendent of less than twelve years' experience. From the Inspector-General down to the Assistant Superintendent, all had to begin in 1861, not only to learn their work and uproot the evils of the old Darogah system, but to evolve and establish a regular police organization suited to the country, and yet based on European experience and ideas. It was no light task, and it was not badly done. The older villagers of to-day can tell many a tale of the reign of terror in the Northern Bengal districts when the old Darogahs lived and flourished, and when dacoity was something more than "house-theft with sticks!" It should be remembered, in this connexion, that, when the new Police was started, the Darogah *regime* had been in existence for more than half a century. Under the circumstances, it was scarcely surprising that the "great improvements" looked for from the introduction of the new Police-system were not realized. It was hardly possible that they could be in the comparatively short time allowed. Moreover, the system itself was by no means perfect in its organization. For instance, for a Civil Force, the new Police, owing probably to the large number of Military men in the superior appointments, was far too Military when first started, and much of the time devoted to drills and parades would have been far more profitably employed in imparting instruction in law and procedure. But little faults of this nature could have been easily corrected without going to the length of changing the whole organization of the Force and cutting away the very foundation on which it stood.

There is probably no Department in the Indian administration of greater importance than the Police, nor any in which the subordinate officials have more power and opportunities for doing wrong. It stands to reason, then, that the supervision over such a Department, to be effective, should be in the hands of an officer who can devote his whole time and

attention to the work, and who is thoroughly acquainted with the character and qualifications of each of his subordinates. The District Superintendent is the only officer who can possibly be in this position ; but, unfortunately, under existing circumstances, his hands are so tied, that, though he may discover specific acts of the grossest neglect of duty or oppression on the part of his subordinates, he is powerless to make an example of them in that prompt and decisive manner which is essentially necessary for the maintenance of discipline and good order. For should the offender be a Sub-Inspector, the Magistrate's sanction must first be obtained to his punishment ; and, if of a lower grade, the man is at liberty to appeal to the same authority, and may even employ a Vakil, or a Pleader, to defend him. Under these circumstances, what real authority can a District Superintendent possess over his subordinates ? Yet he is practically held responsible if they are not all that they should be. It is really time that such anomalies were looked into honestly and disinterestedly. The Police-system of the country has attracted the attention of the public, and it is necessary that it should be opened out and laid bare. The present system has had more than a fair trial, and it is not too much to say it has proved a failure. There has been enough of patching-up and mending, and the whole fabric requires taking to pieces and setting up again on an improved pattern. Increased and improved European supervision over the District Police is one of the things most required ; and, to be of any use, it must be technical and absolute.

To proceed from District to Provincial organization, the great demand of all zealous District Superintendents of the present day is for organized co-operation and a system of centralization, the necessity of which was recognized when the new Force was first established in 1861. There was then a Deputy Inspector-General of Police at each Commissioner's head-quarters ; but these officers were, unfortunately, at that time, as inexperienced as all other Police officers of the period ; hence the grasping economy which seems especially directed at Police administration in Bengal, ignoring the necessity for organization, abolished these appointments before they could be justified by experience, and left each District a self-containing unit, and each District Superintendent an Ishmael whose hand was against every other District Superintendent. And so there are now but two Deputy Inspector-Generals, who have no stake or interest in any part of the Police administration, and whose weary round of automatic and stereotyped inspection must paralyze the most active intellect. Consequently the public need not be surprised to learn that there is no organization in the Police administration

of Bengal. Each District Superintendent works for his own district only, utterly regardless of his neighbours, and though there may be the strongest inter-district criminal combinations, there is no proper machinery for simultaneous action against them. Thus a criminal gang, driven from one district, take up with their friends in another, and quietly pursue their calling without let or hindrance. The Inspector-General holds the string of some forty odd districts, and no living man could work them without intervening agency. That this is to some extent recognized, may be assumed from the fact that, of late years, efforts have been made to drag the Commissioners of Divisions into the Police machinery. As they are, however, essentially revenue officers, and as they do not correspond directly with the Inspector-General, they are peculiarly unfitted to come between him and the District Police. Moreover, a Commissioner is not in any way subordinate to the Inspector-General of Police; in fact the latter is his junior, as is proved by the fact that all our most recent Inspectors-General have been *promoted* to Commissionerships. Hence it is impossible to suppose that Commissioners can perform the duties formerly done by Deputy Inspectors-General of circles, as subordination to the Inspectors-General of Police was an essential element in these appointments. The fact remains, therefore, that between the Inspector-General in Calcutta and his District Superintendents at their respective head-quarters, there is practically no supervising agency of any sort worthy of the name. We have already observed that these very important officers, *viz.*, Deputy Inspectors-General, were abolished hastily, and without being given a fair trial. Economy was one reason for their reduction; their incompetency was ostensibly the other. But the fact that competent men could not be found for these important appointments at that time was hardly a sufficient reason for doing away with the circle supervision altogether. There are very many District Superintendents in the Force at the present moment, with something like 25 to 28 years' actual Police experience; and if a judicious selection were to be made from amongst them, able and experienced Officers could now be found to fill these posts, and we could have a supervising agency in each Police circle that would go far towards securing something like efficiency, not only in each District Force, but in the whole Police-system. To obtain the necessary number of Deputy Inspectors-General for circles would be neither difficult nor expensive. There are at present two Deputy Inspectors-General, and seven 1st grade District Superintendents sanctioned, on Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 1,000 per mensem, respectively. The 1st grade District Superintendents are doing ordinary district work, which

could be as well performed by Officers of the lower grades.

The number of Commissionerships in Bengal is eight. Eight Police circles would therefore be required. Let the two Deputy Inspectors-General remain as they are for the two most important circles, say the Presidency and Patna, and make that the 1st grade of Deputy Inspectors-General. Convert the present 1st grade of District Superintendents into 2nd grade Deputy Inspector-Generals on the pay they now draw, and reduce their number from seven to six by absorption; the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th grade of District Superintendents being increased by the number of appointments required to fill districts, and the grade numbers changed to 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th. The selection for 2nd grade Deputy Inspector-Generals should be very carefully made, and *not* by seniority. Any officer now in the 1st grade, who might not be considered fit for a Deputy Inspector-Generalship, could be passed over, but allowed to continue in his grade till he retired; and as promotions to 1st and 2nd grade of District Superintendents are now to be made by selection, it is probable that only such officers as are considered fit for Deputy Inspectors-General will, in future, be promoted. Hence there would be no difficulty in selecting officers for Deputy Inspector-Generalships in the future.

The advantage of having an able and experienced Police officer at each Commissioner's head-quarters would be incalculable. He would be comparatively close at hand to each of his District Superintendents, and could effectively control the investigation and prosecution of all important cases; could deal promptly with all departmental matters, such as appeals from District Superintendents' orders regarding punishment, promotions, &c., and could inspect each of his districts at least once a quarter, or oftener if necessary, so that anything found going wrong, would be at once corrected and not allowed to continue as at present, from one annual inspection to another, to the detriment of good work.

The Deputy Inspectors-General could further be employed as Intelligence officers for their circles, and compile all the Confidential Reports of their districts, as well as all Quarterly, Half-yearly, and Annual Crimes Reports, thus relieving the Inspector-General of a lot of mere routine work, and giving that officer more time to devote to the more important duties of his office. A Commissioner of a Division would also be relieved of what may be called mere Post Office work, so far as his Police duties are concerned. For, in his position, he has few opportunities of learning anything of the Subordinate Police of his Division, and is often called upon to give an

opinion regarding an officer whom he has probably never heard of ; or to decide a case on appeal, of the details of which he can know little or nothing. District Magistrates, in like manner, being relieved of departmental responsibility, and much unimportant and purely routine work, would have more time, and be in a better position to supervise Investigating Officers' cases, and direct the District Superintendent's attention to such points as he might think necessary. In all matters relating to the Criminal administration of the district, however, the District Magistrate must remain paramount ; and not only should all correspondence, touching the crime of the district, pass through his office, but the District Superintendent should, in this respect, be entirely subordinate to him, and bound to carry out his orders, being a free agent only as regards Departmental matters, such as promotions, punishments, transfers, etc., in respect of which he would be subordinate to his Deputy Inspector-General, though, at the same time, he should be required to pay due regard to any recommendations made by his District Magistrate, and be bound to record them. Deputy Inspectors-General, being Departmental officers, thoroughly acquainted with the working of a District Superintendent's Office and the interior economy of the District Force, would naturally be in a far better position to detect flaws in the working of each district, and, if selected in the manner proposed, would be invaluable as guides and advisers to each of their District Superintendents. Under the present *regime* the work performed by the two Deputy Inspectors-General is, for the most part, of a purely clerical nature, as their inspections are so few and far between as to be of little practical use. Even when they do visit a district for any special inquiry, so much valuable time has been lost that they can do but little good. Thus it often happens that a District Superintendent of but a few years' standing, and of consequently little experience, is suddenly called upon to use his own judgment in some important case. He does the best he can ; but experience shows that he is not always successful, and scandals arise which would not have been possible had there been an experienced Police Officer at hand to guide and advise him. In such cases the District Magistrate is generally blamed ; but, as a matter of fact, his own duties are so heavy and varied, that an hour or two a day is the most he can spare for Police-work, and consequently he cannot be expected to know all the details of the Police administration of his district.

We have hitherto confined our remarks to the Supervising Agency only, and, having given our views as to how this might be improved, at little or no additional cost to the country ; we may now proceed to consider the actual working

staff. Assuming that the pay of the lower grades of Investigating Officers is to be raised by an increased Budget-grant, there remains only the question of how the number of Inspectors can be increased without incurring additional expenditure.

As matters stand now, there are not enough Inspectors in the Force; and the few there are, are so overwhelmed with clerical work and routine inspections, that they have but little time to instruct their subordinates in detective work. The consequence is that Head-Constables, when first entering upon their duties as Investigating Officers, have to feel their own way,—and it is a way full of pitfalls and dangers to them. The public, who cry out against the dishonesty of the Police, can scarcely be aware of the number of false charges brought against them every year, and pushed with all the ingenuity of a Bar at least as corrupt as the Investigating Police. Now this is all wrong. A policeman must be taught his trade in the same way as any other workman, and more Inspectors are required for this purpose; or, failing this, training schools should be established at each Commissioner's head-quarters, under the supervision of the Deputy Inspector-General, to which Writer Constables of the different districts in the circle, selected for promotion to Head-Constables, could be sent, and kept under instruction for at least six months, and required to attend the Courts and learn how cases are conducted. They would then go back to their districts armed with a certain amount of knowledge of Law and Police procedure, which could not fail to be of considerable use to them in their future career.

The Writer Constables of the present day, from amongst whom Investigating Officers are selected, have practically no *Police* training, properly so called at all, as they are exclusively employed in the clerical work of the station office, and never go out with Investigating Officers in the interior, as other Constables do. Hence the necessity for more Inspectors to instruct these officers, or training schools. Either would cost money; and money can be obtained, and that without interfering with anybody but the Police themselves. The Regular Police Force of districts in Bengal varies from 200 to 800; but in each district there are from 3,000 to 4,000 *Chaukidars*, who, if but paid regularly, would be better off than Constables of the Regular Police. This may appear an exaggeration at first sight; but it is not so. The average pay of a *Chaukidar* is Rs. 4 a month, and he can, in addition, stay at home and tend his cultivation. A Constable's pay may be a rupee or two more; but, out of it he has to pay for his clothing, often as much as Rs. 1-8 a month, and cannot add to his salary by cultivation or any other occupation. There is scarcely any duty which the ordinary *Thannah* Constable performs, that could not be as well done by the *Chaukidar*; and all that is needed is

to bring the latter under Act V, and thus make an efficient and useful Rural Policeman of him. His conditions of service would remain as they are; the only change would be, that, in the *first* place, he would get his pay regularly through the District Superintendent's Office, instead of irregularly through the Panchayet, as now, for the collections might be made in advance, and paid into the Treasury; *secondly*, in addition to doing watch and ward only, he would be required to perform all the Police duties of his village, such as service of processes, guarding persons arrested in cases, collecting information, and the like. If the present Chaukidari Force were to be reconstituted on this system, they would soon come to look upon themselves as public servants, and not the slaves of the Panchayet, as they practically are now; and much valuable information that is now suppressed and perverted, would find its way to station officers and render them material assistance in the detection of crime. The number of Head Constables and Regular Constables at stations could then be reduced by one half, and the money, thus saved, utilized to increase the number of Inspectors, or establishment of Training Schools, whichever might be considered best; and, by degrees, as the Rural Police became more efficient and self-reliant, the Regular Police Constables in the thannah might be still further reduced. With the reduction of the Regular Police Constables, the Regular Police Force of each district should be divided into two separate bodies, one for purely Civil, and the other for the *quasi*-Military duties. The former would not need any Military training at all, but should be well instructed in the rudiments of the Criminal Procedure Code and Police Procedure, and recruited entirely in the district, or from adjacent districts, and from among the literate class as far as possible. The Military portion, on the other hand, being required exclusively for guards, escorts, suppression of riots and such like *semi*-Military work, should be on a thoroughly Military footing, and on an entirely separate list from the Civil Police, as regards promotion to Constables, and ought to be recruited from up-country men—Nepalese, and other manly races—and armed with smooth-bore snider carbines, in place of the antiquated articles now in use. Their dress should also be as little conspicuous, and as serviceable, as possible, such as, khaki, serge, or drill. In fact, their organization and equipment should be as nearly as possible on the lines of the present Special Reserves, which would no longer be required, and might be broken up and distributed among the different districts, their strength being regulated by the conditions of each district.

If the Police Force of the province were thus separated, we should have a really efficient body of armed Police at every

district head-quarters, and a far more efficient Civil Constabulary than we have at present ; as the time now wasted in teaching Bengalis to handle a musket and turn out their toes could be devoted to instructing them in real Police work. In considering the reforms proposed, and the faults found with the existing Police, it would be as well to call attention, before concluding, to the enormous amount of clerical and other work not legitimately their own, that is demanded from them. The District Magistrate's "motto," in every single report required from him on subjects for which no special department is in existence, is "Ask a Policeman ?" Whether it be death-registration, crop return, rain-fall, preservation of survey pillars, ancient ruins, cattle disease, cholera epidemic, floods, or what not, it is always "Ask the Policeman ;" and, in the present Census operations, the Policeman again comes in as *ex officio* charge Superintendent. He it is who has to prepare lists, make maps, see to numbering of houses, etc., etc. ; and he alone, of all officials so employed, is to get nothing by it, except the blame if any thing goes wrong. Now, all these multifarious duties naturally throw an enormous amount of additional clerical labour on the Police, who have already more than enough. Why should not the Postal Department submit the rainfall, the road-cess, the crop returns, and survey pillar reports ? and might not the Education Department be reasonably asked to report on archaeological remains ? Why should these duties fall on the Police, the hardest worked of all departments ? The questions do not concern them at all, and the collection and submission of such statistics materially affects their efficiency in their own proper sphere of action !

There is one other point which we have omitted to mention, and to which it would be as well to call attention, *viz.*, that, while the Police have practically remained in "*statu quo*" as regards proper instruction in their duties, the criminal classes have advanced rapidly in knowledge and organization, and the experience they have gained is more than sufficient to baffle the comparatively weak efforts of the Police under its present organization. For instance, in cases of dacoity and theft, formerly the stolen property was, as often as not, kept by the thieves themselves, or their friends, and was not difficult to recover ; but in these enlightened days all this is changed, and there are now professional receivers and other machinery for disposing of such proofs of guilt ; so that a case, to be really detected now, requires no little skill, intelligence and detective ability on the part of the Investigating Officer—and such qualities are not to be acquired without special training. In short, a Policeman's trade is quite as difficult to learn, if not more so, than any other.

To sum up, then, we would suggest that, if any real and

lasting reformation is to be effected in the Police, it will be necessary :—

- 1st.—To strengthen the hands of the District Superintendents, by giving them actual instead of nominal authority ;
- 2nd.—To increase the Supervising Agency, by the re-appointment of Deputy Inspectors-General of Circles ;
- 3rd.—To raise the pay of lower grades of Investigating Officers, and devise better means for their instruction ;
- 4th.—To convert the present comparatively useless Chaukidari Force into efficient Rural Police, by bringing them under proper control ;
- 5th.—To separate the Regular Police into two distinct bodies for purely Civil and *quasi*-Military duties ; and, finally, to allow the Police to do their own legitimate work and that only.

One word touching the constitution of the Commission now sitting, and we have done. This Commission is avowedly a *Police* Commission called together to consider *Police* reforms ; yet, with the exception of the Inspector-General of Police (who is not himself a Policeman by profession or training), there is not a single Police Officer appointed to it. Surely this is not as it should be ! When such important matters as the future organization of the Police Force of the country are under consideration, the opinion of experienced *Police* Officers should be taken. There is no lack of such officers in Bengal, able and probably willing to give the country the benefit of their long and tried experience. Then why have they not been appointed ?

Y.

ART. V.—KALIGHAT AND CALCUTTA.

A'ryāvarta Map—Prepared and published by Babus Nagendra Náth Vasu and Upendra Chandra Vasu, Calcutta.

AT a recent meeting of the Asiatic Society was exhibited a Map of A'ryāvarta,* on a new plan. I then made some passing remarks on the site of our familiar *Káligháta*, shown in the Map, under its Sanskrit form of *Kálighatta*, कालीघट ! I subsequently made researches on the subject, the result of which is the following paper.

To account for the place of *Káligháta* in this Map, the history of its origin should, if possible, be gathered from the *Sástras* and from current traditions. The boundaries of *A'ryāvarta* have been developing, since the earliest notice of its name and limits, in various classes of Sanskrit works. The compilers seem to have given its extent according to the latest descriptions, and exhibited the sites of important ancient places, from such works as were available to them. Where do we find the first mention of *Kálighát*, and what is the approximate date of the first appearance of its name,, are the starting questions. Their solution is important, not only in themselves, but as connected with the foundation of Calcutta, the name of which is generally believed to have been derived from *Káligháta*.

The word *Káligháta*, † as a compound, means the *Ghát* of *Káli*, that is, the *Ghát* in the neighbourhood of *Káli*'s altar, or where people land to proceed to it. In time it gave its name to the locality where the shrine of the goddess is situated.

The legend of the goddess of *Káligháta* springs from the

* This map is intended to illustrate the article *A'ryāvarta* in the *Vistara Kosha*, a Bengali Encyclopædia of great value and importance at the present day. Besides the general information on all varieties of subjects which such works usually convey, it gives results of original research in certain matters, deals in Glossology, and aims at the very useful work of preserving old traditions and indigenous words and phrases which are fast disappearing. The Map seems to have been compiled as a chart of *A'ryāvarta* according to the different *Sástraic* authorities—the latest of which are the *Tantras*. The compilers indicate places mentioned in modern works by underlining them; *Káligháta* has this indicating mark.

† *Ghát[a]*.—One of its meanings is a landing-place on the riverside. In an amplifying and diminutive sense it is made *Ghátá* and *Ghátí*, respectively. So with the word *Hát[a]*, a market. *Ghát[a]*, *Ghátá* and *Ghátí* as well as *Hát[a]*, *Hátá*, and *Hátí* are to be found in innumerable names of places in Bengal, forming their terminal members.

story of the *Daksha Yajña*.* Sati, the daughter of Daksha, consumed herself in her wrath, at the insult offered to her husband Siva, at the sacrifice, by her sire. Siva, by the power of his *Yoga*, reclaimed her lifeless body from the fire, flung it on his shoulders, and, in this plight, in a terrific storm of maddening agony and fury at the bereavement, tramped about, in thundering steps, over all the regions of the world. Heaven and earth tottered from their foundations; the universe was threatened with utter annihilation; the gods trembled, and, in great alarm, sought the protection of Vishnu. Vishnu came to the rescue of creation. Fast flew his flashing discus, which shivered the corpse into fragments. Every spot, where one of these fragments, or any of her ornaments, dropped, became a *Pitha-sthāna* पौटस्थान (or place sanctified by the fall), where the spirit of Sati, no other than divine energy, came to be worshipped, under a particular name, with a specially-named Bhairava, or Siva, in his terrific form. The *Pitha-mālās*, or strings of names of these *Pithas*, with those of their presiding goddesses and Bhairavas, and a description of the particular relics that fell there, are given in various Sanskrit and vernacular works. Some of these *Pithas* are well-known places of pilgrimage; others have fallen into obscurity, and there are not a few which it is now difficult to identify.

According to orthodox Hindu belief, the *Dakshayajna* was celebrated in the *Satya Yuga*, when the toes of the right foot of Sati fell in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, in the locality which has, since the manifestation of its sanctity, been named *Kālipitha*, *Kālighāta* or *Kālīkshetra*, the presiding goddess being *Kālī* or *Kālīkā*, and the Bhairava *Nakulesa*. The *Pitha-mālās*, in different works, vary as regards the names and numbers of the *Pithas*, the relics which originated the *Pithas*, and other circumstances. It is an important point of inquiry—which is the earliest work that mentions *Kālighāta* as a *Pithasthāna*, or names the above deities in connection with any sacred spot?

Among the *Purāṇas* and *Upa-Purāṇas*, the latter class are admitted to be later productions, and of these the *Kālīkā*

* The *Yajña*, or sacrifice, is said to have been performed by *Daksha*, one of the progenitors of mankind, in Kanakhala, very near Haridwar; this place is, therefore, held as a place of pilgrimage. The legend has been variously interpreted. It has its mythical character as a story depicting, in Sati, the keen sense of a chaste wife for the honour of her husband and devotion to his interest; and, in Siva, the indissoluble love of a husband for his faithful spouse. It has its astronomical and sectarian interpretations also. Some point to it also as an allegorical representation of a geological phenomenon of ancient days. The main features of the story of this sacrifice form the subject of some of the sculptures at Elephanta and Ellora.

Purdna,* which introduces the worship of *Sakti*, as the wife of Siva, in her various forms, and perhaps first started the Pitha legend, is a work held in the highest esteem by the *Sáktas*, and it might be expected to exhibit 'a complete list of the *Pithas* ; but, instead of this, we find in it, in a certain passage, mention of a very small number of *Pithas* only, and among them there is no mention of *Káligháta*. This name may occur in some one or other of the *Puránas* and *Upa-Puránas*, but, so far as my enquiries have extended, I have not been able to ascertain it. The *Devi Bhágavata* is a *Purána* of doubtful authority, and, although it is a *Sáкта Purána*, and gives the names of 108 *Pithas*, it omits *Káligháta*. The *Tantras*,† acknowledged to be the latest of Sanskrit religious works, giving evidence of *Sectarianism*, in its extreme development, are often cited as authorities for the *Káligháta Pitha*. The number of these *Pithas* has, I believe, gone on increasing, owing to the necessity of imparting a character of sanctity to a place of *Devi*-worship, by identifying it with the locality where some relic of Sati had fallen in the *Satya Yuga* ; and the ever-multiplying *Tantras*, or passages interpolated in authoritative works, have been appealed to for such identification. *Káligháta* appears to be one of these comparatively recent places.

Some highly-esteemed *Tantras*, as the *Mahánirvána*, ignore this *Pitha* ; while others of less repute, as the *Brihat* or *Mahá Nila Tantra*, the *Acháranirnaya*, and the *Mahálingárchana Tantra*, reckon it in their *Pitha-málás* ; the *Tantra Chudámáni*, in its list of 51 *Pithas*, mentions it as *Kálipitha*. As regards other particulars relating to this *Pitha*, the first of the four *Tantras* last named, calls its presiding goddess *Guhya Káli*, or the unrevealed *Káli* ; the second gives also the name of the Bhairava of the place as *Nakulisa* ; while the fourth not only mentions the now popularly accepted number of *Pithas*, but seems to have been the *fons et origo* of the current *Káligháta* legend,

* I have consulted a Palmleaf manuscript of the work, indicated in its colophon to have been copied in Saka 1657, or 1745 A.D. The *Sabdakalpadruma* refers to the chapters in which the names of the *Pithas* are given in this *Purana*.

কালিকা পুরাণ mentioned in বায়ু পুরাণ।—See Colebrooke's Miscel-

laneous Essays, I, 112 ; Indische Studien I, 469 ; Rajatarangini I. 326 ; II, 468,

† The *Tantras*, as a class of works on the Saiva and *Sáкта* systems of religion, came into vogue at the closing period of Sanskrit literature, and their authorship being veiled in the dialogue of *Siva* and *Párvati*, their multiplication, with pretensions to antiquity, has become very easy. Still, however, the systems introduced by them have been traced to an age before the birth of Mahomed, and their number, as orthodoxically fixed, is stated to be 192, divided into 3 classes of 64 each.

inasmuch as it styles the goddess of the place *Káli* or *Kaliká*, and its Bhairava, *Nakulśa*, and states its holiness to be due to the fall there of the toes of the right foot of *Sati*. Hence *Kálipitha* must be accepted as an *alias* of *Káligháta*. *Kálikshetra*,* also an apt name for it, as designating the field or demesne of *Káli*, is said to occur in some *Purána*, but I have not been able to trace it.

The discovery of these names in the above works does not, however, help us in the least in ascertaining the time when the goddess was first set up, or *Káligháta* became a generally acknowledged place of pilgrimage, because, in respect of the dates of the works, we are left to pure conjecture. There are, however, some reasons for believing that the worship of the *Káli* of this place originated, in obscurity, sometime between the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century.

The *Ain-i-Akbari*, it is true, does not mention *Káligháta*, though it notices some prominent places of pilgrimage, and, in one passage, speaking of Hindu Cosmogony, &c., alludes to the name of *Mahá Káli*,† nay sets forth in the list of Mahals belonging to Sarkar Satgong (Saptagrāma) *Kalkattá*‡ itself. But the mere circumstance of the non-mention of *Káligháta* by Abul Fazl does not necessitate the conclusion that the place did not exist in Akbar's time, though, no doubt, it is presumptive proof of its not having acquired any great celebrity. The same may be said regarding the renowned Man Sing, Governor of Bengal and Behar, under Akbar, (who visited Jagan-nath Puri, and rescued it from the grasp of the Pathans) not having pilgrimised to *Káligháta*, even, when in 1589-90, while in pursuit of the Afghans, he had his cantonments at Jehanabad §, not many miles from the holy spot. It is certainly most unreasonable to suppose that the great Rajput chief, whose devotion to *Káli* was so great as to have induced him, after his victory over Pratápáditya of Jessore, to remove thence to his own capital, as the richest prize, the image of Yasaresvari-*Káli*, would have failed to worship the *Káli* of *Káligháta*, if the place had then

* In the *Indian Antiquary* (July 1873) a writer says: "According to the *Purānas*, a portion of the mangled corpse of *Sati* or *Káli* fell somewhere within that boundary (Bahula to Dakhinesvar), whence the place was called *Kálikshetra*."

† Gladwin's Translation of the *Ain*, edition 1800, page 298.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 191, and Blochman's Original Text vol. I, page 408. In the latter are given two other readings of *Kalkata* كلكا, as كلك (Kalna), كلكا (Kaltá and كلكا, talpa, but the learned Editor has relied, for, of course, the best of reasons, on the manuscript which gives the first reading.

§ Stewart's History of Bengal, edition 1813, p. 182.

possessed any great attractiveness. Pratápāditya also, the redoubtable Bengali chief who defied the arms of Akbar, and fought for the independence of his *Rāj*, was a distinguished *Sākta*, and was himself the founder of the Yasaresvari shrine; he might also be expected, if Kálighāta (not at any very great distance from his principality) had attained to any celebrity in his time, to have paid his devotions to the goddess of the place, with the *eclat* usual in those times; but instead of anything of this being recorded by any of his biographers, or by writers who allude to him in their works, he is said to have supplied a great want by the establishment of a Káli temple in his own *Rāj*. *

In the Tantra Chudamani above-mentioned, which, owing to its giving the currently accepted list of Pithas and the fullest particulars regarding them, has been cited in the Sabdakalpadruma of Raja Sir Radhakant, in his article on *Pitha*, occurs the name of this *Yasaresvari* (the goddess of Yasara [Jessore]), as one of the Pithas sanctified by the fall there of Satī's hand. Connecting this circumstance with the fact of Pratápāditya's founding the Yasaresvari shrine, we are not only enabled to demonstrate the origin of this Pitha at a date not earlier than that of Akbar, but to fix the date of the Tantra Chudamani itself. I should notice two other Pithas named in this comparatively modern Tantra, *viz.*, *Nalahātī* (the site of the present *Nalahātī Station*?) and Bahalā (Behálā, seven miles south-east of Calcutta), the names of the presiding goddesses of these two places being Kálíkā and Bahalā, respectively.

The Bengali work, known as Kavi Kankana's Chandi, was, as stated by its author, according to a certain edition of the work, written in Saka 1466, or 346 years ago, that is, twelve years before the accession of Akbar to the throne. In it, in the account of the voyages of Dhanapati and

* It is contended by some learned Vaishnaves, that, in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* (Life of Chaitanya), no mention is made of the great Reformer of Bengal having visited Kálighāta. Born in 1485 A.D., he flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century. During his peregrinations he came as far as Varāhanagara, but he never thought of seeing the Káli of Kálighāta. As the founder of Vaishnavism, his religious instincts might have repelled the idea of Sākta worship, but it is not unnatural to suppose that, if Kálighāta had been a known *Tirtha* in his time, he would have made his Puja for the sake of his beloved mother Sachi, who belonged to the sect of Sāktas and worshipped Káli. But this fact cannot be adduced as an argument against the existence of Kálighāta at the time. Chaitanya's travels being spiritual tours for conversion, he was led to go to places where he expected to gain his object, and not merely as a random pilgrim, to places reputed for their holiness only. There may be a thousand other reasons to account for his not visiting Káli, or for the non-mention of the goddess in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*.

Srimanta Sowdágár, occur the names of both *Káligháta* and *Kalikáta*. This would point to the recognition of the existence of the two places at least three or four reigns before Akbar, at any rate towards the end of the fifteenth century. A shade of doubt, however, is cast upon these facts, by the circumstance of a very good edition of the work by Babu Akshaya Kumara Sarkár, published from a MS. in his house, which had been copied in Saka 1649, or 163 years ago, omitting the passages in which the names of the two villages are mentioned, and nowhere else noticing them. These passages, however, are given by Akshaya Babu, as "various readings," in the form of notes.*

Bhárata Chandra, the famous Bengali poet of the last century, who wrote his *Annadá Mangala*, &c., in Saka 1674 (A.D. 1752), of course, mentions, in his *Pitha-máld*, *Káligháta*, as originating from the fall there of the four toes of Sati's right foot, and speaks of the presiding goddess as *Káli*, and of *Nakulesa*, as Bhairava. This proves that in the days of the Sáкта Mahárája Krishna Chandra of Nadiyá (Nuddeá), who was the Zamindár of "Pargana Calcutta, &c.," and whose Poet-laureate Bhárata Chandra was,† the current Káligháta legend had acquired maturity, and that, under some of the tolerant Nawabs of Bengal, but chiefly under British protection, even in the early days of the English period, *Káligháta* had reached the climax of its celebrity.‡

* It is said a holograph MS. of Mukundaráma Chakravarti Kavikan-kana is still preserved and worshipped in the house of some descendant of his, at Jehanabad, and a reference to it should dispel all doubt in respect of the mention of Káligháta and *Kalikáta* in his Chandi. The date of the work in the edition quoted by Babu Akshaya Sarkár is thus given :—

সকে রস রস বেদ সশঙ্ক গণিতা
অভয়া মঙ্গল গীতা গীলা মুকুন্দ।

Sake rasa rasa veda sasanka ganita,
Abhayá mangala gita gíla Mukunda.

† It is stated in the Life of Krishna Chandra that he was the constant companion of Aliverdi Khan (Muhabat Jang), and that during his trips on the river he used to read and explain the Mahábhárata to him. It is also said that he succeeded in obtaining from the Nawab a remission of arrears of revenue due from him to the amount of fifty-two lakhs or so, by cleverly taking, on one of these river trips, the Nawab's party on shore on the northern side of Calcutta, where there were settlements, and leading the Nawab on towards the south, where, in the distant thickets and woods, the roar of the tiger was heard, and wild elephants were seen, pointing to him the nature of his Zamindary, and the obvious reasons of his having been a defaulter. Such a favourite of the Nawab could not but have obtained from him concessions in favour of the Káli shrine.

‡ The celebrity of Káligháta could not have been very great even as late as the days of Aurangzebe; otherwise its shrine could not have escaped the iconoclastic fury of that fanatical monarch.

It appears, upon the authority of a Mahomedan writer, * Nawab Muhabbat Khan, whose peaks of Calcutta at a somewhat later time, that there was an assignment upon the Calcutta lands for the *Sevd* of the *Káligháta Káli*.

Thus much for records of a historic character, showing it to be very probable, according to Kavi Kankana (if the passage, as above referred to, be proved to be genuine, on reference to the holographical Chandi, said to be still available), that *Káligháta* existed sometime during the fifteenth century, as a *Guhya-tirtha*, or not very well known sacred place of worship, but that it acquired celebrity at a very much later period. Of Calcutta it may be said, moreover, that it not only existed as a Mehal at the same period, but was of sufficient importance to be reckoned by Todar Mull, in his Bengal Settlement, in 1578, as one of the important tracts of Sarkar Satgong, and to be assessed, along with Barbakpur and Bakuá, at 936,215 Dams. † Mythically, *Káligháta* may, of course, claim priority over Calcutta, but historically their comparative antiquity is uncertain.

Let us now see what tradition has to tell us about the origin of the present *Káligháta*. Once upon a time, it is said, a *Seváyet Sannyási*, one of the *Dasandhis*, who had become a follower of the tenets of Yogi Chauráangi, and Jangal Gir (Giri) by name, was known devoutly to worship a certain symbol of the goddess *Káli* at some place on the eastern outskirts of the old site of Govindpur ‡ (now occupied by Fort William), where the Presidency Jail at present stands. The *Káli* image worshiped at *Káligháta* is made up of different members of the body, mechanically adjusted together; the real sacred object being, it is believed, the veritable stone emblem which the *Sannyási* used to worship, and which is supposed to have fallen from heaven

* Nawab Muhabbat Khan wrote "A General History of India from the Time of the Ghaznivides to the Accession of Muhammad Akbar, at the close of the year 1806," which bears the title of *Akhbar-i-Muhabbat*. In giving the history of the foundation of Calcutta by 'Mr. Chanak' (Job Charnock), the writer says: "Calcutta formerly was only a village, the revenue of which was assigned for the expenses of the temple of *Káli Devi*, which stands there."—*Elliot's History of India, &c.*, vol. VIII, p. 378.

† *Dam* was a copper coin in the days of Akbar, equal to the fortieth part of the rupee. At first it was called *Paisah*, and also *Bahloli*. *Blochman's Translation of the Ain.*, p. 31. At this rate the three towns paid into the Imperial Treasury the annual sum of 23,405 and odd rupees.

‡ The Dutch map of Valentyn, compiled in 1656, gives Govindpur in the guise of Governapore, and Sutanuti in that of *Chittanutte*, and in their proper names they appear in histories, the earliest mention therein being in 1698, and in the surviving unpublished records of the East India House much earlier.

to mark the place where the toes of Sati had fallen in a former age.

To account for Jangal Gir's selecting any particular spot in Govindpur* for his worship, when it was thickly covered with jungle, a story runs that, when this wandering devotee was roaming there, he frequently saw herds of kine making a detour from their beaten-path towards a particular point, and, after a while, returning to their usual course. One day, he followed them, and found, to his surprise, that, on arriving at a certain place, they, one by one, stretched their legs over it, and allowed their milk to flow from their udders for a few minutes. He brought this to the notice of the cowherd, and, with his aid, having the ground excavated, discovered the symbol (of which he had been previously apprised in a dream).†

The exact spot where the symbol was for the first time set up, is not known, but there is no question that there was a ghât ‡ on the bank of the river, somewhere between the sites

* The reason why Jangal Gir Chaurangi selected this site on the confines of Govindpur for the establishment of his *Tirtha* is apparent. Although situated in a belt of jungle, infested, as it was at the time, with all kinds of wild beasts, he saw that he and his goddess would be within the reach of human aid. He looked to the then few inhabitants of Govindpur for his maintenance and that of his goddess. He settled at the place, not with the object of practising austere penances, or of living in absorbed meditation, or in chronic starvation. Had it not been for the village within call, he would perhaps have settled somewhere else in a more accessible or advantageous situation.

But his goddess was destined to be shifted from one locality to another. Her shrine, if any, at Chaurangi (it is said to have been a wooden house), was demolished, when Govindpur was taken for the purpose of building the new Fort; she was removed to Kulghâta, where she was similarly housed, if not on the very site, but in the vicinity, of her present temple, till, subsequently, in 1809, the Sâvarna Chaudhuris of Behâlâ erected for her the present temple.

† Professor Oppert, in his original *Inhabitants of Bhâratavarsa*, Part I, gives an anecdote in connection with the great religious reformer Râmânúja, which presents a striking analogy to the miracle by which the Kâli symbol was discovered.

A poor, but pious Pariah, had observed that a cow approached every day a white ant's hole, and let her milk drop into it. He searched and discovered that the image of Celvapillai was concealed in it. In consequence, the Pariah took compassion on the cow, and supplied her daily with fodder. Râmânújâchârya was at this time dreaming of this Celvapillai image, and the Pariah showed it to him. The god was enshrined, and, as a reward for the discovery by the Pariah, Râmânúja allowed him to enter the temple (low-caste as he was) in future for three days in the year. This privilege is enjoyed by the Pariahs in the neighbourhood of Melcotta, the chief seat of the followers of Râmânúja, and in other places in the south. An analogous story is related in connection with the Târikesvara symbol of worship. The Mahalingârchana Tantra, alluded to in the text, names Târikesvara as a Pitha-sthan in *Rarha*.

‡ This ghât could not have been on the A'di-Gangâ, near the present temple, a plunge into the waters of which precedes (almost as a rule, to

on which the Barabazar and Prinsep's Ghâts stand, at which the pilgrims and people across the river, or from the neighbouring village, used to alight for the purpose of proceeding to her worship, and which soon, acquiring the name of Kálighâta, gave, in turn, its own name to the present locality so called, and the title of the religious order of her first or earliest *Sevayet*, *Chaurangi*, soon became the eponym of the splendid *Maddn* that now graces our city.*

In looking for correct information about the *Yogi Chaurangi*, we find his name mentioned in the *Hatapradipa*—a work on certain *Yogis*—as one of the thirty-one *Yogis* therein mentioned. Wilson, in his *Religious Sects* (p. 215), gives these names on the same authority, with various readings which he noticed in the extract in the "Berlin Catalogue," No. 647. He makes *Chaurangi* the sixth teacher in succession from the first A'dinâtha, and Goraksha,† the contemporary of Kabir, the eighth. Now, as the *Bhaktamâla* and the *Ain* describe Kabir as the bold defender of his faith, when summoned to the presence of Sultan Lodi (1488—1518), *Chaurangi* must have lived in the early part of the fifteenth century, and Jangal Gir Chaurangi must have been one of his earliest followers.

"Chaurangi,"‡ again, as a mauza or village, is mentioned in the *Ferdî Sanul*, § annexed to the Sanad for the Free

wash away all uncleanness) the performance of the Pujâ (worship), because the goddess was not removed to her present site till a much later period.

* A pilgrim road ran through the place, the Old Chitpur Road, so named from the goddess Kâli under the name of *Chitresvari* of Chitrapura (Chitpur).

† This is the celebrated Goraksha Nâtha mentioned by Abul 'Fazl. He was one of the nine Nâthas, or spiritual teachers, and author of several works; and many places in India, from Peshawar and Nepal downward, have derived their names from him. Among others there is a locality near our Dum-Dum named *Gorakshavasti*, where Siva and Kâli and other images are worshipped, and where there are images also of Goraksha Nâtha himself and of some one or other of the thirty-one *Yogis* alluded to in the text (vide *Upâsaka Sampradâya*, Vol. II, pp. 136-138). The late Babu Akshaya Kumâra Datta, in his *Upâsaka Sampradâya*, disputes the statement of Professor Wilson, that the thirty-one *Yogis* mentioned in the *Hatapradipa* were successive teachers of Yoga. He gives the whole passage from the work, and shows that their names are mentioned only as so many eminent *Yogis* (*Runphat Yogis*). But even if we assume that they were not persons who followed each other in succession, as *Guru* and *Sishya*, but *Yogis* who lived in succession of time in the order in which they are named, the argument in the text will not be affected.

‡ The word Chaurangi is a compound which may be split in various ways to give different significations to it, and the word has also many conventional meanings; but this is not the place to dwell upon them.

§ Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements, &c.*, Vol. I, pp. 26-27. *Fardî-sanul* is explained in some authoritative Glossaries to be a petition which is annexed to a Sanad.

tenure of Calcutta, &c., to the East India Company, under the seal of the *Chhota* Nawab, or Miran, the son of Mir Jafar. It is there described, as belonging in part to Pargana Calcutta and partly to Pargana Paikan. This was in 1758-59 : but it may be safely argued that it had its place, along with Govindpur and Sutanuti, in the Sanad of 1696, which, however, is not now forthcoming in the Records of the East India House, and there is no means of verification, except by evidence of earlier periods, or by the surviving records in the families of the Zamindars from whom the historic " Villages of Calcutta, Chuttanuttu and Govindpore " were purchased, by order of Azimus-shan, Aurungzeb's grandson.

Leaving Calcutta, for the present, let us remember that it has been shown to have existed long anterior to the reign of Akbar, at least, and that Sutanuti and Govindpur, so far as records go, are traceable to the early part of the seventeenth century. Information gleaned from private family records, in respect of these last two places, sheds, however, some further light on the Káligháta question.

Some centuries ago, when the river Sarasvati, at Satgong, showed incipient signs of silting up,* some of the people of that place, especially the mercantile and trading classes, felt the necessity of removing elsewhere. Hughli then was becoming an important mercantile town ; but, among the great merchants, five opulent families, one of Sett and four of Bysacks, emigrated to and colonized Calcutta. They arrived at the site of Govindpur, and, having cleared the jungle, settled at the place, excavated tanks, built houses and other structures, among which was the shrine of their tutelary deity, Govindjee, † to commemorate whose name they called the new settlement Govindpur. ‡ They established

* Satgong stood on the banks of the Sarasvati. It lost its commercial importance, which it had enjoyed from the most ancient times, when the river silted up, in 1520, or 1530 (Hunter).

† Still worshipped in the Thakur-bari within the *demesnes* of Baistab Das Sett, east of the Mint. The paved compound, or yard, is several steps below the level of the road. Conservative as the families are, they prefer to preserve Govindjee's sacred Thakur-bari in its antique state. In the *Bhog* (*menu*) of this and their other deities, removed from Govindpur to their subsequent home at Barra Bazar, potatoes find no place, not only because they were not introduced into the country at the time of their settlement, but because they are exotic, and therefore not fit for divine food.

‡ There are many localities bearing the name of Govindpur. In many of the Sircars also of Akbar's time, places with this designation are to be met with. Its name, as well as that of Sutanuti, or Chuttanuttu, might have been expected to be found in the table of Sircar Satgong, in the Ain. It may be presumed, however, that at that time, as at a subsequent period, Calcutta comprehended these two villages ; or perhaps they had been changed to some temporary names now unidentifiable. Could Barbakpore and Bakua, two mahals which appear bracketed together

also a cloth market, which was named Sutanuti Hât—a mart for the sale of skeins of thread and woven cloth—and from this the village in which it was situated was called Sutanuti. In the earlier Sanads this Sutanuti Hât is mentioned. The early Sett and Bysack settlers are also said to have patronised, in some sort, the worshippers (Pujaris) of the Kâli in her first obscure abode,—but did not much care for the goddess ; these families being, as their successors still are Vaishnavas.*

These five families count now seventeen generations from the first Patriarchs who landed at the place, with their families, to the present time :—

		Generations.
1st.	Makundaram Seth ...	17.
2nd.	Kâli Dâs Bysack ...	16.
3rd.	Siva Dâs Bysack ...	15.
4th.	Bârpâti Bysack ...	15.
5th.	Bâsudeva Bysack ...	15.

The families are endogamous as their Gotras shew :—

- 1st. Sethji, Maudgalya.
- 2nd. Bysack (Kâlidâs) Agnivesma.
- 3rd. Do. (Siva Dâs) Allodri Rishi.
- 4th. Do. (Bârpâti) Amba Rishi.
- 5th. Do. (Bâsudeva) Brahma Rishi.

We find that their emigration† occurred nearly 425 years ago ; and, allowing them three generations at least to establish their influence in their new abode, and to spread their business, we trace back the discovery of the Guhya Kâli, and Kâlîghâta, in Chowringhee, or in the purlieus of the village of Govindpur, to some period in the early part of the fifteenth century.

The first Portuguese ship that sailed up the Hughli river in

with Calcutta in the said Table, have been these changed names ? or did the unnamed ports and markets therein mentioned comprise them ?

* This accounts for the miserable shelter the goddess originally had in the way of house accommodation. While at Chaurangi, the goddess fared badly—a wretched hut is said to have served for her temple. The earliest inhabitants of Govindpur, the Setts and Bysacks, under whose protection she and her *sewayuts* lived during their earlier days, and for some length of time, who had built in their town of Govindpur a number of temples for their tutelary gods, could have easily, with the wealth at their command, provided her, the presiding deity of Calcutta, with a stone temple ; and if they did not, or if they suffered her to vegetate in a wooden house, it was not owing to any feeling of irreverence towards the goddess, but because their rigid faith in Vaishnavism forbade their taking part in a worship thoroughly Tântic in its rites, and in which the sacrifice of animal life is a *sine quâ non*.

† They abandoned one maritime port, to establish another down the river, probably attracted by the prospect of Western enterprise that had just dawned, or begun to dawn upon India in search of the golden fleece, in the shape of cotton and cloth.

1530 is said to have transacted her business with the Setts and Bysacks at Sutanuti.

We thus arrive at some definite conclusion regarding the approximate age of the foundation of the worship of Káli of Kálighát, and hence of the place itself.

The Tantra Chudámáni, by reason of its mentioning in its Pitha mála the name of Yasaresvari of Jessore, consecrated by Pratápáditya, is placed among works written in the time of Akbar, if not later, and as it also mentions Kálípítha, or (Káligháta), we must regard it as being first mentioned in a Sanskrit work which cannot be assigned to an earlier date than between 1556-1605.

Assuming the genuineness of the passages in Kavi Kankan's Chandi in which Kalikátá and Káligháta are mentioned, the earliest mention of the latter in a Bengali work would be in 1544.

The Chaurangi, or rather Jangal Giri, legend, connecting it with facts gleaned from the Hatapradipa, would point to the origin of this Káli worship somewhere between the latter part of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century. Reference to the Setts' and Bysacks' genealogies and the traditions of these families carry back the origin of the worship at least fourteen generations, that is to about 1470.

To those who know the difficulty, and, in most cases, impossibility, of solving chronological problems in respect of events of Indian history, or occurrences of importance relating to our country, not only those of ancient period, but even such as are conjectured to be of modern date, it would certainly appear most interesting that, with reference to the origin of the Káli worship of Káligháta, evidence of such satisfactory character as I have shown, should be forthcoming from perfectly independent sources, all tending to place it beyond doubt that the Kálípítha originated in Govindpur towards the end of the fifteenth, or perhaps the beginning of the sixteenth, century. There is a Purána the title of which occurs in generally accepted lists of such works, but which diligent investigations have pronounced to be not available now in all its integrity, or in any very reliable form, *viz.*, the *Bhavishya*, which relates, as its name imports, to future events, being, in fact, 'a Book of Prophecies.' In a fragment of this work, called the Brahma Khanda, there has been traced a passage which refers to the *Vargabhimá*, goddess of Támra-lipti (Tamluk), and of Káli, on the outskirts of Govindpur, on the side of Suradhani (the Bhágirathi), * and thus remarkably

* ভানু লিখে এ দেশে বর্গভীমা বিরাজতে ।

গোবিন্দপুর প্রান্তে কালী স্বরধনী তটে ।।

confirms (in its main features) the tradition I have already mentioned, and, what is also most important, proves, so long as nothing else turns up to contradict it, the origin of the name of Káligháta, or Kálighatta, to be subsequent to that of Govindpur, and hence this proximate date of the Tantras and other Sanskrit works in which the former name occurs.

Resuming the thread of the tradition of the origin of the Káli worship in the purlicus of Govindpur, which was languishing under the cold patronage of the successors of the early Vaishnava settlers of the place, we come across a supplemental anecdote, that, the miraculous discovery of the Pithasthán gradually getting wind, people began to resort to the holy spot and a pilgrim path was, in course of time, laid out. The Sáкта Sávarna Chaudhuris, after their settlement at Behálá, and acquisition of zamindaries* in the neighbourhood, in the time, it is said, of Aurungzeb (1658-1707), removed the Káli symbol from its original place to its present locality. Many years later, some representative of the family, in order to expiate the sin of having accepted a gift (princely though it was) on the occasion of a big *Sráddha*† of doubtful purity, spent it in raising the

Támralipte pradese cha Vagabhlímá virájate,
Govindapura prānte cha Káli Suraghani tate.

Bhavishya Purāna, Brahmakhanda, 22, 9.

* Tradition gives some clue by which to trace the time when the Sávarnas removed the Káli symbol from its original place to its present locality. There lived, it is said, four Bengalis, very able and clever men of business, three among them being Bráhmanas and one a Káyastha, who, under the Mogal dynasty, held responsible posts in the Khalsa Department in Bengal, and for having rendered satisfactory accounts to the Delhi Darbar, when they had been summoned there for the purpose, received the title of Majmuádár (Majumdár), and who have since been known as the four Majumdárs of Bengal. Rúghava was an Uttarrágha Káyastha, the ancestor of the Zamindars of Pátuli and Bansberia—the ten-anna and six-anna Mahasayas, now represented by the Sewraphuli Rajas, &c. The three Brahmans were Bhavánanda Kesharikuni (Keshwar Ghani?), Ratnesvara Vandvopadhyáya (Banerjee) and Lakshmikánta Gangopadhyáya (Ganguli); the first and second were respectively the ancestors of the Nadiya Rajas, and of the Dumurdah Babus, and the third was the predecessor of the Sávarnas, who settled at Behálá to enjoy the zamindaries he had received as a reward from Aurangzebe. He must have cut a figure, therefore, sometime between 1658 and 1707. Hence the removal of the symbol must have taken place between the time of Lakshmikánta and the exodus of the Govindpur settlers, when operations for the erection of Fort William had commenced.

† It was during the palmy days of the celebrated millionaire of Calcutta, Ramdulal Sarkar, when Kaliprasad Datta, an ancestor of the Hathkhola Datta family, had to celebrate the *Sráddha* of his mother. Almost all the Hindus of rank, wealth, position, and of high caste, combined, even with his kith and kin, not only not to respond to his invitation, but to prevent Adhyapakas and other Brahmans from helping in the ceremony by their presence, and acceptance of gifts, because he was known to have had a Mogal girl of surpassing beauty under his protection. Ramdulal, in grateful remembrance of the favour he had received from Kaliprasad's predecessor (his

temple which still subsists ; and Káligháta, the boundaries of which had at first, with the dawning celebrity of the goddess, extended far and wide, became, under later fiscal arrangements, reduced to its present limits in the 24-Parganas. When preliminary steps were taken for constructing Fort William in Govindpur, the settlers of the place were moved out, with such compensation as was awarded to them, and with this event disappeared the works of these people, the original site of Káli worship, and the very name of the village.*

In 1698, the situation of the three villages—Chuttanuttee, Calcutta and Govindpur—may be thus described :—The first occupied the northern part of the native quarter of the town, and form the Táluka that was given by Lord Clive to Maharaja Nava Krishna, whose descendants still own it ; the third stood on ground now known as the new Fort William ; while the second (Calcutta) intervened between the other two, including the site of the old Fort, and subsequently of the Import Godown and Custom House. Its site is now occupied by Burrabazar and the chief European houses and buildings.† Though Calcutta, as already noticed, was recognised as a Mehal of some importance, in Akbar's time, it is singular that no mention of its name has as yet been found to occur in the annals of the subsequent period, for a very long time. Colonel Yule, in his diligent explorations in the East India House and other places in England, having discovered an allusion to this in the oldest papers, says this (" 16th August 1688 ") is the earliest surviving record in which, so far as he was aware, he found the occurrence of the name of Calcutta, and in respect of Chuttanutti, its earliest

mother was a cook in the family), whereby he had raised himself from pinching poverty to the climax of fortune, assured Kaliprasad that, so long as his iron chest remained full, he need not fear. He therefore began to bid against the combined rich men of the town, in the distribution of presents to the Brahmans, and succeeded in seeing the ceremony properly performed, with some *clat*. Ten thousand rupees was the final bid of Rumdul for the Sávarnas. They received it and graced the ceremony with their presence, but disgorged the money in the pious and penitent fashion mentioned in the text. The Sávarnas were not the highest Brahmans, but they had earned the position of Brahmana Goshthipati by their patronage of Kulinas. This caste conflict of the time is known to this day by the apt name of *Kaliprasadi Hangámd*.

° In Smyth's Report, already referred to, there is mentioned a Thana in the 24-Parganas still bearing the name of Govindpur Thana.

† Chatanuti, Kalikáta, and Govindpur formed the English settlement. The first is the Chuttanuti of the records, and occupied the northern quarter of the present city ; the second (Calcutta) the site of the present European commercial quarter, St. John's Church and the Barabazar ; and the Gobindpur area was occupied by Fort William and its Esplanade.—*Vide* page lxxxviii, Vol. 2, Diary of William Hedges, published by the Hakluyt Society, and the Documentary Memoirs of Job Charnock.

surviving mention he traced to correspondence of the 31st December 1686, which was dated from that village ; but he subsequently found mention of this place, as well as of Govindpur, in some edition of the English Pilot and Old Marine Charts of 1675, thereby, of course, leading to the presumption of their existence in olden times. It is to be noted, however, that such was the obscurity of Calcutta, not to speak of Govindpur, for a long time, after the three villages had become well known to the English, that all their old correspondence was dated from *Chuttanuttî*.

It was at this Cottonopolis (Sutanuti)* that Job Charnock, at this time, took shelter, after the ruin of Hugli factory by the hostile proceedings of the Nawab. Here he entered into negotiations with the Nawab's representatives and framed those articles, or stipulations which, in a great measure, formed the basis of future agreements. Here† he lived with the early factors, and a handful of soldiers, in huts and hovels, tents and boats, until they could provide proper habitations ; and here, in July 1690, he pitched his tabernacle, for the third time, in the shape of a factory which held, in an embryonic state, the germ of an empire which now owns the East ; and, to quote the words of Yule : " If we have a very strong imagination, we may fancy the crabbed old agent chaunting :

*'Terna tibi hæc primum triplica diversa colore
Licia circumdo, terque hæc altaria circum
Effigiem duco, numero deus impare gaudet.'*"

The primal elements of our city were the three sister villages of Sutanuti, Calcutta and Govindpur, the first and third in the early days taking prominence ; and they were welded together

* Diary of W. Hedges, vol. iii, pp cxx and ccxii.

† Suttanattee Ghât, at present called Ratholla Ghât (*vide* Map attached to the Selections from Unpublished Records of Government), is said to have been the place where Job Charnock alighted, and put up in a shed in the Nim tree grove, a part of Jora Bagan, after which the Burning Ghât (Nim-tala) was subsequently called. [What a sad thing that these old names of localities—the landmarks of history—are wantonly and recklessly brushed aside to make room for mushroom celebrities ! The Bysack Digi—Kali Bagan (or Garden of Plantains)—of the Bysacks, now called " Marcus Square," is another instance of Vandalism !]

Family tradition says : Job Charnock's successors removed to Govindpur, because they found it more convenient for the transaction of their business with the Setts and Bysacks who resided there, and easier to get at the Bazar for supplies and necessities of life. Sutanuttee, in the earliest days, was, with the exception of a small clearance (where the hât or mart used to be held, since called Hatkhola Ghât), a regular jungle, till the Setts and Bysacks gradually cleared it, improved the place, and turned it into their Suburban gardens—Sett Bagan ; Jora Bagan, established by a brother Sett ; Kala Bagan ; Goa Bagan. They likewise established Bazars in places as they came to be inhabited :—Burra Bazar, Bow Bazar, Radha Bazar, Lall Bazar and Lall Digi, Bag Bazar, Sobha Bazar and Sham Bazar.

in the 1698 under the Sanad of Azimasshan. Next after the Grant of Ferokhsere in 1717, out of the 38 neighbouring towns which it granted to the Company, several were added to the amalgamated villages; then others were, from time to time, brought within the Company's bounds, till these combined localities, as exhibited in the Free Tenure Grant, in 1757, formed the city of Calcutta almost as it now is.

The designation of Calcutta is now applied not only to our city, which has for its component parts many old villages, with histories of their own, but to a Pargana which comprehends the city and many villages, at various distances from it; and this Pargana again, is one of several which pass under the name of the district of 24-Parganas.

In the *Aini Akbari* (1578) Calcutta, as before stated, is mentioned as a *Mahal* which, with 52 others, was included in Sarkar Satgong. In the Grant of Ferokhsere (1717) the three historic villages abovenamed are alluded to as belonging to Pargana, Amirabad, a name which still survives as one of 24 places which constitute our 24-Parganas. In Mir Jaffer's Parwanas and other documents is seen the name of Calcutta, as applied to a Pargana side by side with Pargana Amirabad and others, and it is there described as situated in Chuckla Hughli, Sircar Satgaum, in the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengal. Lastly, about the beginning of December 1758, in one of the annexures to the Grant for the free tenure of Calcutta, Mauzas Govindpur and Sootalootce reappear, with Chowrungee and other now familiarly known places in our city, as belonging to the Pargana of Calcutta, while the town of this name, as comprised in it, is mentioned under the designation of Dihi * Calcutta. Any person wishing to write a systematic history of Calcutta, and to cull information regarding its origin, and its relation to many of its neighbouring old villages when it was itself one of such humble places, as well as in respect of many interesting topics which should form materials for this work, but which have, in many instances, not seen the light, or been only passingly alluded to, and in others have been erroneously described, will be amply rewarded for his toil, if he diligently searches among the Government Records in the East India House and other archives in England, and especially among the vast masses of papers in the Calcutta Board of Revenue and the Collectorates of Calcutta and the 24-Parganas. In the latter (the Board) there are also certain papers in the vernacular, which have, it is believed, scarcely been handled or examined with any care, and others which are perishing from the effects of time and the ravages of worms and various other causes. Steps have already been

taken by me to move the Government to see papers of such historic value duly utilised, and I hope for some favourable result.*

Coming now to the ancillary question of the eponymic, or derivative, relation between *Kālighāt* and Calcutta, it is contended by some learned friend, with whom I have discussed the question, that, whatever may have been the early date of the mere entity of the name of *Kālighāta*, *Kālipitha* or *Kālikshetra* (its celebrity being only of a recent period), *Kalkatta* cannot, in the light of history or religious usage, be a corruption of the word *Kālighāta*. *Kalkattā*, again, is thus pronounced by the up-country people, while the Bengalis write the word *Kalikātā* কলিকাতা, and hastily pronounce it *Kolkātā* or *Kolketa*, কোলকাতা or কোলকতা. It is natural to suppose that the name of our city originated in Bengal, and not in Upper India; it is also noticed that in *Urduising* Bengali compound words generally, the terminal vowel of the first member is dropped, the medial of the second when long, is shortened, and the final consonant is doubled, we have, therefore, from the Bengali *Kali-kātā*, by eliding *i*, shortening the medial *ā*, and doubling *t*, the Urdu form as pronounced, through in the *Ain* it is spelt *Kalkātā*, كلكا. To suppose now that the Sanskrit *Kālīghatta* had first passed into the Bengali form *Kālīghāta*, on the Tāntrik authority of the former name, and then from the latter into *Kalikātā*, would necessitate the shortening of the *ā* of *Kālī*, transmuting the *gh* of *ghāta*, into *k*, and prolonging the terminal *a*. All this, with the exception of the prolongation, which is often done in respect of *ghātā*, is, it is argued, against linguistic rules; not to mention the fact that names of places, having *ghāta* for their terminal member, have been preserved not only in the Bengali, with only such changes as *ghātā* and *ghāti*, but also in Urdu and some foreign languages. This difficulty was seen by some, and they got hold of *kshetra* in the compound *Kālī-kshetra*, in order, as they thought, to derive *kātā* from it more easily; but apart from other serious objections, they should have remembered that *kshetra*, as an adjunct to a word, is generally preserved, as *Jagannātha kshetra*; the greatest change it undergoes being in the form *kshet*. It is needless to dwell upon the other imaginary derivation of the word Calcutta as from *Kālī-kotā* (the

* In his last annual address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Mr. Beveridge, late President, thus refers to the subject :—"I am sorry to say that he (Babu Gaur Das Bysack) has received a temporary check by his not having been allowed to examine the records of the Board of Revenue, which are believed to contain many Persian and Bengali papers relating to the origin of the native town. I trust, however, that this difficulty will one day be overcome."

fort of Káli); *Kali-kutta* (the destroying Káli); *Káli-kartri*,* and so forth.

No Hindu, not even the most ignorant, will corrupt, in hasty utterance, much less in writing, the name of such a universally worshipped deity as Káli into Kali or Kol. The derivation of Calcutta, therefore, from *Kálighat* or *Kálikshetra*, &c., as generally accepted, is philologically, and from a Hindu religious point of view, impossible.

It is needful to notice here that Major Ralph Smyth, Revenue Surveyor, in his Statistical and Geographical Report of the 24-Pargana District, 1857, ignores altogether the name Calcutta in his statement of the three villages of which our city consisted in 1696, and uses, instead of it, the word *Kalee-ghatta*. Is this due to his idea that the two places were identical in that early period, and is it supported by any data? The question is one which can be solved, like many such problems, as before observed, by an examination of records relating to the fiscal arrangement of olden times. Aitchison, in his *Treaties, &c.*, relating to India, speaks of the Grant of 1696 as missing, otherwise reference to it would have settled the point. In that most valuable book of reference, the *Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer* for 1841, Vol. II, 3rd Ed., the compiler, in speaking of the first Grant of "Chuttanuttee, Govindpur and Calcutta," says that the latter was "dedicated to the goddess Calee, the whole taking the name of the last, Calcutta." This confirms the statement of the Mahomedan writer already cited regarding the assignment upon Calcutta lands for the expenses of the service of the goddess, and hence arises an additional temptation to derive the word Calcutta from Káli, or compounds with Káli for one of its elements.

It is, however, apparent that, though the theory of the

* The Mahomedan writer mentioned in the text and referred to in a previous note, thus derives Calcutta from a *Káli* compound. After saying that Káli Devi was the assignee of the Calcutta revenue, he proceeds to his etymological explanation: "As in the Bengali language the words Kartá and Kat mean proprietor of that Káli, in course of time, by the elision of the *i*, it began to be called Calcutta." A note is added to this passage by the learned editor of Elliott's History, that "this is not very logical or comprehensible." But a Bengali will easily see how this has been brought about. *Káli-Kartá* (erroneous form of *Káli-Kartri*), vulgarised *Káli-kattá*; thence by the exchange, (a violent supposition) of the medial vowels of the two members *Káli-kattá*, then very easily *Kál-káta*. The writer, however, wanted to get at the Hindustani form *Kalkattá* (Calcutta); he therefore suggests the elision of *i*. Objectionable as this derivation is, for some good reasons, it does not seem to be so bad as many others. Calcutta would mean, according to the above way of etymologising, the city of which Káli is the mistress in the light of her rights to its revenue.

derivation of the word Calcutta, or *Kalikāṭṭā* from *Kālighāṭā*, or any of its *aliases*, is repugnant to Hindu notions and linguistic rules, there subsists an intimate connection between these places in many respects, and many a historical or traditional anecdote may be pointed to in illustration of this. *Kālī*, *par excellence*, is regarded, to this day, as the guardian deity of our city, and we are reminded of this fact, every evening, when the cannon booms from the ramparts of Fort William to announce a certain hour of the night—*Bom ! Kālī !* exclaims the Bengali Hindu, and *Bam Kālī Kalkuttādwālī* ejaculates, with vehemence, the Up-country Hindu.* This practice, however, is fast disappearing.

It thus appears that, while one of the oldest Paurāṇik legends has been appealed to, and Tāntric authorities are cited, to impart to Kālighāt a most sacred character, an obscure tradition helps us to trace the origin of the magnificent Maidan of our city to the name of the Chaurangi sect to which a worshipper of her spouse belonged.

* *Bom*, or *Bum*.—This represents a sound which, in the course of the Siva-Puja, every Hindu makes by striking gently his blown cheeks with the thumb and fingers of his right hand—a sound which, it is said, Siva is greatly delighted with. *Bam Mahadeva ! Bam, Bam, Hara, Hara ! Bam Kālī !* are ejaculations with which visitants to the shrines of Benares, Tīrakesvara, Kālighāṭa and such other places, are familiar. Besides the explanation of its being a mere sound pleasing to Hara and

Gauri, or Siva and Kālī, some say that it is only *B* (ब) and *Om* (ओम्),

the *B* being the inevitable initial sound, while uttering *om* with the operation above described. Others point to the *Dakṣha Yajña*, and allude to the story of the resuscitated trunk of decapitated *Dakṣha*, with a goat's head attached to it, when Siva had forgiven him, being transformed into a grotesque being, when, in trying to breathe out a hymn, he first uttered *Bom*. Since which *Bhola Mahesha*, a popular epithet of Siva, forgetful of injuries, and always easily propitiated, has taken a fancy for the sound, and it has formed a part of the religious service in respect of him. Others urge that Siva's name, as *Vyoma Kesa*, abbreviated into *Vyoma*, might have been vulgarised into *Bom*. The *Mahā nātuka* describes Ravana in the disguise of a Yogī appearing before *Sītā*, when he wanted to steal her away, ding-donging his *damaru*, clapping his arms against his sides, and bom-boming while striking his cheeks. The *Kalkāṭṭādwālī* of course expresses the possessory right to Calcutta which Kālī is believed to have, and accords well with the historical account of Nawab Muhabbat Khan. The phrase simply means also—of 'Calcutta' (fem.)

Upwards of three decades ago, on the day of Chait Sankranti, when our old year closed, and the Charak, or swinging-festival in honor of Siva, used to be celebrated, as well as on the preceding, or *Banphora*, day, the streets of Calcutta and the road to Kālighāt, what with Sannyasis for the nonce, torturing their flesh with horrid devices as penance, and what with devotees and spectators, teemed like a surging ocean of human beings.

Daily, in connection with some one or other of the domestic affairs of almost every Hindu home in Calcutta, in hopes of success, of the fruition of some fond wish, or of averting evil, in customary

A departure from the long prevailing practice of connecting the name of Calcutta with the goddess Káli is to be found in an incidental allusion to it by Sir William Jones, who, in one of his letters to Samuel Davis, dated off Champal Gaut, 20th October, 1792, thus writes : " We are just arrived, my dear Sir, at the Town of *Cali*, or contention (which is the proper name, and a very proper name of Calcutta).*

'Dissension,' indeed, is one of the meanings of the word *Kali* कलि. Raja Sir Radha Kant, again, in a Bengali Hymnology which he composed at Brindaban, about a quarter of a century ago, christens the town (কিল কীলা নগর) *Kil-Kilá Nagara*, "town of joyous sounds." Kil-Kilá, in this sense, is met with in many Sanskrit writings. This name of our city is said to have been accepted by the Raja from some Tantra.

In his Cyclopædia, however, he omits its geographical signification, and possibly he may have met with it in this sense in some work after the compilation of his *magnum opus*. Strange names of even European countries and nations are here and there met with in the Tantras. Some of these works give the name of the English people as অংরেজা, Angareja, from Angles, changing *l* into *r*, according to a well known rule of Sanskrit Grammar, or perhaps adopting it from the Mahomedans, and call London Londeje লন্ডেজ. It would not be quite unjustifiable to suppose that, in former times, there may have existed some reasons in connecting and confusing the names of Calcutta and *Calcutta* or *Calcula*. The last mentioned-place was noted by W. Schoulten in 1664.

Hamilton says the first town of any note on the river side is Calcutta, a market town for corn, coarse cloth, &c. "Above it is the Dutch Banks Hall, it has a large deep river that runs to the eastward;" and Valentyn (p. 158) says : "Calcula, Mondelghât, and some other places below, supply most of the wax and hemp that we require." Colonel Yule says : "The name Calcula (perhaps *Khol Kháli*) seems quite to have disappeared.

Pujas, in a thousand-and-one votive promises of gifts, on days of every new moon, but especially on the Káli Puja festival day, and on the closing day of our year—the *Siddha Káli* of Kálighat is devoutly remembered ; sacrificial offerings pour on her altars, and streams of people pass and repass to and from her shrine, bearing some tokens of the Puja accepted by her. Káli, besides receiving free-will gifts from the people of Calcutta, as from those of other parts of India, exacted a revenue from the Metropolis of India to which her original worshippers are credited with having given the name. We now know, surely, that these are the elements of this romance of the history of our City of Palaces.

* Transactions, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, p. 23.

The creek is probably represented by that now called Vanzan creek," which, again, he says, upon a high marine authority, has now silted up, and, strange to say, this *Calcula*, in an old chart, says Yule, is miswritten *Calcutta*, an error which he supposes "due to the engraver in 1703 having heard of Calcutta." In a map (1770), which the Colonel saw in the British Museum, and which the compiler describes as having been "drawn from the best authorities by Thomas Kitchen, Geographer," he found this *Calcula* had been made into *Calcutta*, and our Calcutta itself was entered in its proper place as *Calicotta*,* and he supposes this map to have been copied from some French map, because the Isle of Dogs is given in it, as *Ile des Chiens*.†

In this connection it is worth while to mention that the well-known place *Gholghât*, which the above-named Nawab Muhabbat Khan describes as the locality near Hughli where the Company's factory was mentioned, and which Orme has made Golgot, and Herron in his *Sailing Pilot* (1675) has called *Gullgat*, has been strangely transmogrified by Frenchmen and confounded with Calcutta. Lallier (1702) calls Calcutta *Golgouthé*, and Sonnerat, though he himself names our city Calicuta, explains in a note that it is *la capital des établissements Anglais dans le Bengale Les Anglais prononcent et écrivent Golgota*.‡

Some English writers seem to have adopted this French name with a slight mutation, for we find the *Gentleman's Magazine*, printed in London, in 1738-39, in describing the hurricane of 1737, which visited Calcutta and was accompanied by a violent earthquake, announces that in *Golgota* alone, a port belonging to the English, two hundred houses were thrown down, &c. From these latter designations the transition to *Golgotta* (the City of Skulls) was easy; and it soon became the significant *sobriquet* of our city, when most parts of it were overspread with jangal, when the Salt Lake to the east was far bigger and had begun to silt up, and when, all round and within, open cloacas, of all dimensions and in all their ramifications, loaded the atmosphere with their pestiferous vapours, and the servants of the Company at the close of the rains used punc-

* Stewart in his History of Bengal (p. 2 to p. 346); Sonnerat in his *Voyage aux Indes*, &c. (Tome I, p. 15) have spelt Calcutta almost exactly in the same way in which it has been spelt in Kitchen's map (1770) referred to in the text, in which, as well as in Stewart's, it is Calicotta, while Sonnerat makes it Calicutta, almost like the Bengali form Kālikātā.

† Diary of W. Hedges, Vol. II, pp. ccxii, and ccxii.

‡ Elliot's *History of India* &c., Vol. VIII, p. 379, and Hedges's Diary Vols. II, p., xlviii, and ccxix. and Sonnerat's *Voyage aux Indes*, &c., Tome I. p. 15.

tually to draw up their wills in view of the certainty of approaching death.

Suraj-ud-daula, to commemorate his victory over the English by the capture of Calcutta, changed its name to that of *Alinagar*, or *Allahnagar*, the town of Ali, or "the port of God," according to different interpretations ; but this title subsisted only for the brief period of a year, and was dropped after the battle of Plassey.

It must now appear, from the preceding facts and reasoning, that, as the name Káligháta, or Kálikshetra, could not have come into existence before that of Calcutta, the favourite theory of the word Kulkutta or Kalikáta or Kolkálá being a corruption of the former, or of any Káli compound, should be abandoned. It is always a fatal error to seek for Sanskrit words only as the origin of designations of places in India. Professor Oppert, who is conducting his researches in respect of the ancient non-Aryan population of India, justly observes that "the derivation of names of Indian localities from Sanskrit words, as is usually done, should be discontinued, unless where such derivations are well-supported." Calcutta, or any of its various other forms, is a peculiar name ; no other place in Bengal bears this designation or any other very similar to it ; and this may also be said, with greater force, of Sutanuti, and some of its other forms. There is a hill estate in the Ganjam District called *Kalicate*, which, with some others, was separated from Orissa, in 1730, and brought under the Madras Presidency ; and the once celebrated seaport town of Calicut, in the British district of Malabar, seem to bear a very great resemblance to the name of our city. In respect of Calicut, it is singular that even Persian writers of Indian history were misled by the sound of the word into giving it a Káli origin, and calling it *Káli-kot*, though the true history of the place betrays their error. Tradition derives the name from *Koli-Kodu* 'a cock crowing,' "as Cheranian Perumal gave his sword and all the land, within *cock-crow* of a small temple, to the Zamorin" (Balfour's *Cyclopaedia* and Thornton's *Gazetteer*). Kálkatta, again, having been mentioned in the *Ain Akbari* as a place of some importance, it has been presumed that it must have existed a long time before Akbar in order to have acquired a noticeable character in the reign of that Emperor. Fifty years back, that is, about the last decade of the fifteenth century, would be the safest minimum limit. But there is nothing now to show for, or against, the supposition of its having existed centuries before the birth of Akbar. It is only the fiscal records of Bengal of the pre-Akbar period either in the Government Khalsa Daftar, or in any other public or private archives, which, if forthcoming, could be expected to throw any light on the subject. Geology,

of course, can calculate approximately the time when the deltaic region of the Ganges, where Calcutta stands (now a hundred miles from the sea), might probably have been formed and become fit for the habitation of such rude people as are still to be met with in similar localities. From that time to Akbar's is surely a prodigiously long lapse of ages during which that region must have been inhabited (despite forests and wild beasts) by one or more tribes of human beings, or successions of them.

A theory which a very learned friend suggests, based, as it is, on philosophical grounds, and perhaps possessing a shade of historic plausibility, is, that Calcutta was derived, in its chaste Bengali form, *Kalikātā* and vulgar, *Kolkātā* from *Koli-kā-hātā* (Hindi कोलि का हाता) and *Kōl-kā-hātā* (Hindi कोल का हात) meaning the settlement of the *Kōlis* or of the *Kols*: the aspirate *h*, when following a long vowel, is generally dropped in hasty utterance, and we have कोलिकाता (chastened into कलिकाता) and कोलकाता, and the one form, or other, may be Urduised into *Kalkātā*, *کَلکَا*.

The investigation of this theory is as yet very incomplete. It seems to indicate that, after the incredible volumes of Ganges-borne Himalayan *debris* had mainly built up the present site of our city, and when, according to geologic laws, it became in a manner fit for human habitation, its autochthones were the *Kols*, or perhaps, in some later period, a tribe of Kolis had their settlement on this side of the river.

It is curious, moreover, that the deities *Siva* and *Kālī*, are supposed by some, with much probability, to have been borrowed by the Hindus from the aborigines of India—in spite of their analogies in the Egyptian Osiris and Isis. *Siva*, as the Lord of the *Daityas* and *Dānavas*, of Nandis and Bhṛingis, with his Ophidian ornaments, and his consort *Kālī*, as the Mistress of *Dākinis* and *Rākshasis*, nude, and with ornaments of human skulls, have, it is said, been emblematised, allegorised and sublimated in Paurāṇik literature. Their myths, in one or other of their many phases, are strangely connected with Calcutta, specially through *Kālighātā*.

GAUR DĀS BYSACK.

ART. VI.—DILUVIAL SETTLEMENTS.

A proposal for the better Administration of newly-formed Chur Lands.

THE shortcomings of the Bengal Police are now under the serious consideration of Government and the public, and a Commission is about to be appointed for the purpose of improving the Force. While much has been said, in Resolutions by Government, and in newspaper articles, on the subject of the improvement of the qualifications of the Lower Grades of Police Officers, by raising their pay and other means, but little notice has been taken of the fact, well known to all District Officers, that, in most Districts, the Police are grievously overworked. Important as it is to improve the status of the Police, and, by increasing their pay, to draw better men into the Force, this will not be sufficient to remedy the present admitted inefficiency, unless, at the same time their work is much reduced, or the Force is greatly strengthened in numbers. It is very unlikely that Government will be able to go far in increasing the numerical strength of the Force, while, at the same time, raising the pay of the men and officers; and any measure, which will afford any material relief to the Police Force from their present excessive labours, is deserving, on this ground alone, of consideration. If, at the same time, it promises to secure an efficient and peaceful administration in lieu of the lawlessness and oppression which at present prevails in many alluvial Districts; if it affords an easy and peaceful way for proprietors, whether small or great, to vindicate and assert their rights to newly-formed lands; and if it reduces a notoriously riotous and lawless class of ryots to the position of peaceful and law-abiding tenants, it will, unless it appears calculated to produce incidental evils, at least deserve serious consideration.

It has for a long time been forced upon my attention, in the course of administration of Districts in which, owing to the action of the rivers, large areas of land are constantly being newly formed, that the present system, by which possession of these lands is secured, is in every way most unsatisfactory. It affords a direct incentive to lawlessness and violence. It is the cause of a great number of riots of the most grave and serious nature, frequently attended with murder. Under the conditions of the present law, a class of rayats, known as *charna* rayats, has grown up in the great alluvial Districts, who are

the terror of the proprietors, the bane of the Police, and the cause of constant anxiety to District Officers.

In the Districts of Eastern Bengal, through which flow the enormous rivers of the Ganges and Brahmaputra and their tributaries, no year passes without some square miles of land being cut away in some places and formed up in others. With the land thus lost, unless Government happens to be the proprietor, the District Officer is not concerned ; but it is otherwise in regard to land which is newly formed. It is not only that part of it may belong to estates of which Government is the proprietor, for this gives him little anxiety, since it can be dealt with quietly and at leisure, but he can be certain that so surely as land of any value is formed, so surely will there be riots and breaches of the peace arising out of disputes as to possession. As District Magistrate, he will have to use every power which the law gives him with the utmost vigour, if he is to maintain the peace of his District, and, even when he has strained every effort to maintain peace, it is probable that, because he cannot bind down the disputants until some overt act of the nature of a breach of the peace has been committed, very serious riots may occur before he can interfere. In the end it happens, as often as not, that after an enormous amount of labour and trouble in determining the possession of the land, he may have, under the present law, to give possession to a claimant who has not a shadow of right, and who directly profits from his own violence and lawlessness, joined to profuse and unscrupulous bribery and expenditure in the Law Courts.

This appears to be a strong indictment, and, in order to make it clear that it is a true one, it will be necessary, for the sake of those who are unfamiliar with this aspect of Mofussil experience, to explain some of the methods resorted to by proprietors in taking possession of newly-formed chur lands. I will show what are the rights of the proprietors, how they proceed to enforce their rights or supposed rights, and the measures which the District Magistrate can take to preserve the peace of his District when it is disturbed by such disputes.

I have already said that in some Districts, enormous areas of land are very frequently thrown up in one year. The extent of the changes which take place in the great rivers of Eastern Bengal can hardly be realized, but some idea of it can be formed when I say that, in one case which has come to my notice, the River Ganges had twice gone backwards and forwards between two points twenty miles apart in the course of a century, *i.e.*, since the preparation of Rennell's Map, which is the earliest survey we possess. Similarly, when the Brahmaputra left its old course, which was through the

Mymensingh District and north of the Dacca District, and, cutting south, joined the Ganges at Goalundo, leaving Dacca to the East, enormous and continuous changes occurred. Though no such extensive and continuous changes in one direction have taken place of recent years, those who are familiar with the rivers of Eastern Bengal, know that not a year passes without very great changes. If a river, setting steadily in one direction, continues to cut away one bank and to form up new lands in its old bed and adjoining the other bank, this is not perhaps the most difficult case to deal with. The greatest difficulty arises from the apparently altogether erratic nature of the changes which take place, lands forming one year as accretions to one bank, then disappearing and reforming again, perhaps as islands, in another year, and now again joining on to one bank and now to another. The exact history of their actual method of formation is a most important item in determining the rights of the claimants, and it is most difficult to determine. The lands have probably at first formed as low sandy churs, worthless for every purpose, and, so long as they offered no prospect of permanency, were little noticed by any body. It is only when they form up as high lands, and some deposit of good soil occurs, or where, from the recent changes of the rains, it appears probable that this will soon happen, that their value is recognized, and only one who has had enquiries to conduct in connection with such lands will know how much contradictory evidence can be produced to show in what way the lands really did form, and how many are the possible ways of formation.

Now the rights of proprietors to newly formed chur lands are of two principal kinds. If such lands reform on the site of an estate for which the proprietor has continued to pay the Government revenue, the proprietor is entitled to it. In Bengal, estates are often very much scattered, and are not situated necessarily, or even usually, in one compact block. A proprietor cannot—except on the occasion of a Special Government Dearth Survey, which can only be made once in ten years, and is in fact made much less often—relinquish a part only of his estate. If, therefore, only a part is washed away, he must either retain, or throw up, the whole estate. He generally, therefore, retains the whole estate, even where the part which has been washed away forms a large proportion of the whole; for the permanent revenue is usually much below the rental of the estate, and his receipts from the part which is left may be sufficient to make this course profitable. It is also the case that, unless absolutely compelled to do so, few proprietors will part with land, and only poor proprietors who cannot continue to pay the revenue will surrender these diluviated estates.

The second claim is that a proprietor is entitled to all accretions to the lands of his estate. Until such a Dearah Survey, as I have already mentioned, occurs, he holds such lands free of revenue. This right is apparently regarded as a set-off against the risk he runs of having his lands washed away. Even after a Dearah Survey, this proprietor is entitled to settlement of the accreted lands at fair rates, and is given the first refusal of them.

There is a further claim which can be put forward exclusively by Government, *viz.*, the Government claim to all islands which form in the bed of a river, which occupy a site unsettled with a private proprietor. As, however, the District Officer is not likely himself to commit riots or breaches of the peace in asserting Government rights, this right need not occupy us at present.

A very little consideration will show that, in the absence of any accurate record of the history of the changes of a river, and in the absence of any reliable surveys fixing the exact position of the several estates in the neighbourhood of the re-formed lands, an enormous variety of claims, founded ostensibly on the two former rights, can be put forward to one and the same block of land, or to parts of it. A part may be claimed as re-formation *in situ* of an old estate; another part as accretion to this re-formed estate; while all the neighbouring Zemindars from far and near will try and show that the lands first began to form on to their particular estate, and not to those of their adversaries. For, of course, an accretion to an accretion to which a proprietor is entitled, is as good as an accretion to an original estate. Then these claims may be further complicated by claims arising out of former suits, when the lands were in a previous state of existence. As many of the maps accompanying these old decrees are not scientifically made, and often show no connection with any recognizable place on the face of the earth, or a very doubtful and uncertain connection, the *bona-fides* of these claims cannot easily be determined.

With such a variety of possible claims and such a large possibility of future litigation, it is obvious that it is of the utmost importance to gain the "nine points of the law" which possession is proverbially said to give. Indeed, considering the immense difficulty in proving a case of this nature as opposed to standing on the defensive and breaking down the attack of other claimants; considering also the extreme probability that, long before such cases can come to a final decision, after having passed through all the stages of appeal, perhaps up to the Privy Council, the lands will have again disappeared,—it may fairly be said that, in such cases, possession is not *nine*, but *ninety-nine*, points of the law. Further than this, it must be remembered that

in Bengal a Civil suit forms a claim to distinction, and a landholder once engaged in any claim for land with his neighbours, will fight to the last, and spend all his money, rather than give in. A case of this kind is not looked upon merely as a commercial speculation, to be surrendered if it is unprofitable, but as a matter, for distinction, and for the sake of prestige, to be fought at all costs. This will explain in some measure how desperately hard proprietors will frequently fight to gain possession of comparatively valueless chur lands. In a case recently before me, I was assured, that, even before the parties had gone to the High Court, no less than Rs. 11,600 had been spent by one party, and Rs. 4,800 by another, while the area in dispute was only some 1,500 bighas of land, as yet quite unfit for cultivation, which may very possibly be washed away next season. This, it must be remembered, was spent for gaining possession only, and before any suit was brought in the Civil Court. There was also much additional expenditure in the High Court on appeal in this possession case.

It sometimes happens that, owing to losses of land in the neighbourhood, or to deterioration of old lands, new lands are in great demand by the rayats. In such cases the surrounding rayats are eagerly on the look-out for new culturable lands. Directly such lands form, they are seized by the neighbouring villagers. Two villages will often try to seize the same lands, and when this is the case, some of the most serious fights, that are known, take place. Each village will try and find a proprietor to support it, and will attorn to any proprietors who will assist it. More often, however, it is the proprietor who sets the ball rolling. Rayats, of themselves, or instigated by a proprietor, will settle on the best parts of the newly-formed lands. Usually these rayats pay no rent to any one, and will, at the most, only make promises of payment. If pressed for payment, they look out for a rival claimant, or possibly the rival claimants come forward without being sought. In either case it is the same thing, one claimant is played off against another. Usually the proprietor, if the rayats do not hold lands elsewhere under him, and so are not, in a measure, under his dominion, will give *dakhilas*, or rent-receipts, without receiving any rent, and he often pays the rayats to take his *dakhilas*. Then the rival claimant will make better offers. If these are unsuccessful, force is usually resorted to, and then the trouble begins. *Latials* may be sent down to intimidate the rayats, or other rayats may be sent down to seize and occupy the lands, to cut the crops, &c. *A' priori*, it would seem a very simple thing to prevent this; but practically it is most difficult. An Officer goes to the spot, the two parties hear that he is coming, and he is met by crowds of rayats, each of whom

swears that it was he who sowed the crops; that he has been many years in occupation of the lands; and has built the huts, if there are any, and so on. Lately, in such a case, which eventually came before me, the enquiring officer found some fifty huts built on platforms in two or three feet of water, and, in each hut, he found two rival rayats, each swearing vociferously that he had built it, and occupied it every day up to date. It may be said that a careful enquiry will show who is speaking the truth. Practically, in the enormous mass of perjured evidence thrown at the Court, nothing is so difficult, and it usually happens that the whole of this class of evidence, which, however, the Magistrate is bound to wade through conscientiously, is put aside, as utterly unreliable. The question of possession has usually to be decided on quite other grounds, generally, partly on the more or less independent evidence of Police, or other Officers, who have visited the spot, or on general considerations arising out of the nature of the several claims, and what may be known of the history of the formation of the chur. For, curiously enough, in a most illogical manner, though the Magistrate is, by the Criminal Procedure Code, expressly confined to the question of actual possession, he is permitted to consider claims and titles *so far as they may bear on the fact of possession*; that is to say, the evidence as to title is to be admitted; and, though the Magistrate must not base a decision upon it, he may presumably allow himself to be prejudiced by it. In one case, extending over some square miles, I had to hear 450 witnesses, and the hearing of the case extended over six weeks. To save time, the land was blocked, and plotted plans were prepared. Each witness stood upon the plot he was to swear to, and of all the thousands of plots in dispute there was hardly one for which two rival rayats did not swear. The witnesses gave their evidence-in-chief in the field, and were cross-examined afterwards in the cutcherry-tent. Of course, only a few were cross-examined at any length. It was clearly in the power of either party to prolong the enquiry indefinitely. At least half of this enormous mass of evidence, which, under the existing system, had to be taken, must have been perjured, and probably nearly all of it was wilful perjury. In another case recently tried by me, for almost every plot in dispute there were not *two*, but *three* rival claimants, cultivators who swore they had sown and reaped the crop in each case for some two or more seasons. A very active Officer, who manages to get on to the land in dispute before he is expected to do so, will invariably find most marvellous

discrepancies between what he sees and what the reports disclose and the witnesses declare. The experience of many Magistrates in this respect would form a long chapter on the magnificent and illimitable capacity of invention of the Bengali witness. But, though undoubtedly useful in getting at the truth, such activity in no way precludes the ultimate necessity of having to wade through oceans of perjured evidence, at great expense of time and patience.

One of the incidents of proprietorship on which most stress is laid in the Mofussil, is the erection of a cutcherry. This may be only a small hut, with thatched roof and mat walls. The walls and the roof will be taken at night, ready-made, with a suitable escort, and put up in a few minutes. The rival claimant, next morning, finds, that the opposition has a cutcherry, and he at once sets about destroying it. Perhaps, and this is the best plan, he can drive out the rival's servants and occupy the huts by his own servants. In this case, there is, of course, ample evidence to show that he built the huts, probably ever so long ago. Or it may be necessary to fire, or throw down and remove, the cutcherry, when a troublesome case of arson or other offence has to be tried, in which there is ample evidence to prove that both rivals built and occupied the cutcherry and both burnt it or destroyed it. Very often it leaks out beforehand that the rival is going to set up a cutcherry. Then preparation is made to resist in force. The weaker party, or the party which hopes to gain over the Police, sends information, and so arranges matters, if possible, that the Police shall find the opposition in a compromising position, while they themselves are acting, apparently and ostensibly, purely on the defensive; or, if the parties both feel confident in their strength, they may prefer a regular battle, and a very bloody riot may ensue, and in such cases murder often occurs. To any one unacquainted with the working of these cases, it may seem impossible that such acts can occur. They are, however, quite the usual and expected occurrences in the conduct of these possession cases. The District Officer's position is rendered still more difficult by the fact that he knows that any quantity of money is flying about. He is uncertain how far he can trust the reports of even the superior officers of police; the Head-Constables, Sub-Inspectors, and even Inspectors. Not only may these men have been themselves deceived by clever tricks, but they may be in the swim, and may be intentionally deceiving him. In any case, unless the Police are very active and honest in the matter, it is almost certain that some serious riot will take place at one

or other stage of the proceedings. The power of the Police in these possession cases, on which often so much valuable property depends, is, under the present conditions, very great indeed, and great temptation is put in their way to abuse their position and make untrue reports. By arrangement with the Police, an outsider who has been out of possession a long time, can often start a possession case and eventually win it. By his getting a favourable report that he is not the aggressor, but is being turned out, and by rushing to the Magistrate for protection, a very colourable case can be made out, in which it may be very nearly impossible for the Magistrate to arrive at the truth. Such cases have frequently, to my knowledge, occurred.

The first measure which a Magistrate can take to preserve the peace is to bind down the parties in substantial recognizances. For this, of course, there must be evidence forthcoming, not merely that the parties have a cause of quarrel, but that they are likely to break the peace over it. Frequently this evidence cannot easily be obtained until actual and serious outbreaks (which it is the object to prevent) have taken place. The Calcutta High Court would seem to be very jealous of this procedure of the Magistrate, and generally releases from recognizances where there has been no actual force used, or no very compromising act committed, or it can be proved that threats have been uttered. Even where the order requiring recognizances is upheld, it is frequently not effectual, each party trusting to prove that, in the disturbances which take place, it is not he, but his adversary, who is at fault, and that he has merely acted on the defensive. Further, as a party, when convicted, can generally be punished quite severely enough by a direct sentence for the offence he has committed, it must be admitted that, except in so far as the attention of the proprietor is occupied and actual annoyance or expense is incurred by him, taking recognizances is little more than a threat. It is, however, often very efficacious for a time, as it shows, for one thing, that the authorities are on the alert ; but, sooner or later, if both parties are very determined, it will be necessary to take up and decide the question of possession. Additional difficulty in taking recognizances arises where a Zemindar lives in another District, as in that case, under High Court rulings, he can be dealt with only in the District of his residence. In any case, this is only a palliative measure and does not go to the root of the matter. •

Now the question which alone the Magistrate can decide, is the actual possession of the land. In regard to this, the first point which arises is, what is the time when there must

be this actual possession which he is to decide. The old law and older decisions said that the time to be considered was that immediately preceding the disturbances which gave rise to the proceedings. Later rulings, under the Criminal Procedure Code of 1882, seem to say, that the time is that of the actual date of instituting the proceedings. But the more recent rulings again seem to incline towards modifying this view, by introducing considerations as to whether possession by creating disturbances is true possession. It is clear that, in the course of the disturbances which have compelled the Magistrate to interfere, the possession may have been disturbed. There may have been possession for some years, until a rival has come forward, and, by force or fraud, has turned out the first possessor. Thus the new comer may have had more strength in the field, or he may have bribed or bullied the cultivators into attorning to him. The latter course has been held to be not a proper possession; but it would also seem, in the case put, to be not a possession at the time to which the enquiry relates. In any case, however, such possession certainly ought not to count. In a recent case I laid out, as clearly as I could, all the rulings of the High Court, in the hope that in the appeal, which was sure to follow, the actual law on this point might be clearly and authoritatively determined. Unfortunately, however, the High Court, while upholding the finding, did not go into the merits of the appeal, and the law on this point is, I venture to say, still somewhat uncertain. I append, in a note below, the arguments I advanced on this point.*

* *Re the possession of a Chur under section 145, Criminal Procedure Code.*
 BABOO SRI NATH RAI AND OTHERS ... 1st Party.

vs.

BABOO BRIJENDRA KUMAR RAI AND OTHERS ... 2nd Party.

THIS is a dispute about certain lands which are spoken of in these proceedings as plots I and III. Their position is clearly indicated in the map (Exhibit B). The first report submitted by the Police, as to the disturbances on plot 1, is dated 19th March 1889, and the first report, as to disturbances on plot 3, is dated 23rd September 1889. From the time of the first reports every act of possession by either party has been actively and forcibly opposed by the opposite party, and it cannot be said that, as regards such subsequent time, there has been any such peaceful possession as a Court should respect. It is true that, after several reports were submitted and preliminary enquiries were made, an injunction was issued, on 26th September 1889, forbidding the second party to interfere with plot 1, and, on 29th September 1889, an injunction was issued on both parties not to interfere with plot 3. When I visited the chur on 8th December 1889, I found that the first party were in possession of plot 1, and the second party in possession of plot 3. Fighting had ceased in consequence of the second party respecting the first injunction and the first party only respecting the second injunction. But the dispute was by no means settled, and a temporary peace was patched up, because

A further opening for disturbances arises from the absence of any definition of possession as being continuous, even where there has been temporary, but unavoidable, absence from the land, provided the land was occupied at the last possible season, and has not been abandoned, or there has not been undue delay in re-occupying it. This is provided for in the Criminal Procedure Code in disputes as to public rights-of-way. As it is, every year, when the floods go down, the lands, which have been previously cultivated by one set of rayats, may be seized by another set, and fresh disputes arise. This may occur even where there is no difficulty in recognizing the lands, and the disputes are, of course, much complicated where the lands are not clearly defined by previous reliable maps, or other records, or by boundary marks. Certainly, such a seizure ought not to count as possession, but, in the absence of any legal definition, it is quite uncertain whether the High Court would, or would not, hold such a seizure to be a proper possession.

it was understood that the question of possession was to be regularly determined. The interference of the Court was not intended to prejudice either party, and any possession *obtained in consequence* should not be recognized in this enquiry.

It is argued that following the ruling of *Ambler v. Pushong* (I. L. R., II Cal. 365), I am debarred from the consideration of anything but the possession (no matter how obtained) at the time when the proceeding was drawn up calling upon the parties to put in their claims to possession. I do not think so. I think an examination of this case and of certain cases since decided by the High Court show that there is possession and possession, and that not any kind of possession or possession, obtained in any kind of way, can be considered as the actual possession required to entitle a party to a decree under section 145, Criminal Procedure Code. In *Ambler's* case, we find that *Pushong* interloped while *Ambler* had temporarily ceased working a quarry. When *Ambler* went with some Police to the quarry, *Pushong* cleared out and did not stay to maintain his possession, thus clearly indicating that he had no possession he was prepared to maintain. *Ambler's* possession then, when the notice under section 145, Criminal Procedure Code, was issued, was, under the circumstances, a proper possession, and a decree could be rightly founded upon it. But if *Ambler* had never had any possession prior to *Pushong*, and by force or fraud, or by disregard of a Court's order, which *Pushong* respected, had then suddenly come into possession for the first time, it would not be right or proper to limit the enquiry as to actual possession to the state of things found when at a subsequent date parties were first called upon to put in their claims as to possession.

Any other view will make section 145, Criminal Procedure Code, absolutely of no avail as regards the exclusive object for which it has been passed, *viz.*, to prevent a breach of the peace. For if the possession at the time when the order to put in written statements is drawn up, is alone to be considered, under all circumstances, then it is clear that, until such an order can be issued (and there must always be delay between the first warning of a disturbance, Police enquiry and report, and its consideration

To any one who has followed what I have described above, it must, I think, be clear that, looking to the normal perjury employed in these cases, an enormous encouragement is given to the aggressor, who, in the confusion which he has himself created, trusts so to "conceal the truth as to make it appear that he is in possession. On the other hand, it is much easier to determine with whom was the possession before the disturbances had arisen, and when the rolling log of concocted evidence had not yet been set in motion.

But the fundamental objection to the present system is that it ignores the rights of the parties. No doubt, it is not desirable that the Criminal Courts should enter into complicated considerations of Civil rights, and, where there has been a clear *de facto* possession, it is right to allow only the Civil Courts to disturb it, and to uphold the person in actual possession. It would certainly never do to allow the Criminal Court, to disturb old or long standing possession; and, in the case of old lands, if it is clearly understood that the possession to be upheld is that which preceded the disturbances which have directly given rise to the enquiry, the

by the Magistrate and final issue of such an order), the parties will fight tooth and nail for possession and very bloody riots will occur.

In support of my view, I would first of all point out that there does not seem to be any particular reason to consider the drawing up of the order calling upon parties to put in their claims as the beginning of proceedings under section 145, Criminal Procedure Code. Rather, this is but an incident of the proceedings, "and the report or other information," upon which this order issues, is the true beginning. This report is always made a part of the proceedings, and, as it is earlier in date, it may be better called the beginning than the order referred to.

Next I would point out that the position of the adverb "then" at the end of the second paragraph of section 145, Criminal Procedure Code, is probably a draughtsman's error. He is describing successive steps of a procedure, and as in the first "then" of this paragraph, he is intending to mark a new step. It should have been "and shall then, if possible, &c." It seems impossible that, if the Legislature had distinctly intended to make so important a change, they would not have noticed it in their proceedings. It was in view of the many old rulings on the other side, and, so far as I am aware, the universal procedure up to that date in Magistrate's Courts in Bengal, of sufficient importance to deserve a special notice, even if the change were not emphatically expressed by a special clause or sentence.--Vide *India Gazette*, dated 28th January 1882, page 67, Part V.

Then there are the subsequent rulings of the High Court, *viz.*, *Krishna Dhone Dutt v. Troilokhia Nath Bissas* (I. L. R., 12 Cal., 540), in which it is held (see at foot of p. 541) that "there is force in this objection;" again *Sorbananda Bosu Mojumdar v. Pran Sankar Rai Chaudhuri* (I. L. R., 15 Cal., 527) gives a special case, where the possession obtained by making rayats attorn to a new claimant, is not considered as a possession to be considered under section 145, Criminal Procedure Code, and the Court is thrown back upon an earlier possession. Again, in *Jagat Kishore Acharjee Chaudry v. Khajeh Ashanullah* (I. L. R., 16 Cal., 281), we have

present law is suitable and sufficient.* But, in regard to disputed newly-formed chur lands, a special set of incidents occur, and the general rule does not appear suitable. If it were the case that any one claimant could clearly and distinctly obtain undivided possession for a reasonably long period, the usual principle might be accepted. But, from the nature of the case, this can rarely happen. The chur does not form all at once, but little by little. It often happens that one proprietor seizes a small part of a block, and another proprietor seizes another small piece. But the whole block may be admittedly claimed under the same general rights of accretion or re-formation. Again, only parts of the block can at first be cultivated, and how can the cultivation of a small piece here, or a small piece there, be said to be a possession of the whole block. It may be said that, in the latter case, the block may be attached under the Criminal Procedure Code, on the ground that possession is not found with either party. But it is doubtful whether the High Court would uphold such an order, at all events, as regards the plots admittedly cultivated by either party. To attach a part, and to exclude the plots cultivated by either party, which are wholly undefined, and from year to year generally unrecognizable, would be excessively inconvenient, if not practically impossible. But I think that, in the present case, where the dispute arises immediately on the formation of the chur, or on its first becoming fit for occupation, and where no party has obtained, even for ever so short a time, a real *de facto* possession of the whole chur, it is better at once to decide summarily the question of *the right* to possession. This duty, however, I would not give to the Magistrate, but to the Collector, to perform. My proposal is that, just as under the present Survey Act V of 1876 (B.C.), the Collector is empowered, when it seems fit to him to do so, to order a survey of the lands shown in certain classes of authorised maps, so, under special legislation, I would empower him to take notice of any dispute as to the possession of newly-formed chur lands. If satisfied that the case called for such a procedure, the Collector

an instance where possession by removing timber from a forest is not allowed to over-ride possession by cutting it, where it is shown that the removers had driven away the cutters before the order to put in written statements had been drawn up under section 145, Criminal Procedure Code.

* Some definition of possession to meet the case of temporary absence, such as is unavoidable under ordinary circumstances, is required. Thus, in the rains, the chur lands are over-flooded, and it may be impossible to cultivate until the floods subside. In that case, the possession should be held to be continuous, if there had been cultivation at the last season, and no improper delay in cultivating when the floods receded.

would mark out the lands in dispute by flags and mounds, and issue notices forbidding any one to enter upon it, and cultivate it without his permission. At the same time he would appoint a Manager, who would settle rayats on the land at a suitable rate of rent. All receipts, after payment of the expenses of management, would be kept in deposit. The lands would then be properly surveyed, and their exact position, with reference to the nearest trijunction pillars of the Government Revenue Survey, or other recognizable points shown in the survey maps, be ascertained and recorded. Notices would then be issued, stating that these lands were in dispute, and calling upon all claimants to put in their claims by a certain day. Finally, the Collector would hear the several claimants, and, if possible, determine which had the right of possession, and pass orders accordingly. The successful claimants would pay the costs of survey and receive their share of the rent-receipts proportionately. If the Collector found it impossible to determine that any of the claimants had any right to possession, the lands might remain attached; and be managed by the Collector, until a decree were passed by the Civil Court. It will be observed that, though the Collector is to be given full discretion to interfere, it is not the intention that he should do so, unless for the purpose of preventing these disputes for the possession of newly-formed churs from being fought out by force, instead of being decided according to survey. It would not be his business to take possession of a chur which had newly-formed, in the first instance, and before any dispute arose. An occupier who had got possession, and cultivated for some seasons, would have the benefit of such possession, and the Collector could then refuse to interfere, and refer the parties to the Civil Court. The proposal that the Collector should seize all newly-formed churs, would certainly be viewed with grave suspicion; and this is very far from my intention. He would never interfere unless a serious dispute existed, and not always then.

The advantages of this course would be, that it would give no room at all for these troublesome fights which now occur. Some officers, both Police Officers and District Officers, may think that this would represent only a small saving to their work. I have had a statement prepared of the work the Police have had to do in the Dacca District (by no means one of the worst Districts in the way of chur disputes) in 1889. I find that 12 Sub-Inspectors spent collectively 65 days, 31 Head-Constables spent 287 days, and 83 Constables spent 1,014 days, exclusively on work connected with these churs. To this must be added an enormous amount of work in serving summonses and warrants, and arresting accused, which, as it goes on with other similar work, cannot be isolated. In the

Magistrate's Department, besides, the time of the District Magistrate is taken up in generally supervising all work in connection with these disturbances and all cases arising out of them. I find that, in 1889, a First Class power-Magistrate spent 73 days on such cases. This is a very heavy tale of work, when we consider that it has to be done by an already grievously over-worked staff. The whole, or nearly the whole, of this work would be saved, if the scheme I have proposed were adopted. Then this plan would also effect an enormous saving of expense to the claimants ; and how great this may be, I have already shown. But by far the most important merit which can be claimed for the scheme, is, that it substitutes a reasonable and intelligent and suitable procedure in lieu of the present mischievous system of non-administration. The rayats would no longer be able to carry on their present lawless system of seizing land and evading their just payments. At the same time, they would be protected in their holdings, and, under a peaceable and firm management, the lands in question would stand the best possible chance of rapid development. Further, it is probable that if the Collector went carefully into the claims, there would be no further litigation in the matter, and all or much of the enormous expenses of the Civil litigation, which takes place in connection with these lands, would be saved. At present the rights of the parties are not directly considered at all, and to determine these, a Civil suit has to be brought. But where these rights had been carefully considered, and a decision given, even though only a summary one, on the merits, it would often appear that the case was so clear as to leave little or no prospect of a successful suit in the Civil Court by disappointed claimants. Even where this was not so, it would substitute an intelligent and fair selection of the occupant, in lieu of an occupation gained by violence, fraud, or chicanery, regardless of all right, or claim, or title.

The plan would, no doubt, throw some additional work on the Collector ; but this would be nothing as compared with the work and anxiety which he now incurs, as District Magistrate, in maintaining the peace of his District.

It is necessary, perhaps, more fully to explain how this would be so. First of all, the whole dispute would be worked out scientifically and *in camera*, and the pursuit of *latials* would form no part of the process. Then the decision of the case would hardly be at all dependent upon oral evidence, and the perjured witness would not be in demand. By means of scientific survey, the neighbouring estates and the new lands would be brought on to one map, and a glance would often show how far the disputed lands were re-formations of old

estates, or to what estate, if any, they had joined on. All this would be ascertained without labour to the Collector, except verifying disputed measurements,—an easy process compared with testing volumes of perjured evidence. Further, the whole proceeding could be done decently, and in order, and at leisure. The facts applicable would be scientifically ascertained, and their application to the law of the case is a simple and easy process. Further, as changes occurred, they would be ascertained and recorded from year to year, and a mass of accurate evidence as to the river changes would be accumulated, which would leave no doubt as to the history of all important changes in the river, and this evidence would enable these cases to be determined with ease. As the lands have to be vacated in the rains, and become unrecognizable, the question of their possession may have to be decided over again, year after year, if not for all the lands, at all events for a large portion, under the present system of decision, where scientifically-prepared maps are not made.

Amongst other incidental advantages, would be the much greater speed of settlement of these chur disputes. This would be of immense material advantage. For it often happens now that, owing to the rapidity of the changes which take place in the configuration of the country, long before a final decree is obtained in the Civil Courts, the lands described in the plaint are no longer recognizable ; and very often this is so, even before a final order for possession is passed. Under the present system, if the lands in dispute are fixed very precisely, endless new cases may arise, owing to the continual growth of the chur and the formation of new lands. On the other hand, if the description of the lands in a possession case is too vague, the decision may be void for want of definiteness. I have known Deputy Magistrates decide possession cases most laboriously and with endless trouble, and, when asked to point out to what precise lands their decision related, be unable to do so. This could not happen under the system proposed, as the lands would be scientifically measured and their exact position definitely fixed. As new lands formed, fresh cases could, if necessary, be rapidly prepared, and their possession decided simultaneously, at one hearing, or separately, as might be most convenient. At all events, under the simple plan proposed, the possession of the newly-formed lands could be decided as rapidly as their value and the importance of deciding the cases required, and, if delay occurred, the rightful proprietor would suffer no loss, as, until a decision were come to, the lands would be administered in his interest ; nor would the cultivation of the land be stayed, or in any way interfered with, as it is at present. For when two parties are standing ready to sow, or to

reap, as the case may be, it is often necessary to issue temporary orders, from time to time to prevent a battle-royal taking place ; and even where this is not done, there can be no proper cultivation where no rayat is safe from ejection, and must always be prepared to fight for his land, and can never be sure he will reap the crop he has sown. It must be remembered that the class of lands in question go under water in the rains. Usually all ordinary landmarks are obliterated, and next year it is exceedingly difficult to recognize the lands which were settled the year before. There is no procedure by which the Magistrate can interfere to point out and determine the lands which have been settled under a possession case, except in the course of determining a fresh possession case arising out of fresh disturbances. The Collector, on the other hand, has, under the Survey Act V of 1876, an easy method, and can, on a request, survey the lands he has decided upon the previous year ; and, as his map will have been scientifically prepared and connected by offsets with main-land pillars, or other accepted fixed points, little difficulty would arise in his doing so. Maps are rarely prepared in possession cases, and when they are prepared, they are rarely scientifically made, or of use for the purpose indicated. It is further obvious that the information gained in one survey will frequently serve to determine to whom should belong any new lands which may be added to the former accretion, and any disputes about such lands will be readily determined. The Collector, in short, can take up the case as a whole, and on its merits, and has the means of determining upon the merits. The Magistrate can deal with it only by bits at a time, and as quarrels and fights for possession arise.

The crimes and offences which now take place in the course of quarrels over possession of chur lands are so much artificial crime, which, under the plan proposed, would be avoided, to the great gain of the country and the relief of the jail. The surveys of the river changes which would be made, would probably afford a fairly complete history of the great rivers of Eastern Bengal, and, if collected, would be invaluable to Engineers for the study of these rivers, with a view to the possibility of control or modification of their course.

It may be objected that, instead of inviting claimants, the Collector should proceed to decide merely on the relative claims of the original disputants. It often,* however, happens that an accurate survey shows the disputed chur lands to be quite in another position than that in which they are apparently situated. Nothing is more difficult than to recognize these lands, destitute as they are of all neighbouring landmarks. In order to locate them exactly, it may often be necessary to

connect them by offsets with points several miles distant, there being no recognizable undisputed points in the neighbourhood. When, as the result of such a survey, it appears that the lands are the re-formation of an estate, the property of neither of the original claimants, it would be unsatisfactory not to permit the real owner to come forward. How can this be looked upon as a real hardship to the original claimants. They have been put to no expense, and all the costs of the case will be defrayed by the successful claimant. Further, the presumption ought to be that the claimants are desirous only of asserting their rights, and are not, under cover of a false or mistaken claim, trying to take land which rightfully belongs to another.

In conclusion, then, this proposal, which I submit for the consideration of Government and the public, is to substitute, in the case of newly-formed chur lands, an enquiry and determination by the Collector of the right to their possession, in the place of the present demoralizing and mischievous system of forcible seizure. The advantages which the system I propose holds out, are: The relief of the Police and the Magistrates from a very large amount of criminal work; a corresponding economical gain in the diminution of agrarian disturbances, resulting in fewer prisoners, and in enabling these lands to be cultivated without disturbance; and an enormous saving of expense to the landed proprietors entitled to these lands. I have discussed these proposals with a considerable number of proprietors, and have always found that they were highly approved of. It is possible, however, that, when they were put forward as a serious proposal for legislation, objections might occur which have not yet been brought to my notice. If, however, no serious objections can be found, I would strongly urge Government to consider the advisability of legislating in the manner proposed.

L. HARE.

ART. VII.—ECCLESIASTICAL GRANTS IN INDIA.

LAST year the *National Review* contained an able article on this subject, signed with a name which of itself would entitle it to attention. Mr. Seton-Karr is well known to experts, as having been, in his time, a distinguished Officer of the Indian Government; and it is but natural that he should come forward as its defender. But, if his cause may be fairly judged from the nature of the defence which he offers, it is not likely to stand long before a candid and earnest enquiry. The first active examination of the question took place, he says, in 1880; in fact (if that matters), it was in 1879. In that year, as we learn from Hunter's *India* (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VI, p. 264), a great number of British troops were absent on a campaign, so that the number of Christians of different denominations attending public worship could not be correctly determined; and there has been no subsequent census of that kind taken. But this does not affect the argument, for Mr. Seton-Karr has not entered into any examination of the ratio between the amounts of the various grants and the numbers of the different denominations provided for. He opens his plea by saying, that it deals with the "sums now paid by the Government [of India] to Protestant clergymen in India for the moral and spiritual good of their countrymen."

This enunciation is faulty. A great proportion of the grant is, indeed, made to Protestant clergymen; though it is not clear how this can be done for the moral and spiritual good of those Christians who are not Protestants. Out of about thirty-six thousand troops worshipping when the enquiry was made, about twenty-three thousand were returned as "Church of England," in which would, no doubt, be included Wesleyans, Baptists, and all generally who did not go to the Presbyterian chapels. The pay of their clergy was £124,175, out of a total of £165,871; so that it may be roughly correct to say that three-fifths of the troops got four-fifths of the money. But this small inequality sinks into insignificance when we turn to the general figures. Out of something over a million of Christians throughout British India, only about 282,000 are returned as belonging to the Church of England (Hunter, *ub. sup.*) So that fifteen-twentieths of the money goes to the ministers of the religion of four-twentieths of the population. The question, therefore, is less simple than the writer supposes. The money is not only taken to support a creed alien to

the bulk of the tax-payers, but it is not fairly distributed, and the enquiry demanded by Mr. Baxter will—whenever it is properly made—be directed not only to the propriety of making any grant at all, but also to the fairness, or unfairness, of giving the lion's share to one small section of the favoured believers. It will also have to be remembered that in the total aggregate of those believers, there are few who make any considerable contribution to the revenues out of which the grant is made. Not only is the Christian population only in the proportion of one to two hundred for British-India, but of that small fraction, the greater part pays no taxes at all.

This last consideration will presently be seen to affect another part of Mr. Seton-Karr's argument, but it will be best to take his pleas as they come. In enumerating the various classes into which the Christian community of India seems to him to fall, he describes them all as if, in the main, composed of public servants, for whose spiritual welfare he assumes the Government to be bound to provide. In so doing, he incidentally refers to "the European and East Indian population, which collects in the larger stations and towns," and to "Englishmen engaged in mercantile and agricultural enterprises." But one would hardly be prepared from this to learn that Calcutta alone contains fully thirty-thousand Christian inhabitants, mostly non-official, or that, after deducting all Government employés, there were, at the last general census, one hundred and forty-three thousand English and Indo-Britons in India. It can hardly be argued that the Government ought to defray the whole clerical expenses of this large community, any more than to provide them with medical attendance or operatic entertainments. And, as a matter of fact, that portion of the Christian community which does not happen to adhere to the Anglican creed, must, from the nature of the case, contribute largely to its own spiritual wants; for the number of ministers of other denominations paid out of the public revenues would be quite inadequate for the purpose.

But the next contention of the article is still more defective, and it is to that contention that we must now turn. It appears to the writer that the Baptist Missionary Society has presented him with a "fortunate statement," in observing that there is no more justice in requiring the Hindus and Moslems to pay for the support of Christian ministers, than there would be in requiring Christians to support the clergy of those creeds. And the way in which he appropriates the benefit of this statement appears to be as follows:—Certain temples and mosques have endowments, chiefly in the form of land, but the revenues of that land are so much deduction from the revenues to which the State is entitled; therefore to such

extent the tax-payer is affected, having to make good the deficiency ; but some of the tax-payers are Christians, therefore Christians are taxed to support the ministers of those establishments. Lord Ripon, in his report on the subject, had objected by anticipation that these lands, having been settled on the Hindu and Moslem foundations before our time, ought not to be regarded as a part of the assets of the British Government ; and the argument will probably strike most candid people as perfectly fair and sound. Evidently, the Governor-General intended to say that, in principle, the endowments had never belonged to the State, but he could not be fairly understood as meaning that the estate was bound never to interfere as to details. There can be no mortmain so strict as that ; the institution may have entirely ceased to act or exist, or abuses may have crept into the administration, or the deed may prove to have been forged or misconstrued. Interposition in such cases is not to be confused with a general system of resumption ; it is only an application of the maxim, "*salus populi suprema lex,*" and leaves the principle stated by the Viceroy intact. An alien Government guaranteeing to the people over which it assumes power, that the endowments of their temples shall not be confiscated, is not the bestower of a grant of public money, any more than a pick-pocket who spares my watch deserves to be thanked as my benefactor. Mr. Seton-Karr, indeed, contends that every time the British Government—or "we," as he prefers to say—made a fresh settlement of the land revenue, it "settled afresh the principles and modes of tribute, and, by renewing or continuing grants and alienations, left the void so [*sic*] created to be filled up by the contributions and taxes of less-favoured classes." But for this statement, we have no authority given but the opinion of him who makes it ; and, with all due respect for Mr. Seton-Karr's official experience, we may claim the right of questioning whether he can decide so important a case by his mere "*ipse dixit.*" For it is, perhaps, an essential part of the whole issue that is here dealt with. If the continuance by the Settlement Officers of endowments and alienations, made before British rule began, be indeed the "creation of a void to be filled up by less-favoured classes," there may fairly be imputed to Lord Ripon the weakness of a little sophistry. Only the burden of proof lies on him who proposes such an artificial explanation ; and a mere assertion, however often reiterated, is not proof.

It is a small instance of the official temper, too frequently at once both shallow and dogmatic, that, in speaking of one of these grants, the writer uses these words:—"Every one has heard of the temple of Jagannath, or Juggernath as it is

popularly spelt," &c.;—the former spelling is that of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and surely the words underlined in the quotation are quite uncalled for. But let that pass. It is argued that the temple at Puri, which bears this doubly-spelt name, enjoys the rent-roll of lands valued at £27,000 a year, in addition to other lands given in exchange for a previous money-payment; and that this, with similar instances, is tantamount "to a re-constitution of the whole agricultural and financial system on a new basis."

Even if so violent an assertion were proved; and even if it could be shown that the Government of British India made new grants of public money for the support of newly-appointed and newly-endowed Heathen priests, we should be as far as ever from proving that this was done out of taxation paid by Christians. As we have seen, the Christians in British India are, in proportion to the people at large, in a ratio of one to two hundred. By far the greater part of them are miserably poor, and pay no taxes at all, excepting for what salt they may consume. The better classes pay a trifling part of the customs, and the very few who are in affluent circumstances pay towards the assessed taxes and the stamps and excise. But, taken altogether, it is very doubtful whether their contributions amount to a sum anywhere near the equivalent of that £200,000 which—according to the writer in the *National Review*—is expended annually on the Christian clergy in India.*

The gist of the whole paper is probably to be found in the last page but one, on which the writer quotes Sir Theodore Hope, a dissentient Member of Lord Ripon's Council, as the only statesman who treated the matter properly. Sir T. Hope's argument is thus summarized in his own words:—"When we look around upon the vast extent and variety of non-Christian endowments of every age . . . we see a striking monument of the bold expression by successive dynasties of their own convictions, coupled with the enlightened toleration of the convictions of others. Can a Christian Government repudiate its own similar obligations?" Such a string of fallacies ought not to do much mischief. But, in case of any one being misled by an apparently serious argument proceeding from such high authority, let us be permitted to state what have been the bold expressions and enlightened toleration of preceding Powers. Aurangzebe, the Moghul Emperor, contemporary with our William III. overthrew the great Hindu temple that had stood near the city of Muttra from time immemorial, and built a mosque of his own religion upon the

* The difference between the figure in the *Review*, and that cited here from Dr. Hunter, is due to the one being for British India only, while the other includes money spent in Feudatory States.

ruined site: three hundred other temples in Benares and in various parts of Rajputana shared the same fate: the images were brought away and buried at the threshold of the palace, so that Hindus, having business at Court, could only present themselves by trampling over the sacred memorials of their deities: a heavy poll-tax was imposed on the Hindus, as such, from which Moslems were exempt, and when the people of Dehli approached him in remonstrance, the Emperor charged the defenceless crowds of his subjects in person, and trod thousands of them to death under the feet of his war elephants. Such was the attitude of the last powerful Mahomedan ruler of Hindustan towards religious opinion. In the Punjab, many Moslems took their turn of persecution in our own time; and persons yet living have seen people of that faith going about as one-handed mendicants, having been mutilated and made incapable of earning their living, because they killed beef under a Hindu Government.

Now, supposing that there were any truth, or meaning, in the phrase "Christian Government," is it from their Moslem or Hindu predecessors that the present rulers of British India ought to learn in such matters? But in fact, the whole thing is a grave error. The British are supreme in India, not *quod*-Christians, but *quod*-Governors; and the moment that they indulged in what Sir T. Hope calls "bold expression of their own convictions," would be the moment when the seed of destruction was sown in the mortar of their political fabric.

Mr. Seton-Karr sums up by saying that 'the main argument in favour of the grants is, that Christians are now more heavily burthened, because certain Hindus and Mahomedans are exempt; and that the amount spent on the service of the religion of the ruling race is far below what has been allowed to be spent on the temples and shrines of the subject community.' It would, indeed, be shameful if it were not so, and a handful of aliens got more public money for their religious uses than the many millions of the natives. That this is not the case, therefore, is really no argument; that Christians are burdened to support the clergy of the natives, is immaterial, and, as a matter of fact, untrue. It would be a sad prospect for England's Empire in the East if all its rulers were no better informed, or more tolerant, than the undoubtedly able writer of the paper that has been here briefly examined."

Lastly, another suggestion—also borrowed from Sir T. Hope—concludes the article: "A British Government which should dock the salaries of its own *Padrés* and send them away, allow its churches to fall into dilapidation, proclaim its utter indifference to the religious welfare of its servants, might gain possibly a few patronising puffs from the spouting Baboo and

the itinerating M. P. But in the minds of the manly Sikh, the learned Mahomedan, the high-caste Brahman, etc., etc., such a pitiful economy, mocked with the title of toleration and equality, would excite bewilderment, ridicule, and contempt." Allowance being made for rhetorical warmth, there may be something in this last consideration. The British in India must govern according to Indian ideals—so far as these are not actually inhuman, and so far as they can be positively ascertained. It is among the disadvantages of a non-representative Government, that the rulers are too often in ignorance of the desires and conceptions of the ruled. If it could be determined that a majority of the people thought that a portion of the public revenues ought to be devoted to the spiritual relief of the dominant class, such a notion—unreasonable as it may seem in the eye of science—ought to be taken into account. The question might be fairly made an item in any enquiry which may be hereafter held into the subject. But in no case is it to be expected that public opinion would either call for, or approve a system such as the present, which gives an overweening share of the grant to the ministers of a denomination which, though it may furnish a majority of the Members of Council, forms but a minute fraction of the whole Christian community of the country.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. VIII.—JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

WHO does not love the history of Joseph? What memories of our childhood does it not evoke? When first we sat by our mothers' knees, and heard her read "Line upon Line," it was his tale, above all others, which we loved. And in later years—when we were promoted to the study of the Bible itself, when we had exhausted Joel and the three children, and Daniel in the Lion's den, and David and Jonathan, what we always kept for the last, as the *bonne bouche*,—the one favourite that was sure to move our childish hearts, with love and with tears, was the story of Joseph and his Brethren. And looking back over all those years, there can be no doubt that our childish criticism was right. There are no pages of the Old Testament so true to nature, so full of sustained interest, of genuine pathos, of living moral example, as those which contain the history of that son of Jacob's old age whom he loved more than all his other children. But it is not only we, of the nineteenth century, who have felt the charm of this old, old story: Jewish scribes have written quaint volumes about it. Jewish mothers have, for centuries upon centuries, told their never-wearying children how God preserved the son of Yaqûb through many varying trials, and how, with inflexible justice, he punished treachery by treachery, cruelty by cruelty, and calumny by false accusation. The wandering Bedouin, too, was stirred to the heart by a tale redolent of the camp-fire and the sheep-fold, of desert life and a shepherd ruler of Egypt. Muhammad enshrined the history, as he knew it, in the Korân, and Musalmân doctors have spent learning and industry in collecting the traditions about the Patriarch from the old men who had heard them from their grandfathers. Finally, in the fifteenth century, a Persian poet, Abdur Rahmân Jâmî, stepped forward, and adorned the whole with all the graces of the Persian language and all the charm of Persian poetry. His *Yusuf and Zulaikha* is a classic,—one of the choicest flowers in the garden of Persian literature. Dealing with all the floating legends about Joseph's life, it weaves them into one connected whole, resplendent in its harmony of colouring, yet with a thread of wisdom running through it all, and true to nature to a degree at which few Oriental poets have arrived.

It has long been a question whence Jâmî and his predecessor, Firdusi, got their materials. As good Musalmâns, they would naturally turn to the Korân, but this work gives only a bare outline of the story. A learned German Orientalist, Dr. Gruenbaum, of Munich, has taken the matter up, and conclusively shews that Firdusi drew, both on the Talmud—the

tradition of the Jewish elders—and on the legends which he found embedded in the works of Muhammadan commentators on the Korân. These traditions and legends are often most interesting, not only to the student of folklore, but to the general reader; and, as few of the latter class will care to wade through a learned article in the journal of the German Oriental Society, the writer ventures to repeat some of them in the present article.

To begin with Jacob's marriage. We all know that Leah was tender-eyed, while Rachel was beautiful and well-favoured. The Talmud here comes to the rescue of Leah, and tells us how it came to pass that the younger sister was the more comely of the two. Both the girls, we are told, were originally equally beautiful, and the parents arranged two *mariages de convenance*: Esau was to marry Leah, and Jacob Rachel; but Esau was a hairy man, and, besides, had lost his birthright; so Leah refused to marry him, and wept so sore that her eyes became tender. We are also told that Jacob proposed to Rachel. She answered: "Yea, but my father is very crafty. He will overreach thee, for I have an elder sister, whom he is sure to wish to marry before me." Jacob replied: "But I am his brother" (compare Genesis XXIX, 12), that is, equal to him in craftiness. "But," asked Rachel, "doth overreaching beseeem a pious man?" thereby showing, I fear, that whatever she thought of Jacob, she had not a high opinion of her father's piety. Jacob answered: "Yea, verily, for it is written (Psalms XVIII, 28; II Samuel XXII, 27) * 'with the pure thou wilt show thyself pure; and with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward.'" Subsequently, when Jacob was making the marriage agreement with Laban, in order to prevent any chicanery, he said: "I know that all the people of this land are deceivers; and therefore will I make the business clear. I will serve thee seven years long for Rachel, that is to say, not for Leah; for thy daughter, that is to say, not for any other woman whose name is Rachel; for thy younger daughter, that thou mayest not exchange their names." Here we see Jacob's natural shrewdness. The agreement is one worthy of a modern conveyancer; but Laban was cleverer than

* This quotation of the Psalms by Jacob is only equalled by an Irish ballad on the finding of Moses:—

"Pharaoh's daughter went down to bathe herself awhile,
And against a little rush basket she scraped her royal shin;

She stooped down to ease the royal pain,
And to see what the little rush basket did contain.

'Och holy mother av Moses!' the maiden cried,
'Girls, who is the mother av this child?'

Then to her royal house she brought him,
And to read the Bible and the Testament she taught him."

he, for he subsequently maintained that he had told Jacob who his bride was, at the time of the ceremony. This is how it was done : The wedding guests, to whom Laban had confided his project, sang an epithalamium with the word ' Haliah ' for a refrain. Now ' Haliah ' means, ' It is Leah,' but Jacob took it as only one of the ordinary joyful interjectional words used in such songs, and having no special meaning.

The groomsmen and bridesmaids extinguished all the lights in the wedding chamber as soon as they had brought in the bride, who, according to custom, was closely veiled. When Jacob objected to the darkness, they asked him if he imagined that the people of that country were as destitute of manners and modesty as in his father's house. Next morning, ' behold it was Leah,' and Jacob cried unto her : " O thou deceiver ! thou daughter of a deceiver ! Wherefore didst thou answer me when, in the dark, I called thee Rachel, as if thou wert Rachel indeed ? " Leah's answer was ready, and to the point : " Was there ever a master without a scholar ? It is from thee that I did learn to deceive. Didst not thou also answer thy father, when he called for Esau, and thought that thou wast he ? " It must be admitted that Leah had the best of it in her first matrimonial quarrel. Perhaps this accounts for Jacob preferring the gentler Rachel in his subsequent married life.

Notice how this principle of measure for measure, of the punishment fitting the crime, runs throughout the whole series of these legends. We shall subsequently see how Joseph suffered for his vanity and for his tale-bearing ; and here I may point out how Jacob's woes were, in each case, the complement of some act done by him previously. Musalmân doctors tell us that he slaughtered a calf, in the presence of its mother, heedless of the piteous lowing of the latter ; and because he had no pity for her, he was punished with the loss of his dearest son. Others say that he once slaughtered a sheep, while a poor man stood at his tent door, to whom he gave nothing. Therefore God told him that, for this want of charity, he should himself suffer hunger. Jacob immediately had a meal prepared, and ordered his servants to call out that any hungry man might come and take a portion ; but his repentance was of no avail. He had, for his want of charity, necessarily to suffer from the famine which, years afterwards, became sore in the land. Yet other doctors tell us how Jacob had a female slave, whose child he sold away, not heeding the lamentations and anguish of the mother, and hence weeping,—weeping,—he lost his own eye-sight, lamenting for the loss of his darling Joseph.

Round Joseph's childhood there is a whole cluster of legends. The Arabs have several stories about a theft committed by him

in his boyhood (here we have again the measure for measure principle). Some maintain that, when he was a child, he stole an image of his grandfather's, broke it, and threw it away. Others that he stole a little golden image from a temple and hid it in the ground. Others that he stole a goat (some say a fowl) and gave it to a beggar. Yet another doctor tells us how he was the real thief of the Teraphim which Rachel carried off from Laban's house. He did so, under his mother's instructions, in order to pay the expenses of the journey. According to one more popular legend, his aunt falsely charged him, as he was leaving her house, with the theft of a girdle; but this she did out of love for him and nothing more, in order that he might be compelled to stay longer with her. We shall see, later on, how this excessive love of his father and of his aunt had its disadvantages, and that Joseph looked upon it as a curse.

The first verses of Genesis XXXVII tell us how Joseph became unpopular amongst his brethren. The Talmud gives us further particulars. We know that "the lad was with the sons of Bilhah and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives, and Joseph brought unto his father their evil report." The Jewish doctors tell, in addition, that he slandered his other brethren, the sons of Leah, saying that they treated the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah as if they were slaves, whereas *he* treated them as brothers. As a punishment, he himself was subsequently sold as a slave. God said to him: "By thy Life! to-morrow wilt thou depart to Egypt, and there will thy mistress bring a false charge against thee." Other doctors say that he told his father that his brethren cast their eyes upon the daughters of the land, and, as a punishment, his mistress cast her eyes upon him. Here again, in both cases, we have measure for measure.

We now come to the sale of Joseph by his brethren. The Arab legends go into great detail, giving a name to the Ishmaelite, or Bedouin, chief who bought him, and minute particulars as to his adventures in search of Joseph. The story runs that a certain Egyptian merchant, named Malik, the son of Dûghar, dreamed a dream. He went to a dream interpreter who explained it to him, that he should go to the well of 'Ad, where he would find a slave. This slave would be sold to him very cheaply, and was destined to bring him great prosperity. Malik went to 'Ad, and was miraculously ordered to wander for another fifty years. At the end of that time he returned thither, shortly after the brethren had thrust Joseph into the well.

In the meantime God sent the Angel Gabriel to Joseph, to remind him how he had once looked at himself in a mirror,

and, becoming vain of his beauty, had exclaimed : " If I were ever sold as a slave, what an enormous sum my price would be." As a punishment, he would now be sold for a few paltry silver pieces (measure for measure again).

Malik found Joseph in the well and brought him to his tent. The brethren, who were encamped near by, hearing of this, went to Malik and claimed Joseph as a runaway slave. Malik offered to restore him to them, but, after consulting together, they said, he was a useless trouble-the-house, and they would sell him for what he would fetch. Being pressed to tell plainly what his bad points were, they said that he was a thief, a liar, and a runaway. Malik, after some hesitation, agreed to buy him if he got him cheap, and offered either cattle in exchange, or all the money he had about him, which was only twenty pieces of silver. The brothers agreed to take the latter, and the bargain was concluded. According to the Talmud, these twenty pieces were divided equally among the ten brethren. Each bought a pair of shoes with his share of two pieces, and this is what Amos (II, 6) refers to when he says : " They sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes."*

When the brethren killed a kid of the goats, and dipped Joseph's coat in the blood, the Arabic doctors say that they forgot to tear it. It was Judah who took the blood-stained garment to Jacob, and who told him that a wolf had devoured his son. Jacob, seeing the coat, cried out : " In the name of God never have I seen so mild a wolf. He hath eaten up my son, and hath not torn a shred from the coat." The Talmud, too, maintains that Jacob did not believe the story. On seeing the untoned coat he exclaimed : " An evil beast hath not devoured him. He yet liveth ; and I see through the Holy Spirit that a wicked woman standeth in his way." He thenceforth refused to be comforted. Different reasons are given for Jacob's continued lamentations. The Arabs say that it was for fear lest Joseph should abandon true faith in a strange country ; and they narrate how, when, in after years, Judah brought the good news to his father that they had found his son, the old man asked : " What is he ? " " King of Egypt," was the answer. " What is that to me ? " said the Patriarch, " I mean, what religion doth he follow ? " The Talmud gives a different account. In Genesis XXXVIII, 12, we are told how Judah's wife died, and how he was comforted. With regard to this the Midrash tells us that a certain matron expressed her surprise to a Jewish doctor that Judah should have been comforted,

* An old Christian legend makes these twenty pieces of silver the identical ones which were paid to Judas as the price of his treachery.

while Jacob could not be consoled for the loss of Joseph. It was explained to her that it is possible to be comforted for one who is dead, but not for the living, and that Jacob knew by inspiration that his son was yet alive. We are here strongly reminded of David 'after the death of Bathsheba's child, "While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept; for I said who can tell whether God will be gracious unto me, that the child may live? But now he is dead, wherefore should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me." All the traditions, both Hebrew and Arab, agree in telling how Jacob wept and wept continually for Joseph, till, from constant weeping, he lost his eye-sight. The wolf, too, which was charged with the death of Joseph, plays a prominent part in both legends. He appears to Jacob, and the latter charges him with the crime, and prays to God to give the brute the power of speech. The wolf miraculously replies to him in human words: "God forbid," he says, "that I should kill a prophet. I am innocent of Joseph's death. I too have suffered the loss of children, even as thou hast."

To return to Joseph. Both legends tell how Malik carried him, strongly guarded as a runaway slave, in the midst of his caravan, and, on arrival in Egypt, sold him for a great price to Potiphar. On the way an affecting incident occurred. As they passed Ephrath, which is Bethlehem, where Joseph's mother Rachel was buried, he ran to the tomb, and, weeping, adjured her: "O! mother, see how thy son hath been pitilessly sold as a-slave, and how cruelly my brethren have treated me. They have torn me away from my father, without mercy to him or to me." Thereupon there came a voice from the grave, comforting him, and telling him to trust in God, who would be with him. One of the Ishmaelites, seeing him thus, cursed him, and, striking him for a lazy rogue and a thief, brought him back to the caravan. There the others also buffeted him, till God sent so great a storm and darkness that the troop could go no further. The simoon continued till they had asked pardon of their prisoner, and had entreated him to pray for them. This he did; and, the air immediatly becoming clear, they were able to go their way.

Round Potiphar's wife, Zulaikha, and Joseph's easy life in Egypt, numerous legends are centred. The Midrash Tanchuma, commenting on Genesis XXXIX, 6, which tells how Potiphar left all that he had in Joseph's hand, and how the latter was a goodly person and well-favoured, adds that, when he became thus prosperous, he began to eat and to drink, and to dress his hair carefully, and to say: "Praised be God, who hath caused me to forget my father's house." Then said God to him: "Thy father mourneth for thee in sackcloth and ashes, and thou eatest and

drinkest, and makest thine hair beautiful. Now, ere long, thy mistress will torment thee."

When Zulaikha tempted Joseph, the Talmud adds a curious piece of life-like detail, which I have more than once seen paralleled in India, where, if a man does any act which he feels to be wrong, in the presence of the image of his family god, he will first cover its face, so that it may not see him. Zulaikha does this, and Joseph apostrophizes her: "Rightly dost thou hide the countenance of this god of thine, for thou art ashamed before him whom thou honorest; and shall I not feel shame before him of whom it is said, 'the eyes of God run to and fro through the whole earth (Zach. IV, 10)?' It is unnecessary to add here the further details of the scene, to which several miraculous circumstances (such as a babe of three months' old finding speech, and suggesting a test for Joseph's innocence), are appended.

When Joseph was put in the king's jail, we are told by the Arab doctors, he was so comely that the hearts of all his fellow prisoners opened towards him, and they told him how they loved him. "In God's name," cried he, "I beseech ye not to love me, for love hath hitherto brought me nothing but anguish and misfortune. First the love of my aunt (who, as we have already seen, had charged him, out of very love, with theft); then the love of my father; and last, but not least, the love of my mistress." His stay in prison, we learn from the Talmud, would have been short, had he not yielded to a temptation of Satan to show want of trust in God, by twice reminding Pharaoh's butler not to forget him. As a punishment he had to stay two years longer in confinement; the Muhammadan doctors add that God himself communicated this sentence to Joseph, and, on the latter attempting to excuse himself, ordained him to a still further imprisonment of seven years.

When the seven years in jail were accomplished, the Talmud tells how Pharaoh dreamed his dreams of the 'seven fat kine and the seven good ears,' and how Joseph interpreted them. Pharaoh then told his great men that he desired to set Joseph over all the land of Egypt. "But," said they, "shall a slave, who was sold for twenty pieces of silver, rule over us?" "I see," replied the king, "something kingly in him." "But," they continued, "it standeth in the laws of Egypt, that no one shall rule over the land, or be the second ruler after the king, unless he knoweth all languages. This Hebrew understandeth only his own tongue, and how can a man be second after the king, who cannot speak even Egyptian. First, therefore, examine him to see if he understand other speeches." The king said "Ye are right. To-morrow will I prove him." That night the Angel Gabriel came to Joseph, and instructed him in all the seventy

languages of the earth. Next morning he was summoned to the royal presence, and, speaking in the Hebrew tongue, greeted the king, and implored God's blessing on his head. "What tongue is that?" asked the king. "It is the tongue of my father's house." Then the king conversed with him in all the seventy languages, all of which Joseph spoke and understood; whereat the king marvelled exceedingly.

So Joseph became ruler over all Pharaoh's house, and according to his word were all the people ruled; only on the throne was Pharaoh greater than he. And the seven years of plenty passed by, and the seven years of famine came, and, during this period, a thing happened to him, which is related by the Arab doctors, and which Jâmî has made one of the most touching portions of his poem. Zulaikha, now a widow, came, blind and miserably clad, in beggar's weeds, to the great ruler of Egypt; and he, in compassion, not only relieved her distress, and miraculously restored her sight, but took her to himself as his wife.

Joseph's cup, by which he divined, was, according to Genesis XLIV, 2, of silver. Musalmân tradition, however, says that it was of gold, set with precious stones. He used it both as a measure for corn and as a drinking vessel. Moreover, when he struck it in a particular way, and held it to his ear, it told him every thing that he desired to know. When his brothers appeared before him for the first time, we know that he spoke roughly to them. The Arabs add that he struck this cup and held it to his ear, as if divining, saying to them: This cup telleth me that ye are spies, and that twain of ye (*i. e.*, Simeon and Levi) have levelled the great city of Sichem to the ground (Genesis XXXIV, 25), and that ye have sold your brother into the hands of the Arabians." No wonder that they were filled with remorse, and said one to another, 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother.'

When Jacob sent his sons a second time to Egypt (this time with Benjamin), the Talmud gives us some curious particulars. So fine a body of young men would be sure to excite the evil eye; so, to ward off that calamity, he bids them not to enter the city of Egypt all by one and the same gate. Nor are they to house themselves in the same place, but to travel thither mixed with the other merchants who are bound in that direction. At parting he gives them the following letter to Joseph.

"From Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son's son of Abraham, the Mighty Prince, to the Great and Wise Prince Zaphnath-paaneah (Genesis XLI, 45), King of Egypt. Greeting! Before my lord, the king, lay I this: That amongst us, in the land of Canaan, the famine is very sore, and I have sent my sons to thee to buy us a little food, that we perish not. For I have seventy souls in my household, and I am very old and see nought with mine

eyes, which are dim for age ; and, moreover, I am continually weeping for my son Joseph, whom I have lost. I have also commanded my sons to go throughout all the land of Egypt, that they may search for my son Joseph, if haply they may find him ; and they have already done this, and therefore didst thou take them for spies who were come to spy out the nakedness of the land. We have now heard that thou art a very clever and wise man, and that thou hast interpreted his dream unto Pharaoh, and hast foretold the famine. How is it, then, that thou, with all thy great wisdom, hast not seen that my sons are no spies ?

" And now, O my lord, king, send I to thee my son Benjamin ; I pray thee to keep thine eye upon him, that he may return in peace with his brethren. And hast thou never understood, and hast thou never heard, what our God did unto Pharaoh, when he took away my grandmother Sarah, and also unto Abimelech, the king of the Philistines : And that my two sons, Simeon and Levi, destroyed the city of the Amorites, for the sake of their sister Dinah ? Set, therefore, thine eyes upon my son Benjamin, and so, also, shall our God set his eyes upon all that thou mayest do !"

There is one little touch of nature given by the Talmud to the finding of the cup. When it turned up in Benjamin's sack, the brethren called him a thief, and the son of a thief ; the latter being an allusion to Rachel's carrying off the Teraphim.

Musalmân doctors have a legend that Joseph detained Benjamin in Egypt on account of the stolen cup, and sent the brethren back to their father. Jacob despatched them again to Joseph with the following letter :—

" From Jacob, the Israel of God, the son of Isaac, the sacrificed to God, the son's son of Abraham, the beloved of God, to the Ruler of Egypt. God be praised ! The people of my family have borne all trials. My grandfather was thrown, bound hand and foot, into the fire ; but God made it cool and pleasant unto him. As for my father, the knife was ready and laid upon his neck to sacrifice him, when God set him free. As for me, I had a son, who was the best beloved of all my children. He went into the wilderness with his brethren, but they came home with a blood-stained coat, saying the wolf had devoured him ; and, lo ! through my ever weeping for him, have I lost mine eye-sight. Then had I yet another son, of the same mother as the lost one, who was my consolation. They went forth with him ; and, when they came home, they said that he had stolen, and that on this account thou hadst kept him in durance with thee. But the people of my family have never stolen, and their children are no thieves. Send him also, I pray thee, back to me ; and if thou wilt not, I will

call upon God against thee, that thou mayest see the deaths of seven of thy children. Greeting !”

The Talmud story goes on to tell how, when Joseph had his brothers to sit at meat with him, he struck his divining cup, and, pretending to be guided by its instructions, arranged them in pairs in the order of their ages. When it came to Benjamin's turn, he remained the last, and without a fellow ; so, weeping, he cried : “ If my brother, Joseph, were yet alive, I should be seated by him.” Then said Joseph to them : “ This youngest brother of yours is alone. He shall sit by me.” After the meal, he took Benjamin aside, and asked him if he had any children. “ Ten,” said he ; “ and the names which I have given them all bear reference to my brother whom I have lost.” Said Joseph, “ Wouldst thou that I were to thee instead of a brother.” “ Who could find a brother,” was the courtly reply, “ like unto thee ? yet, of a truth, thy father is not Jacob, nor is thy mother Rachel.” Then did Joseph show him his divining cup ; and Benjamin asked him that he might inquire of it, if his brother were yet alive. On this, did Joseph embrace him, and, weeping, say : “ I am thy brother, Joseph ; nor grieve thou over that which they have done unto us, for God hath turned it unto our good.” Thereupon made he it clear unto Benjamin how and why he had allowed him to be charged with theft.

One more story and I have done ; it casts a pleasant light on Judah's character, and shows that, according to Arab tradition, his repentance was both deep and sincere. After Joseph had revealed himself to his brethren, he said : “ Take ye my garment. Lay it on my father's face, and he will again receive his sight.” “ Let *me* take it,” cried Judah, “ and let *me* be the one to lay it on his face. For it was I who threw him into anguish, when I brought to him the blood-stained coat and told him that a wolf had devoured Joseph. So also will I bring him the good news that Joseph yet liveth, and will give him joy, even as I once gave him sorrow.”

G. A. GRIERSON.

ART. IX.—MUNICIPAL BETTERMENT ACT AND STATE TAXATION.

A FEW months ago, a proposal was laid before the Corporation of Bombay to lengthen Hummum Street, which is situate in the Fort, or business quarter, by extending it east and west to Marine Street and Esplanade Road. This proposal was negatived, and I ventured to remark, in a letter to the public press, that the Corporation were justified in refusing to sanction so large an immediate expenditure as five lakhs of Rupees, or £50,000 at par of exchange, for the lengthening of this particular street, until some means should be discovered, or thought out, which would throw such special expenditure upon those who would most immediately and directly benefit by it,—the landlords of the city. A portion of the land proposed to be taken up for the new street was the site of a building recently burnt down. This site was estimated by the Municipal Commissioner to be of the value of Rs. 250 per square yard, equal to £2.15-0 per square foot, at par of exchange ; while it was stated at the Meeting, that the adjoining plot, also the site of a building burnt down by the same fire, was sold by auction at Rs. 50 per square yard. Doubts were expressed at the Meeting whether the Corporation was being dealt with justly, and it seemed to be the general opinion that it was impossible that, of two adjoining plots, one could be five times as valuable as the other. I showed, in my letter, that the value of the land depended directly upon the rents received ; that the one house had a greater number of storeys, that it was opposite a wide street, and fully open to the sea-breeze, a favourite building for shops and offices ; while the other, though the adjoining house, was in a narrow, confined, dirty street, and shut off by the opposite houses from the sea-breeze. I stated that, of my own knowledge, the rent of the two houses differed greatly, and that the ground value of the one was five times that of the other.

I referred, in that letter, to the Strand Improvements proposed by the London County Council, and stated that Parliament had thrown out the Bill introduced by that body, by which the cost of these improvements was to have been imposed, in greater part, upon the owners of houses in the Strand, and the remainder upon houses in that neighbourhood, in a varying proportion defined by the distance of such houses from the site of the improvements.

Parliament threw out this Bill, not because it was not in

favour of laying the cost of the improvements upon the increased value, or "betterment" as it is now called, of the landed property of London, but because the special incidence of taxation of real property proposed in the Bill did not meet with its approval.

In this connection it may seem a rash statement to make, but I think, I shall be able to show, that we here, in Bombay, are in a better position to develop a Bill for the taxation of "betterment," than even the London County Council. Londoners are as yet in want of the necessary experience on the subject. They have not yet attempted the widening of streets, or the making of new streets, in a systematic way, year by year, nor have they any experience in the taxation of ground values. The City of London has built magnificent bridges over the Thames, and laid out new streets in connection with the Holborn Viaduct and Smithfield Market, paid for in part from coal and wine dues laid upon the whole of London, and in part from their own city ground rents. The Metropolitan Board of Works has constructed a new street from Piccadilly to Oxford Street, and another from Charing Cross to Oxford Street, paid for in part from the same coal and wine dues, and in part out of the profit obtained from the re-sale of the premises through which the new streets pass. But London officials are almost without experience of the means by which the whole of the streets of a large city can be widened, and I am inclined to think that, for this special experience, they will have to come to Bombay. We are, to this extent at least, far in advance of any English city.

In Bombay, for the past twenty years, we have been carrying out, upon a more or less systematic plan, the widening of streets by the setting-back of the street frontages of the houses. During the earlier part of our experience the Municipal Executive were hampered by the small Budget allowances granted by the Corporation. Under the late Municipal Act, they were hindered by the checks which that Act placed in their way in favour of the "liberty of the subject," and against speedy compulsory acquisition. Under the new Act, which has now been in force for two years, all checks protecting the liberty of the individual owner, as against the greater good of the collective Municipality, have been removed, and the Act may, in that respect, be called a triumph of State Socialistic legislation, though the authors of the Act will probably be surprised to see it so described. It only shows that, notwithstanding the prejudice, born of ignorance, against Socialistic ideas, the tendency of the times is such, that legislation can proceed only upon these lines.

Under the new Act, so far as the widening of streets is

concerned, the word of the Municipal Commissioner is law. It is no longer necessary for him to ask the sanction of the Standing Committee and the Corporation for the widening of any particular street. The consequence has been, that he has ordered that every one of the many hundred streets throughout the city and native town shall be widened, and has marked down in red lines on the Municipal Plans, the new frontage lines of the houses abutting on these streets. In giving the Municipal Commissioner this absolute power, those responsible for the passing of the Act, apparently did not consider that this universal street-widening would cost much money, and that the funds would have to be provided somewhere. There are 30,000 houses in Bombay. It is a low estimate to value each, with the ground upon which it stands, as on an average worth Rs. 5,000. That amounts to fifteen crores of Rupees, or £15,000,000 sterling at par. It is also a reasonable estimate, rather below than above the mark, that the immediate damage done to each house by this compulsory setting-back is one-tenth the value of each house, or, say Rs. 500. I think there are few houses in the town in which the knocking-down and rebuilding of the front rooms on every floor will not amount to considerably more than that sum. The houses are, in their internal arrangements, so planned, that all the rear rooms are dependent for usefulness upon their access to the front room, or *dirwánkhána*, as it is called; the parlour or drawing-room, as it would be termed in England. When this front room is knocked down for the purpose of widening the street, the damage done to the house is irreparable; the least that can be done, is to pull down the internal walls and remodel the internal rooms to suit the new conditions. It is accepted by the Municipal Commissioner that he does so damage the houses, for he is careful to set-back both sides of the street, so that no one can complain that his opposite neighbour has better treatment than himself. The Municipal Commissioner has thus to face a total expenditure of at least one-and-a-half crores of Rupees, or £1,500,000 sterling, and, as the system hereafter described, upon which these set-backs are effected, will cause the demolition of the large majority of the house fronts throughout the city and native town within, probably the next twenty years, the Corporation have to face an average yearly expenditure of seven-and-a-half lakhs of Rupees, or £75,000 sterling at par. But the budget-grant of the Corporation for the current year is only one lakh of Rupees, or £10,000 sterling, and, therefore, the Municipal Commissioner is put into the position of having to make bricks without straw. As he cannot do impossibilities, he and his officers have, perforce, had to work out expedients to reduce the compensation payable, and this

is how it is now being done. Under the former Act, it was provided that the Municipal Commissioner should "pay *full* compensation for all damage done in making set-backs." Under the new Act, the word *full* has been omitted, whether designedly, or not, no one can say. Anyway, it is still obligatory upon the Municipal Commissioner to "pay compensation for all damage done to house-owners in making compulsory set-backs." Of course compensation means *full* compensation. But the Municipal Executive are under the impression that, because the word *full* has been omitted from the new Act, it is not necessary to pay any compensation at all for the house ; that all they have to do is to threaten forcibly to knock down the front of the house, seize the land, and pay the bare value per square yard for the ground, just as if it had always been vacant building ground, with no house upon it. My firm have at the present time half-a-dozen set-back cases pending, in all of which this procedure is being followed. I will just mention one typical case. My client, three years ago, purchased a house in one of the wealthier quarters of the native town. He paid for it at the rate of Rs. 180 per square yard, equal to £2 per square foot at par. Last year he obtained Municipal sanction to repair it and raise an additional storey. As soon as he had repaired the front portion of the house within the set-back line of the street, he got the usual notice to pull down the front of his house. My firm advised him that he had broken the law and must submit, but that he was entitled to full compensation. It is arranged, with his consent, that his house is not to be pulled down now, but at a subsequent date, to be fixed in his discretion by the Municipal Commissioner, he being then paid the present market-value of his ground, and nothing for the house standing upon it. The Municipal Engineer's idea of the market-value of ground in that locality was Rs. 30 per square yard. He then raised his offer to Rs. 60 per square yard, and it was fortunate that I was able to show that the property had been purchased for at least Rs. 180 per square yard. The area of street-widening to this house is only 20 square yards. Thus the Municipality offered him at first Rs 600 compensation, then Rs. 1,200, while my client paid Rs. 3,600 for this area, and will probably have to expend a further Rs. 900 in re-building his front, making the actual damage to his premises at least Rs. 4,500, which the Municipality ought to pay. The words in the Act are absolute, and it is as well that they should be quoted : "Section 301 (1).—*Compensation shall be paid by the Municipal Commissioner to the owner of any building or land acquired for a public street under the set-back sections 298-299, for the value of the said land, and for any loss, damage, or expense sustained by such owner in*

consequence of the order made by the Commissioner under either of the said sections."

Thus the Commissioner is bound to pay, not only for the land upon which the house is built, but also for the value of that portion of the house which he orders to be pulled down, the cost of pulling it down, the cost of rebuilding the new front wall of the house, the cost of rebuilding the internal walls abutting on the new front wall, the damage in rent or other equivalent direct loss which the owner has suffered during the re-building, and, I am inclined to think, in addition, any temporary or permanent consequential loss to his premises and business which he can prove that this forcible rebuilding has cost him.

And yet it is the present practice in the Municipal Office, under the threat of immediate pulling down of the front of the house, to force the owner to agree to its being pulled down at some unstated future date, in the absolute discretion of the Municipal Commissioner, the owner signing a special stamped agreement, in which it is stipulated that he shall receive no compensation for any damage done to his building, but only the market-value of the bare ground!! The fact of such a condition being inserted by the legal advisers of the Municipality, shows that these gentlemen are aware of the meaning and significance of the section above-quoted.

It is thus tolerably evident that, in the laudable endeavour to widen the narrow streets of the town, the Municipal Commissioner is engaged in a task which is now, or will shortly become, financially beyond his powers, and that he employs two methods for postponing the day of reckoning. One is, to delay for the present the pulling down of frontages, compelling the owners, under the threat of immediate pulling down, to agree to accept his estimate of the bare value of the ground, and to forego and forgive all damage to be done to the building in the pulling down. The other is, to force the owner, under threat of the front of his house being forced to rot, to accept the same illegal compensation.

As, omitting the more valuable streets, the value of the ground is only one-fourth the total value of the premises, the Municipality are forcing house-owners to accept, allowing for the cost of the alterations, one-fifth of the compensation to which they are entitled under the Act, and are gilding the bitter pill by postponing the demolition to a future speculative date. Thus, in addition to spending the Budget sanction of one lakh of Rupees yearly, the Municipal Executive are engaged in drawing cheques on posterity to an unknown extent; for nobody knows when these cheques will fall due.

It is only in India, where house-owners are too *gareeb*

(Anglicé, timid) to stand up for their rights, that two such systems of evading the clear provisions of the law in paying compensation are possible. In any town in England a Property Defence League would at once have been set on foot for the mutual protection of all concerned, and to pay for the cost of a test case in the High Court.

Having thus entered into a discussion of this little known subject, I have now to show, that, with the experience already gained, it is possible to fulfil the law in paying house-owners full compensation for all damage done to their premises by street-widening and the making of new streets, and, at the same time, to relieve the present Municipal Revenues of all or nearly all expenditure under these heads.

It is well known that, in the long run, house-owners profit largely by the widening of streets and the making of new streets through back-slums and unbuilt ground, because these street improvements cause an immediate increase in the rents received for buildings abutting upon the improved thoroughfares. House property consists of two ever-varying values. The house, which has cost a definite amount to build, is, year by year, from natural causes, slowly depreciating in value, this depreciation being retarded by the current and substantial repairs, from time to time, expended on it. In addition to the repairs, which have to be paid for out of the rent received, a sum has yearly to be set apart or calculated for, to pay for the cost of insuring the house, whether it is insured or not, also to pay for a sinking fund to be devoted to rebuilding it when it is too far gone to stand any further repairs, or rather when the capitalized cost of the repairs would be greater than the cost of rebuilding. These are the special charges upon the house. There are further charges upon the gross rent, such as taxation, cost of collection, and a calculated loss of rent from bad tenants or vacancies. These are all the possible outgoings off the gross rent; when these have been deducted, it is usual to assess the net rent remaining as being equal in value to Government Paper, which makes the value of the property, house and ground, to be 25 years' purchase of this net rental. The value of the house being a constant quantity, it follows that the variable value, consequent upon the varying rent received, attaches solely to the ground, and with cumulative effect. Thus, while, in ordinary streets throughout the town, the value of the ground will be only one fourth the total value of the premises, in the outlying parts of Bombay its value may be only one-tenth the value of the premises, not exceeding Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per square yard, while, in favourite streets, where the rents are unusually high, as in the case of Mr. Chabildas Lalubhai's shops opposite the Nal Bazaar

Markets, his property was purchased by the Municipality at the rate of Rs. 450 per square yard, of which Rs. 30 per square yard was the value of the buildings and Rs. 420 per square yard the value of the ground.

This increase in the value of the ground comes to the house-owner from no exertion of his own. It is the accident of position only which increases his rent, and, therefore, in a cumulative degree, the value of his ground. This used to be called the unearned increment of the rent attaching to the ground, and is now termed the betterment of the ground. I will give three sets of instances of the way in which this betterment increases :—

(1a).—Take the case of a *chaf*, or tenement, in the suburbs, of 14 rooms, costing Rs. 3,200. The rent paid by the tenants is Rs. 20 per month, equal to Rs. 1-7-0 per room.

Here the value of the building and ground, upon the basis above indicated is	Rs. 2,913
But as the building cost	„ 3,200

The ground has a <i>minus</i> value of	...	Rs. 287
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The investment is so far a bad speculation, the value of the ground is for the time lost, and there is not sufficient rent obtained to pay interest upon the building. But the owner knows that population is increasing so rapidly in Bombay, that he has only to get his building fully let to screw *one* anna per month extra out of his tenants, equal to Rs. 21 per month, to pay him a fair interest upon his building; and that a further one anna, or Rs. 22 per month, will put him on the right side with the purchase of his ground.

(1b).—Assume that, the premises being in a better locality, nearer the town, the rent is Rs. 25 per month, or Rs. 1-12-0 per room, the other conditions being the same.

In this case the value of the building and ground is	Rs. 4,091
Value of the building, as before,	„ 3,200
Value of the ground	Rs. 891

The area of the ground being 240 square yards, the land is worth Rs. 3-12-0 per square yard.

(1c).—Say that, still nearer the town, the rent obtainable is Rs. 30 per month, or Rs. 2-2-0 per room.

In this case the value of building and ground will be	Rs. 5,270
The value of building being, as before,	„ 3,200
The value of ground is	Rs. 2,070

Here the 240 square yards of ground will be worth Rs. 8-10-0 per square yard.

(1d).—Take again the same area of ground, built on, as before, in the shed-roof shape, but in a shop locality, at a higher cost of Rs. 4,000, and let at Rs. 10 per shop, or Rs. 140 per month.

The value of the building and ground will be ... Rs. 30,740

Value of building	Rs. 4,000
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Value of ground	Rs. 26,740
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240 square yards of ground being thus worth Rs. 111 per square yard.

(1e).—Take a still higher shop rent, Rs. 20 per shop or Rs. 280 per month, the other conditions as before.

The value of the building and ground will be ... Rs. 63,730

Value of building	Rs. 4,000
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Value of ground	Rs. 59,730
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240 square yards of ground being thus worth Rs. 249 per square yard.

Note.—Marcks and Co.'s shop on Esplanade Road, in the cost of the building and value of the ground per square yard, comes between these two last examples, while Mr. Chabildas Lalubhai's shops are still more valuable.

(2a).—Referring again to the second example (1b): Suppose the owner is so encouraged by his increased rental, that he pulls down his shed tenement, and builds a substantial house of one upper-storey. His staircase will occupy two rooms. His building will cost him Rs. 8,000. He now has 26 rooms, which bring him in Rs. 50 per month, or Rs. 1-15-0 per room.

In this case the value of the building and ground

will be only Rs. 7,285

Deducting the value of building	Rs. 8,000
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His ground has a <i>minus</i> value of	Rs. 715
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being worth Rs. 3 per square yard less than nothing.

(2b).—He bides his time till he can get Rs. 2-5-0 per room, or Rs. 60 per month.

The value of the building and ground will then be

increased to Rs. 9,640

The value of the building as before being	Rs. 8,000
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The value of the ground is increased to	...	Rs. 1,640
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240 square yards thus being worth Rs. 7 per square yard.

(3a).—Take again the same area of ground in the thickly-populated part of the town. A man builds a house with

a ground-floor and three upper-storeys in a back street, where there is no demand for shops or warehouses. He has 52 rooms, which he lets at Rs. 2-5-0 per room, or Rs. 120 per month, being the same rent per room as the last example (2*b*).

Upon this basis the value of his building		
and ground is	Rs. 18,670
Deduct the value of the building	17,100

The value of the ground is	Rs. 1 570
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240 square yards of ground are thus worth Rs. 6-8-0 per square yard. This would be considered a bad speculation, as land in the town is seldom worth less than Rs. 20 per square yard.

(3*b*).—Take a more normal town rent at Rs. 150 per month, or Rs. 2-14-0 average rent per room, including shop or warehouse on the ground-floor.

The value of the building and ground is		
now increased to	Rs. 25,735
The value of the building is	17,100

The value of the ground is	Rs. 8,635
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240 square yards of ground are here worth Rs. 36 per square yard.

(3*c*).—Increase the average rent Rs. 3-14-0 per room, or per month Rs. 200.

The value of the building and ground is	Rs. 37,500
The value of the building is	17,100

The value of the ground is	Rs. 20,400
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making 240 square yards of ground equal to Rs. 85 per square yard.

(3*d*).—Take now a case of an office building in the Fort, in a back street, let at Rs. 300 per month, with a building of the area and cost described in the last example (3*c*).

The value of this building and ground is	Rs. 62,320
The value of the building is	17,100

The value of the ground is	Rs. 45,220
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240 square yards of ground are here worth Rs. 188 per square yard.

(3e).—If the building, of the same area and cost, in a better locality, is let at Rs. 400 per month—

The premises will be worth	...	Rs. 84,635
Deduct the value of the building	...	" 17,109
		<hr/>
The value of the ground is	...	Rs. 67,535
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240 square yards of ground are worth Rs. 281 per square yard.

Occasionally it happens that the owner is willing that the Municipality should take possession at once of the land and building to which they are entitled within the set-back line of the street. But in this case the Municipality, mindful of the difficult financial position in which they are placed in having yearly at their disposal only one-seventh of the amount that is needed for proper compensation in these set-back cases, when the owner applies for permission to repair the front portion of his house, he is informed that sanction is granted subject to the proviso that he must do no repairs to that portion of his house which is within the set-back line reserved for street widening. The owner naturally takes this permission to repair as being equivalent to a notice to set-back, and he accordingly applies to the Municipality for compensation under the above-quoted section. But he is woefully mistaken in expecting any such just treatment. He gets an official reply, which I freely paraphrase, to the following effect: "We have not asked you to set-back your house; we have asked you, under the proper section, not to repair your house within the set-back line, which is a very different thing. We have no intention of paying you any compensation, except for the value of the naked ground. If you want any compensation for your damaged house, we decline to give it. Let the front of your house rot to the ground. If you dare to repair it, we will pull it down over your head. After the front of your house is rotted, we will pay you compensation for the ground,—not now,—but when it suits us." I have no hesitation in giving my opinion that such an evasion of the Act is scandalous, and needs only publication to be reprobated.

The twelve instances particularized indicate, with sufficient clearness, how rapidly the value of building land rises with an increased rental. The value of the land increases approximately in proportion to the square, or second power, of the rental, and can thus, in a sense, only be compared to diamonds and other precious stones, the carat, or *choti* value of which increases in the proportion of the square of the weight of each stone.

Again the reason why there is any increase in the rental of any one locality over another is, because land is a monopoly, and, as workmen of every description and rank of life must live within a reasonable distance of their work, it follows that the only way to house them, and those who live upon and by them, is to build houses of many storeys in which they can be accommodated. Similarly, in a shop locality, the rental of the shops increases in proportion to the number and wealth of the passengers frequenting the particular street. In favourite localities, their number and value depends upon their proximity to a market, such as the *Nal Bazaar* or *Bhuleshwar Market*, or proximity to a celebrated temple or series of temples. In the case of street-widening by isolated set-backs, the rental may, in the long run, be expected to go up, as the street, by being widened, gives greater facilities for persons on foot or in carriages to make their purchases. But set-backs in narrow gaps have the opposite effect, and not unfrequently cause damage to a house by recessing the shop front out of the line of the direct street traffic.

Again, corner shops and houses always fetch the best rental, because of the double frontage,—two sides thus receiving the benefit of the light and air. It is for this reason that a new street causes an immediate rise in the rental and value of the land adjoining the same, because frontage to light, air and passenger traffic, and facility for residence or business, is given where none before existed. The amount of the frontage is of the highest importance in the value of land, so much so, that in London and all English towns, and in the Colonies, it is customary to sell ground at so much per lineal foot of frontage, the element of depth entering into the value in only a minor degree. The most valuable land in Bombay is in the immediate vicinity of markets, public or private, such as the *Nal Bazaar* and *Bhuleshwar Markets* already mentioned, and the opium, copper, cloth, iron, furniture, and crockery bazaars. Municipal expenditure upon the establishment and enlargement of public markets is thus to the benefit of the house-owners adjoining them, and of the whole district in which they are situated.

I think, therefore, that the time has come for the Municipality of Bombay to initiate a new policy, in respect not only of compensation for set-backs necessitated by street-widening, but also of the purchase of property for new streets, new markets, the extension of existing markets, and similar objects of public improvement.

Hitherto the principle followed has been to pay for such improvements as set-backs by budget allowances out of the annual revenue, and to pay for the other improvements by special loans, the interest and sinking funds of which are paid for out of the

yearly revenues. That this is an unfair, and, therefore, an unpopular, principle, is evident, in that the Municipal Executive are at their wits' end in their endeavour to pay for the cost of set-backs out of the yearly budget allowance, and have unwillingly been driven, as I have shown, to pay only for the cost of the bare land taken up, and seize upon the house without compensation, thereby breaking the clear provisions of the Act in that behalf. Did they do the duty that is placed upon them by the Act of *paying for the loss, damage, or expense sustained by such owners* in consequence of the order to set-back, I believe that, in the average of instances, they would have to pay from four to five times the amount they now pay, or agree to pay, and such sufficient compensation would, as I have already stated, bring matters to a dead-lock ; for the Corporation would never sanction a yearly expenditure of from four to five lakhs of Rupees out of current revenues for this purpose.

The right and scientific principle to adopt in these matters of street improvement is, that those who benefit by them, should pay for them, *i.e.*, that the cost should be borne by the landlords and by the people, through the General Municipal Revenues, in certain ascertainable proportions. It is unquestionable that the landlords, or householders, reap by far the greater benefit of all street improvements, and also, as I think, of all market improvements, in the shape of the increased rents that only too surely follow such improvements ; and it is not right that the General Revenues, such as town and octroi duties, halalkhore, police, lighting, and water-rates, should bear any more than quite a moderate share of the cost of these improvements. The public funds are sufficiently taxed in paying eight lakhs of Rupees per annum (£80,000) for the repairs, maintenance and watering of the streets, and, from this point of view, I should be quite content if the whole cost of the improvements named were placed upon the broad backs of our house-owners. But, as such a policy might cause such clamour as to defeat the intended purpose, I would be content with the proportion, that the town revenues should pay one-fifth and the house-owners four-fifths of the cost. This being conceded, the figures I have already instanced in the items (1a) to (3e) show, with sufficient clearness, that it is a fatal mistake to tax the rents, *per se*, which a house-owner may receive, and that the only sound *betterment* is to tax that proportion of the value of his rent which attaches to his ground, to place the tax upon those whose investments in house property are thriving, and of set purpose to avoid taxing those poor struggling house-owners whose investments in house property are of an unremunerative nature.

Thus, the proposal is, to pay for the street improvements by taxing ground values and ground values only. But before this

tax can be instituted, these ground values have first to be ascertained. There are two methods of doing this : There is the one already indicated, of taking 25 years' purchase of the net rental ascertained after deducting from the gross rental the charges upon the rental, *i.e.*, taxes, cost of collection, losses from bad tenants and vacancies ; and the charges upon the value of the house, *viz.*, repairs, a sinking fund for rebuilding, and insurance. This gives the value of house and ground combined. When from this product the value of the house is deducted, there remains the ground value, pure and simple. On the other hand, when a man purchases a property by auction, or private agreement, the conveyance, or other evidence of the sale, must, in the absence of collusion or fraud, be held to be the combined value of the house and ground ; and, the value of the house being a constant quantity, the value of the ground is at once ascertained. But this second system of valuation is only of temporary use, because the rents received can be the only true basis of value, and this basis should be reverted to within twelve months after the date of the sale.

This system of valuation is quite well understood in the Engineer's Department of the Municipality, and is also approved and adopted by architects and surveyors in Bombay. But it has hitherto been in use only in isolated and contested cases. No attempt has yet been made to assess the whole of the ground values of the city and suburbs upon this or any other system, for the reasons that it has not hitherto been considered necessary, and because a special staff would have to be employed for the purpose. The materials are to hand. The Assessment Department have particulars of the rents paid for every house and landed property in Bombay. The Engineer's Department, with a special staff, would ascertain the values of all houses, and would calculate, from these two items, the net ground values. These ground values divided by 25 would give the net annual rental attachable to the ground, corresponding in form to the net assessed, or net rateable, value in the ordinary assessment bills, but with this radical difference, that only the variable ground value would, for this special purpose, be recognized as assessable and taxable, the value of the portion of the rent attachable to the building being, of set purpose, left untaxed.

The procedure to be employed in thus assessing ground values should be of a strictly summary character, somewhat as follows :—The ground values of properties throughout the town should be ascertained by a Valuing Board, consisting, in the first place, of the Municipal Commissioner and the Municipal Executive Engineer. The latter officer is quite competent to assess ground values upon the basis described ; but he would

probably consider himself in an invidious position, were he made the sole referee in valuations of such magnitude. He would welcome the appointment with himself of a Civil Architect upon the Board, and such an appointment would, no doubt, be popular with the community.

The valuations then would be prepared, in the first place, by the Municipal Engineer's Department, his calculations and results being checked by the Civil Architect. These two professional men would ordinarily agree in their results, but, in case of disagreement on any question of principle, the opinion of the Municipal Commissioner should be final.

The ground values, having been once ascertained, would be revised every five years, each Ward being revised in turn, the existing valuation being taken as correct, until that of the next Ward Division had been published. The results would be published, and each house-owner, if he considered himself aggrieved, would be entitled to have his valuation revised by the above Board.

I have already stated that, in all purchases of real property by the Municipality, whether for set-backs (*i.e.*, street widening, or new street, or other public improvements, such as markets), it would be a fair proportion to assess that the town revenues should bear one-fifth, or 20% of the cost, and ground values the remaining four-fifths, or 80%. It is, however, a matter of considerably greater difficulty to assess what rateable proportions of this 80% remaining should hold good as between the house-owners themselves. But there is, I think, one golden rule which would help the Assessing Board in coming to a decision, *vis.*, that the poorer localities should pay a smaller proportion and the richer localities a greater proportion. Thus the Fort, Bhuleshwar, Mandvie Markets and the Malabar and Cumbala Hill Wards are, with few exceptions, in the ownership of rich people. The rents paid are very large and the consequent ground values are great. I would, therefore, so assess that ground values in each of these Wards should pay nine-tenths, or 90%, of the expenditure incurred in their special Wards, the whole total of house values paying the remaining one-tenth, or 10%. Similarly, in Girgaum and Umar-khadi, it would be fair to state that these Wards should bear seven-tenths of their expenditure, the remaining three-tenths being borne by the whole total. In the same way the Wards of Chowpati and Kamatipura should pay six-tenths, Mazagon and Byculla, containing the old race-course, or Agripada District, a poor locality in which many new roads are already planned, should pay five-tenths, the remaining four-tenths and five-tenths, respectively, being borne by the whole total of ground values. The outlying locality of Chinchpooqli

should pay four-tenths, Parel three-tenths, Warli, Mahim, and Dadar two-tenths, while it would be sufficient if Matunga, Dharavi and Sion paid only one-tenth of their special expenditure, the remaining six-tenths, seven-tenths, eight-tenths, and nine-tenths, respectively, being borne by the whole total of ground values. These proportions are, of course, only tentative and illustrative of the principle above stated. The actual assessing of these proportions should be done by an Assessing Board, which should be a Committee of the Corporation, the proportions being subject to revision at every quinquennial valuation. It would be necessary, in making up the composition of this Board, bearing in mind that the majority of the Corporation are landlords, to provide that none of its members should vote in assessing the proportionate incidence of taxation of any Ward in which such member possessed, or was interested in, real property.

It might also be advisable to provide that this Board should, before coming to a decision, hear evidence from house-owners, or their representatives, upon the general question of the incidence of taxation to be appointed to the respective Wards.

We have now to consider the procedure to be adopted in compensating house-owners. In the case of each property taken up in whole or in part for set-backs, in street-widening for new streets, market extensions, and such like objects, the Valuing Board should, in a summary manner, make, in each case, a special valuation of the property to be purchased, and, in case of severance, should compensate the owner for any loss, damage, or expense sustained by him. The owner should be entitled to produce, for such valuation, evidence of the rents received by him, and, in case of severance, of the loss, damage, or expense he would sustain.

In these cases, a summary appeal should lie to the First Judge of the Small Causes Court, who is the Revenue Judge appointed under the Municipal Act, who should hear evidence only as to rents received, the value of the premises, and of the loss, etc., sustained in severance cases. It is a debateable question, whether or not, upon the demand of the owner, the Court should be assisted by two assessors—one appointed by the Municipality, and one by the owner—the amount of whose fees should be certified by the Judge. But, on the whole, I am inclined to think, having sat in the Land Acquisition Court as assessor in many cases, that the Judge, who will give his decision according to the evidence put before him, is just as competent to decide justly, or rather correctly, without, as with, expert assessors.

The duty of the Court, with or without assessors, should be to certify the value of the premises, including in such value

the loss, damage, or expense sustained by the owner in consequence of severance, the costs of the suit, and that the party appealing is the party entitled to receive the compensation. The procedure being of a strictly summary nature, the appeal as to facts should be final. Matters of disputed ownership should, after the facts as to the value of the premises have been ascertained, be referred to the decision of the High Court in the usual way.

As already stated, it has been hitherto the practice for the Municipal Executive to reduce to its lowest point the compensation to be awarded. Under this new procedure, the Municipality will have to bear only one-fifth of the cost of improvements, the remaining four-fifths being thrown upon the broad shoulders of the collective body of house-owners. This consequence may be expected to result from the new condition of things, that, the Municipality being interested to only a limited proportion in the compensation to be paid, the Valuing Board will no longer feel the present pressing necessity for cutting down values, with the result that house-owners, getting more nearly full value for their property, will also no longer oppose the acquisition of real estate by the Municipality for street and other improvements, which may, therefore, be expected to be carried out on a more extensive and comprehensive a scale than hitherto. It is so important to enlist in this way the sympathies of the Municipal Executive, that, if need be, it would be better that the collective body of landlords should pay nine-tenths of the whole cost, and the share payable by the General Municipal Revenues be reduced to one-tenth.

Nothing has yet been said as to the method of assessing the value of vacant land in a street, in order that it should bear its share of the taxation for improvements. Vacant land brings in no rent, and, therefore, its value cannot be ascertained upon a rental basis. Yet it is important that it should bear its share of the burden, because the owners of such land share very materially in the benefits derived from street and other improvements, the speculative or market values of vacant land varying directly with the improved values of adjoining house properties. For this reason, it is not fair to house-owners that adjoining vacant land should escape its share of the taxation from which it benefits. The best criterion of the value of vacant land is doubtless the evidence of sales of similar land in the immediate neighbourhood. Where these are not obtainable, the Valuing Board would have to depend upon the ground values deduced from adjoining house property. It would not be fair to value vacant land at the full value that would attach to it if a house four or

five storeys high were built upon it. It would, probably, be more correct and reasonable to value it at one-half the ground value of adjoining house property. The twelve examples given, from (1a) to (3e), show that position is the main factor in determining the rents received for a property, and its consequent ground value, so that, if such land has not been utilized in building, it is certain that good cause exists for the omission. For the same reason in the absence of actual sales of similar vacant land in the immediate neighbourhood, it would not be fair to compensate vacant land at more than one-half the ascertained value of adjoining utilized land.

In the same way, on Malabar and Cumbala Hills, in Parel, Mazagon and the outlying suburbs, there are thousands of acres of land under cultivation, or waste, suitable for building, and which, as Bombay extends, will, sooner or later, be built upon. All these lands are in the market at speculative values of from ten to twenty times the capitalized value of the yearly produce now obtained; and any one who wishes to build has no option but to pay these speculative values, which are really based upon sales of adjoining or similar land in the neighbourhood. Perhaps the best way to deal with these lands will be to make each owner yearly declare the value of such plot for taxation, with this condition, that such value shall be the price to be paid by the Municipality, should the same be required for a public purpose. If a street is to be constructed through the land, the owner might have the option given him of retaining all land outside the limit of the street. It would be a short-sighted policy not to give the owner this option, because the construction of a street transforms such land into valuable frontage plots, which, when built upon, pay taxation to the ordinary revenues. On the other hand, if the Municipality purchased these plots in whole, it would, by laying them out in building plots on 100 years' leases, add largely to the Municipal Revenues and thus be able to lower the incidence of taxation elsewhere. The owners could not complain, because they would sell their lands for the value stated by them. If, however, the Municipality thus purchased building land outside the limits of new streets for the purpose of making a profit by leasing the building plots, such purchases would be debited, not to the compensation for Improvement Fund, but to the General Municipal Revenue. It is certain that some such policy will have to be initiated, for one much needed public improvement, *viz.*, the municipalization of dwellings for workmen and the poor generally. The hovels in which the respectable labouring classes are forced to live are a disgrace to any civilized State. These workers produce, by their sole labour, all the wealth that we enjoy. Landlords will

build only for a profit, with the result that the working classes suffer from colds, fevers, lung and bowel complaints, all their lives. The Municipality must undertake, on an extensive scale, the housing of these people, and follow the excellent example set by the Peabody Trust, and by London, Glasgow, Liverpool and other English towns, under the "Housing of the Poor" Act.. The land should not be charged for; but the tenants should pay the Municipality rents based upon the actual cost only of the buildings and their maintenance. Let landlords, in future, make their rents out of the middle and upper classes, and Municipalities make the housing of the working man their special care. Even on selfish grounds, masters will benefit by such a policy, in the improved health their employes will enjoy.

All Bombay is held more or less on the Fazendari, or permanent leasehold, system; while many properties are now leased under the English system, for a term of 20, 30, 50, or 100 years, at comparatively high rents. The system may be good. It seems a legitimate one for a Municipality to adopt, which thus, like the city of London, becomes, in the course of centuries, the possessor of all the ground values in its jurisdiction. But in the hands of private owners, short-term leases are onerous and ruinous to the house-investor. This latter system is rapidly extending in Bombay. Up to now these leases have been free from taxation. There is no reason why this exemption should any longer continue. Lessors profit by the security of tenure that they enjoy. Their rents are paid regularly, monthly or yearly, under the stringent condition that, in default of payment for a certain number of days, they are entitled to resume possession of their land and of the house built upon the same. It is unfair that their lessees or tenants should be forced to pay all Municipal rates and taxes, and lessors should, in future, be made to pay their proportion of Municipal dues, chargeable to the consolidated tax, notwithstanding any agreement in their lessees' leases to the contrary. Again, I think, I am correct in stating that, omitting a few of the wealthier house-owners, three-fourths of the rateable property of Bombay is permanently mortgaged. The mortgaged properties are transferred by deed into the names of the mortgagees, and these deeds are duly registered in the Government Registry Office. Yet the mortgagors are the only parties who are recognized in the Municipal Assessment Book, and they pay the full taxation of their property to the Municipality. This system falls with crushing severity upon the poorer class of struggling house-owners, and should come to an end, now that public attention has been drawn to it. It is within my own professional experience, extending back

in Bombay for the past twenty-five years, that there have been large transfers of property from the original Portuguese and Maratha holders into the hands of Parsees, and of the thriving merchant castes of Bhattias and Khojas from Cutch, who, between them, are now possessed of the greater portion of the more valuable real property of Bombay. The mortgagors should be required, in their yearly declaration, to state for what amounts and at what rate per cent. their properties are mortgaged, and the Municipal Assessor should, in his bills, state what amount of the taxes paid by them should be credited as payment made on account of the mortgagee's share of such taxation. Similarly, the lessee should receive credit, in his account with his lessor, for payments made to the Municipality on account of the lessor's share of the taxation. By such improved incidence of taxation, a great wrong, to which public attention has not hitherto been called, would be rectified, and the position of the poor struggling house-owner thereby improved. A little more writer's work would have to be done in the Assessor's Office; three or four columns of figures would have to be shown in the bill and counterfoil books, instead of one; but one bill only would still be collected, and one item of payment entered, as now, in the Assessor's book of receipts.

No inducement has yet been discovered to make native house-owners willingly and freely declare the actual rents they receive, and the Inspectors of the Assessment Department have to employ all kinds of expedients to ascertain the real rents. In my experience the net assessed values in the majority of instances now approach a reasonable degree of accuracy, but occasionally one comes across glaring discrepancies. In addition to the inquiries personally conducted by the Assessment Inspectors, I would make it incumbent upon owners, under a penalty, to submit every year a statement of their rents to the Assessment Department. And where, in awarding compensation, the Valuing Board had a higher scale of rents proved before them, it would be necessary to deduct from such compensation the amount of the taxation which the owner had been saved in previous years by his false returns, up to a limit of (say) ten years, the difference between the rents proved and the last return of rents sent in being the basis for such deduction. At present, many house-owners seem to consider it a mark of cleverness to be able to mislead the Assessment Inspectors as to their rentals, for they benefit directly by such false returns; but some such clause would probably make owners anxious to submit their true rents. Landlords, when they happen to become acquainted with the fact that their neighbours' house is under-assessed, do not dream of

giving such information to the Municipality as would lead to a rectification of the mistake. But when landlords come to learn that the under-assessment of their neighbours is equivalent to an additional assessment upon themselves, their sense of public duty will surely be quickened.

Ordinarily a quinquennial valuation would be sufficient for all practical purposes. But, in the case of new streets, it would be necessary to make new valuations the year following the completion of the improvements.

The working of the new scheme of taxation would be somewhat as follows:—It would be necessary to have some amount of borrowed capital in hand to commence with, so as to equalize taxation. It would first have to be decided what share of the compensation awarded, one-fifth or one-tenth, should be borne by the Municipal Fund. This share would probably be fixed by the "Compensation for Improvements Act." The remaining share of the compensation should be considered a debt to the Municipal Revenues, and be charged with interest at 5 per cent per annum. As soon as the Valuing Board had completed the valuations, the Assessing Board would recommend to the Corporation that the taxation upon the assessed ground values for the following year should be so much per cent. The tax as paid into the Municipal Fund would be to the credit of the Improvements Fund, and would year by year be credited with interest at 5 per cent. per annum. In a few years' time the Assessing Board would, with the experience gained, be able to so average the cess, as to repay to the Municipal Fund, with interest, the original advances. The account current would, however, be kept up, and interest would be each year added to the balance at debit or credit of the "Compensation for Improvements Fund."

Let it be clearly understood, even at the risk of reiteration, that in this connection the Municipality are entitled to take, and must take, a strong position. It is, no doubt, true that the whole community benefit in the increased facilities of communication brought about by wider streets and by new streets, as also in the better means for purchasing cheap and good provisions, which the construction of new and enlarged markets makes possible. The Municipality has laid down the principle, that it is its duty to provide local markets throughout the city and suburbs, where required, and is persistently discouraging the opening of private markets by speculators or investors. The community, no doubt, benefit by these improvements, but the persons who directly reap the profits in increased rents are the landlords. It is, therefore, right and just that the whole of the cost of these improvements should be transferred by taxation upon the ground landlords, so far as the initial cost

of the real property purchased is concerned. The landlords may protest that the Municipality should bear their share. This I admit ; but I also say that, even though the Municipality paid not one penny towards the cost of the purchase of real property, it would still pay more than its share. Of what value would houses be without good road frontages, giving access of light and air and means of carriage and foot approach ? The Municipality already pays the whole cost of the maintenance of the roads, to the extent of eight lakhs of Rupees, or £80,000 at par ; it also pays the cost of watering and cleaning roads, and of laying sewers and surface drains. The cost of this maintenance is partly made up by a special wheel tax, the remainder being borne by the General Municipal Fund, which falls only in part upon the landlords, and is largely made up by town duties, or octroi taxation upon articles consumed principally by the poor. Therefore, while, justly, the Municipality should pay none of the cost of the real property acquired, it is well, as a matter of practical politics, that it should, in the interests of the landlords themselves, pay a small proportion, such as a one-tenth or one-fifth share, in order that it may have an interest in keeping the purchase price of real improvements down to their real market-value, thus paying the landlords full compensation, but no more.

So far as I am aware, none of the English towns have gained such experience on this subject as would be of benefit to us in India. But much has been done in the United States, and it would be advisable that their practice should be studied and improved upon.

With regard to the general policy of market building and extension, I would like to state that, under the new system of assessment for ground improvements here advocated, I do not think that the Municipality should continue to make large profits from market rents. These large profits are a sure indication that the markets are congested, and that there is not sufficient space available for the business done. This should be rectified by enlarging every existing market, and by building local markets wherever required, until the supply equals the demand, and the Municipality can secure only rent to cover the cost and maintenance of the buildings. No charge should be made in these rents for the ground. The Municipality should, in this, as in all other Municipal improvements, accept the position that these improvements are for the benefit of the public who have to pay taxation. Let the Municipality understand, that the amount of all rents paid by stall-holders must necessarily be thrown upon the cost of the provisions sold, and that rate-payers are entitled to the utmost facilities to purchase these provisions at the cheapest possible rate consistent with sound quality.

I think that the following Municipal improvements, so far as the purchase of the ground is concerned, should be paid for by the taxation of ground values advocated in this paper : new streets, widening of existing streets, markets, latrines, wells, fountains ;* and hydrants Fire-engine and Police-stations, Central and Ward offices, Sewer ventilators, Branch pumping-stations for sewers, Conservancy Dépôts, and Milch Cattle stables. The rate-payers and house-owners are directly interested in such improvements, and their construction enhances the value of all adjoining real property. The list could, no doubt, be considerably extended. Conservancy Dépôts, however, must be excepted in part from the above general statement. Their construction has a tendency to depreciate adjoining property. But, by improving the health generally of the city, and by reducing the excessive cost of long distance cartage, they reduce conservancy expenditure, which reduction is directly to the benefit of the whole class of house-owners.

In connection with the question of the incidence of taxation, it is interesting to trace the effect of taxing the rents, in the simple, crude fashion common in England and India, as compared with the more scientific system of taxing either the one-twenty-fifth part of the value of the house and ground combined, or the one-twenty-fifth part of the net ground value, apart from the value of the house.

I will select two typical instances (3a) and (3d) already given :—

(3a).—Rent per annum	...	Rs.	1,440	•
Value of house	...	...	Rs.	17,100
Value of ground	...	...	„	1,570
				<hr/>
Total value	...	„	18,670	
				<hr/>
(3d).—Rent per annum	...	Rs.	3,600	
Value of house	...	...	Rs.	17,100
Value of ground	...	...	„	45,220
				<hr/>
Total value	...	„	62,320	

In London the taxation is at least 25 per cent. of the gross rents. In Bombay it is $15\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., which includes 4 per cent. for water-rates and 3 per cent. for halalkhore, or night-soil removal, cess ; while in London separate water-rates have to be paid, in addition, to public companies, and a special sewage-rate is levied. For simplicity of calculation, say that the total rate is 20 per cent. on the yearly value. If the taxation were on the rent, the owner of—

(3a).—Would pay per annum on a yearly value
of Rs. 1,440 Rs. 288

(3d).— Ditto ditto " 3,600 " 720
the latter thus paying $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as the former.

If the taxation were on the value of the property, house, and ground—

(3a).—Would pay on a yearly value of Rs. 746 Rs. 149

(3d).— Ditto ditto " 2,493 " 498
and the latter would pay $3\frac{1}{3}$ times as much as the former.

If the taxation were on the value of the ground only—

(3a).—Would pay on a yearly value of Rs. 63 Rs. 12

(3d).— Ditto ditto " 1,809 " 362
and the latter would pay thirty times as much as the former.

These are selected as extreme instances, in order to show with what glaring injustice the crude system of taxing the gross rental works. It has lasted so long only because the ground landlords of London have been so powerful hitherto, as successfully to resist all attempts to place any portion of the Municipal taxation upon them, and also because it has been nobody's business to show in detail by what method taxation could be fairly applied to them. It is only by splitting up and exhibiting the separate values of the house and the ground, that the injustice of the taxation of the house is manifested. The owner hopes, by risking a likely investment in erecting a building, to make a profitable speculation in the ground upon which it is built. The house, as already stated, is ever deteriorating in value, and only by unremitting attention and continual expenditure can this deterioration be retarded, never prevented. Suppose (a)—to a certain extent, an impossible case, that the ground cost him nothing. The investment on the house is calculated to return him 4 per cent. net. In (3a), the rent of Rs. 1,440 per annum makes the investment bring in a net return of $4\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. In (3d) the rent having increased in the slow course of years to Rs. 3,600, the return upon the expenditure on the house increases to over $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The normal or minimum return on expenditure being based upon 4 per cent. profit, it follows that the additional 10 per cent. profit, chargeable to the land value, is the betterment of the land, and is the only portion of the investment which, on any just system, should be liable to taxation. I am aware that land values can never be stated in such beautiful simplicity as to have been, in any one man's hands, originally valueless. All house-owners have paid something more or less for their building plots. And yet we can all of us look back to periods in our recollection when certain building locations were so low in value as to be practically valueless. Much building land in Bombay, now worth, apart from the

buildings, from Rs. 30 to Rs. 100 per square yard and upwards, pays to the original fazendar, or feu-holder, only Rs. 3 per 100 yards per annum, equal to a capital value to the lessor of less than Re. 1 per square yard. But Government, in their policy, have been just as reckless. The Governor of Bombay, when this ancient city was given in marriage-dowry by the King of Portugal to the Queen of Charles II, two hundred years ago, guaranteed to the then cultivators their rights in the cultivation for ever at the then rents. The time of the Stuarts being the most flagitious period of English History, in respect of the unthinking giving away to landlords of the rights of the whole people in the soil, it is not to be wondered at that, for the century following, Governor Augier's "for ever" should have been interpreted, by the one-sided public opinion of those days, to mean, that the original peppercorn rents represented, not merely the rent chargeable for the Government share of the produce of agricultural land only, so long as it remained under useful cultivation, but also that the Government had no right to charge anything for the betterment of the land due to the natural increase of the value of building land in a crowded city centre. It was the same evil influence which led Lord Cornwallis to hand over to a lot of rent-collectors the whole of Bengal for a rental of £3,000,000 per annum, which has made these same families idlers and drones to the extent of their betterment of £9,000,000, being the difference between what they receive from the cultivators and what they pay to the State. It was the same evil influence which led the Government of Bombay, in the early years of this century, to give for ever whole villages near Bombay, with hundreds of inhabitants, to lessees, at a rental of one rupee per village per annum, in return for certain shadowy concessions of salt manufacture, at a time when salt was of greater value, than it now is. These concessions of the rent of agricultural land have been interpreted by the Courts here to mean, that these leases also include rights of mines and minerals. By these means the Government has been defrauded of a legitimate revenue, and the mortar of which Bombay houses are built has been taxed to an enormous extent, because, on the surface of the fields in these villages, loose lime-stone pebbles, the only lime-stone procurable in Bombay, were cast up by the village ploughs, and because, in the adjoining sea-shore, morasses attached to these villages, solid layers of lime-stone have been dug up.

It was the same evil influence which led the Government of Bombay, just after the Mutiny, to settle for ever, under a special Act, the whole of the Bombay Race-course, and the swamp lands adjoining, at peppercorn rents, under agricultural leases,

to cultivators, a few years after which the Government gave a betterment value to these lands by constructing, at great expense, a number of first-class town-roads, since which Bombay has so unexpectedly spread, that in a few years' time the whole of this land will be entirely built over. In the city and native town of Bombay is much land, entirely covered by buildings, held under the "Pension and Tax" tenure, as it is called, of Governor Augier's permanent settlement, in which 1,000 square yards of ground have to pay Rs. 6 per annum, equal to a capital value of Rs. 15 per 100 square yards, for ground that is to-day worth, apart from the buildings, from Rs. 60 to Rs. 100 per square yard and upwards. And yet the Government, at their wits' end for legitimate objects of taxation, have hesitated hitherto to seize this defiant nettle in their hands, and make the overgrown wealthy landlords of Bombay, by special taxation on their betterment, pay a fairer share than they now do towards the expenses of good government.

It is the same influence by which the Government of Bombay has allowed squatters, in years gone by, to take possession of many of the best building sites in the business parts of the city, on Malabar Hill and elsewhere, at peppercorn rents. These holders have no title whatever to show for their holdings; they are classed in the Government books as "on sufferance;" and yet they have been so long in possession, that conveyances of these properties are considered to be good titles. The titles are so many and so various, that I would advocate a real permanent settlement of them all.

The Collector of Bombay is a high Government official, holding the most coveted post in the Civil Service. The usual system of promotion is that the Collector of Bombay is made Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, or *vice versa*, both posts being equally well paid. The amount of Government revenue collected in the town and island of Bombay is hardly sufficient to pay the salaries of the Collector and his office staff, and the office is kept up only for the purpose of enabling Government to retain a hold upon the transfers of real property, and, by registration, to give security of tenure to the owners.

I would advocate a permanent settlement of all Government lands in Bombay and throughout India, though, for the purposes of my present argument, I restrict my attention to Bombay. This should be a real permanent settlement, not a sham one, like those of Bengal and the Central Provinces. The settlement should be permanent in respect of the actual cultivators of agricultural land for the time being; it should be in their favour, so long as they cultivate their land and pay the Government dues, and should hold good against all non-culti-

vating claimants. But no existing Government has the right to pledge the revenues of future generations. No existing Government has the right to force the Government of future generations to accept a certain hard-and-fast rate of so many annas or rupees per acre, which was a fair rent when originally imposed, but which, on account of the increased value of the betterment of the land, the increased value of the produce, and the increased cost of Government, has become an inadequate recompense for the benefits which present good government confers. In the same way, the existing Government of Bombay is not bound, by the permanent settlement entered into by Governor Augier 200 years ago, any more than the Government of Bengal is bound by the permanent settlement entered into by Lord Cornwallis 100 years ago. The people have changed, as also the circumstances of life, and all good government has an inalienable right for the full value of the economic rent realized at the time existing. This economic rent belongs in whole to the State, or Government, which is the embodied representative of the whole people. It may not suit the Government to demand this full economic rent; it will be satisfied at present with a proportion of it; but the time will come when it will demand the whole, for the benefit and in the interest of the whole community.

A special law, therefore, should be passed for the city and island of Bombay. The office of the Collector of Bombay should be amalgamated with that of the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, which should collect in one bill the Government and Municipal demand, the Government paying the Municipality for the cost of collection, a proportion of the amount collected. The Government demand should be a stated percentage of the ground values, as ascertained in the earlier part of this paper, this percentage being fixed by special law every five years. The Government should bear their share of the cost of preparing the quinquennial valuations already described. * As it would take time to prepare these valuations, and the Government would have to collect its rents at once, for the first quinquennial period the Government would have to charge its tax upon a percentage of the existing rents as assessed by the Municipality. In order that there might be no violent change in existing institutions, the Government for the first five years should charge much the same amount on the whole as is now charged, at least on properties of smaller value, charging an increased differential rate upon higher rented properties. Thus the present Municipal tax upon all properties is 4 per cent. of their net rental value, house and land alike. The Government tax might be fixed at 1 per cent., or one-fourth of this amount, upon properties in one ownership of the total rental value of Rs. 500 per annum; those of

Rs. 1,000 per annum paying one-tenth extra or 1·1 per cent. ; those of Rs. 1,500, 1·2 per cent. ; Rs. 2,000, 1·3 per cent. ; the differential rates increasing by increments of $\frac{1}{10}$ th for each 500, up to properties in one ownership of the total value of Rs. 5 500 per annum, which would pay 2 per cent. per annum upon their rental. The tax would be collected, as a part of their own bills, by the Municipality, and the payers, as stated in the former part of this paper, would be entitled to credit themselves, in their accounts with their mortgagees and lessors, with the mortgagee's and lessor's share of the tax, in the proportion which the yearly interest of the mortgagee and the rent of the lessor might bear to the total assessed rent. This tax would have no practical effect upon the income-tax returns, as from 99 to 98 per cent. of the rentals of Bombay would still be liable to income-tax assessment.

In a few properties in Bombay the owners have been allowed to turn their holdings into freeholds, by paying twenty-five years' purchase of the current Government demand. Any such actual payments would, of course, be credited to the owner in the new scheme of taxation, by deducting from his tax the rental value of his freehold, *i. e.*, the amount of the rent which he had purchased. The Government, during the first five years, would benefit to the extent of the increased differential tax paid by the richer house-owners, and by the saving effected by the amalgamation of the office of the Collector of Bombay with that of the Municipality. By the end of the first quinquennial period, experience would be gained as to the further steps to be taken, in increasing, to a moderate percentage, the tax charged. By this time the ground values of each property in the city and island having been prepared, the tax would be charged upon the value of the ground, the value of the house being eliminated. It is, however, a question whether the tax should be solely upon the ground value. The Government may in fairness say that houses share in the benefits of good government just as much as land, and therefore that the house should bear its share of imperial taxation along with the land, though not to so great an extent. The income-tax amounts to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. When the house and land tax has been increased to an amount equal to the income-tax, it would be fair to allow from the income-tax a deduction of the full amount charged on the house, and of one-third the amount charged as land tax upon the ground. Thus, in course of time, land-owners would cease to pay income-tax proper, which would be charged only to those who, though landless, were otherwise in receipt of good incomes from trades or professions.

The new system of taxing the rental or ground values would, by a separate law, be extended to the Collectorates of Thana

and Colaba, which are in close proximity to Bombay. All properties held at peppercorn rents, and especially all quarries of building stone or lime-stone, the productions of which are consumed in Bombay, should bear special taxation, proportioned differentially to the total incomes received from the same by their owners, equivalent deductions being made, as already stated, for freehold rents purchased from, as also for land exchanges made in former years with, Government, these exchanges being valued at the current values ruling at the time the exchanges were effected. So far as these rich quarries are concerned, the valuations would have to be quinquennial, while for ordinary farms the revisions might be decennial. It is unwise for the Government any longer to retain the system of thirty-year leases; such long leases are unfair both to Government and to the rayat. An American cotton famine comes, which at once trebles the value of the rayat's holding, enables him, in his peculiarly Indian way, to spend himself in riotous living, upon the marriages of his children, in buying silver tyres for his carts and silver points to his ploughs. Then suddenly comes famine, and a Sir Richard Temple, in fear of the Supreme Government, insists upon the full rent being extorted, with the result that the rayat is sold body and soul to the village banker, and he sells even his ornaments for money to pay his rent. So far as these two Collectorates are concerned, the Government should pass a law giving the rayats who cultivate these estates a cultivating permanent settlement in their holdings, in somewhat the same manner as has been recently done in Bengal. In addition, the rayatwari-system should be introduced into these estates, upon the system in force in other parts of the Bombay Presidency, and the so-called owners of the estates be relegated to their proper position as idle *rentiers*, capitalists who receive rents and do nothing in return for them. It would be better that the Government should, upon the rayatwari-system, collect the rents direct from the cultivators. The Government, at every quinquennial or decennial period, would increase its share of the tax or impost charged upon the land. The impost paid by the rayat to Government would include the share of the rent which might be due to the original lessor, *zemindar*, *malguzar* or *khote*. The Government would pay the lessor his share of the impost out of the rents received from the cultivator. This share, upon each revision of taxation, would steadily diminish, until, may be, after a period of many years, the full economic rent had been realized by Government, when payments to the lessor would altogether cease.

Here, then, has been sketched a means by which the economic rent, or, as it is sometimes called, the betterment, of the ground values in towns, and of farms in the country or *mofussil*, would be secured to the State. The process might be commenced now

and can be put into fuller operation in future years, as found advisable. So far as towns are concerned, the State includes the Municipality. The latter would be the executive body, paying a defined share of its taxation to Imperial purposes. Similarly, in the mofussil, the State would be represented by District Boards, who would exercise the functions of County Councils, in a complete system of Local Government. The District Boards would collect the tax, keeping a defined proportion for local purposes, and paying the balance to the Government. In the towns the Imperial Government, to all outward appearance, would be non-existent. The Municipality would pay for the Police, would exercise the powers of Government under the Abkari Act, in licensing liquor and tobacco shops, and would build and keep in repair all Government buildings. The only duty that would appertain to the Imperial Government would be the keeping-up of the Military and Naval Forces. Similarly, in the mofussil, the District Boards would exercise all the functions pertaining to the Municipalities in the towns, the Government retaining control only of the Army. The carrying of this new policy into effect would, no doubt, be the work of many years. It would be better for the Supreme Government in the Legislative Department, while indicating in broad general lines, the policy of decentralization to be pursued throughout India, to encourage the Local Governments to pass special Decentralization Acts, suitable in details to each special town and district. Some are forward and many backward in their municipal or corporate life. Each special people and language would have to be separately considered and legislated for on its merits. As a resident of Bombay for the past 25 years, a Member for six years of its Municipal Corporation, and one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Rate-payers, Association, I am of opinion that Bombay is ripe for a further extension of Local Self-Government in the directions I have above indicated. The basis of electoral representation should be widened, so as to comprise the skilled trades among the working classes, and make it impossible for rich people to purchase the many votes. Free universal education in the Vernaculars should be made compulsory, so that the child of every common cooley might learn to read, write, and cypher in his or her own language. This education should be made practical by adding technical classes to every school, by means of which every child would be taught the rudiments of some skilled trade; such technical education being, of course, properly varied for girls. The development of these schools should be upon the Board School system, which has become such a success in England. It would not be necessary to keep the children from earning something by their labour. It would be sufficient to teach half the number for three hours in

the morning, and the other half for three hours in the afternoon. Older lads at work full-time in the day could study at evening schools, if needed. Free secondary schools should also be largely instituted, at which English and the higher education would be taught ; this, of course, not being compulsory.

This new policy would be a direct encouragement to pure and economical administration. The whole cost of the Imperial and Local Governments would be thrown upon the Municipal District Boards, who would have to pay a certain proportion, fixed by law from time to time, of their collections to the Government, retaining the balance for the cost of their own administration. The Imperial and Local Governments would have to pay the cost of the Judicial Service. The superior executive and administrative officers, while directly under the orders of Government, would be the supervising officers of the Municipal and Districts Boards, who would provide the fund for the payment of their salaries. The Imperial Government, in furtherance of this policy, would have to give up its insane fear of the Russians, stop all expenditure on Railways beyond the Frontier, and reduce the Military expenditure to the lowest point consistent with real strength. The opium revenue is certain to go. The tax on salt, immoral in its incidence and results, should gradually be reduced, as the impost on ground value is increased. Municipalities also must give up speedily all octroi dues, all taxes upon food. The true principle of taxation is clear and simple. Taxes upon food increase the cost of living, which increases the sum total of the wages which have necessarily to be paid, and thereby increases the cost of everything produced by wage labour. Tax only the betterment of the land, and the cost of all food products becomes less in amount. The working man could live comfortably upon a smaller money wage, and the salaries of all who live upon the workmen would have greater purchasing power, and could gradually be lowered in amount. Thus, by restricting taxation, principally to the economic rent of the land, which John Stuart Mill and all the more recent political economists maintain belongs solely to the State, economical administration would be fostered and made possible. Further restrictions could be placed upon *Abkari* consumption, the people and Municipalities would be encouraged to close liquor, opium and *ganja* shops. Thus a purer morality would be inculcated, and the masses of the people would enjoy a deeper and more real fund of true happiness in proportion as their material prosperity increased.

DAVID GOSTLING, F.R.I.B.A.,

Architect, Bombay.

ART. X.—PROTECTION OF INSECTIVOROUS BIRDS IN THE INTERESTS OF AGRICULTURE.

A PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT INACTION.

- 1.—“*The Effectual Protection of Insectivorous Birds in the Interests of Agriculture :*” An Address delivered at a Meeting of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, on the 29th December 1887, by JNO. RUDD RAINEY, F.R.G.S.
- 2.—*Representations on the above subject to the Government of India*, by MR. RUDD RAINEY, the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.
- 3.—*Reports on the above subject to the Government of India from the various Local Governments and Administrations.*

THE date of the first of the several papers noted above shows how slowly the Government machinery moves in this country, for it has taken considerably over two years to elicit opinions from Indian officials on the subject of the protection of insectivorous birds in the interests of agriculture.

Mr. Rainey's Address was duly delivered at a comparatively large Meeting of the Agri-Horticultural Society. It set forth clearly and concisely that the (then) recently passed enactment (Act No. XX of 1887), entitled an “Act for the Protection of Wild Birds and Game,” though it was claimed by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill that it would “admit of protection being given to insectivorous birds,” would afford such birds a merely nominal protection, inasmuch as its operation was expressly confined to the areas of the different Municipalities and Cantonnments, within which there was little land under cultivation, and, consequently, there were few insectivorous birds. Mr. Rainey pointed out the usefulness of purely and partially insectivorous birds in destroying insects injurious to crops, and quoted from a Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture in America, in which it was stated that the laws passed in 1859 and 1860, to protect wild game from indiscriminate slaughter, and to prevent the reckless killing of insectivorous birds, gave great satisfaction. He strenuously advocated the extension of the Act to all parts of India, and, in the penultimate paragraph of his Address, thus forcibly put the case:—

“These birds, it cannot be gainsaid, do a vast deal of good to agriculturists, in protecting their crops from the ravages of destructive insects, and while the rural populations are—to quote the words of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab

cited by the Legal Member—sorry to see them destroyed, the only persons interested in the trade are the exporters and a few professional netters and snarers employed by them. Are the interests, then, of the vast body of agriculturists, in this essentially agricultural country, to be sacrificed to this limited and insignificant class? There can be but one answer to this question, and that, of course, an emphatic negative. It thus behoves the Government, in the interests of the teeming millions,—the tillers of the soil,—to extend the provisions of the Act throughout the length and breadth of India."

Mr. Rainey concluded his Address by expressing a hope that the matter he had placed before the Society, would induce them "to make a fitting representation to the Government on the subject, in order to move the Supreme Legislature to pass a more liberal measure in the all-important interest of agriculturists."

Mr. Rudd Rainey followed the subject up at the next Meeting of the Society by exhibiting selected feathers of certain insectivorous birds, and reading a statement taken down by him of a dealer in such feathers, to the effect that:—

"The trade in birds' feathers is a very lucrative one, and those who sell to me, make an extraordinary profit thereby. It is so very profitable, that the *Cháságan*, or agriculturists, sell even their ploughs and bullocks to obtain money to purchase guns and ammunition, and take to this pursuit. A man, within three months during the season, can earn as much as Rupees two hundred."

The Council of the Society thereupon passed a Resolution:—
"That the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, be addressed, and his attention drawn to the facts cited by Mr. Rainey. The Society concurs in Mr. Rainey's views, and hopes the scope of the measure may be enlarged in the manner indicated."

Mr. Rainey then forwarded a copy of the Address to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, accompanied by a letter, asking them to support the good cause, and stating the grounds therefor:—

Whereupon the Bengal Chamber of Commerce wrote as follows to the Government of India:—

"BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
CALCUTTA, 31st January 1888.

"To

SIR E. C. BUCK, KT., C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Revenue and Agricultural Department.

"SIR,—The Committee of the Chamber of Commerce desire me to hand you copy of a letter, dated the 5th January, from

Mr. John Rudd Rainey, Zemindar of Khulna, and copy of the *Englishman* of 31st December, containing a report of a Lecture delivered by him before the Agricultural Society of India. With reference to these papers, I am to say that a re-consideration of Act XX of 1887, an 'Act for the Protection of Wild Birds and Game,' for the more effectual protection, in the interests of agriculture, of insectivorous birds, would have the support of the Chamber of Commerce.

"I have, &c.,
(Sd.) S. E. J. CLARK,
Secretary."

Shortly afterwards, moved thereto by the representations of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Agri-Horticultural Society, as also by Mr. Rainey's letter addressed to them direct, the Government of India, in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, wrote to that gentleman informing him, that the several Local Governments and Administrations had been furnished with copies of his letter, dated the 5th January 1888, addressed to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and been asked to obtain the opinions of the Directors of Departments of Land Record and Agriculture on the subject.

The result of the enquiry, instituted by order of the Government of India, is now before us in the shape of Reports and Resolutions. These, taken altogether, are rather bulky; but their contents are most disappointing, for there is very little of any interest or importance in them, whether for or against the measure proposed by Mr. Rainey. We will proceed, for the benefit of our readers, to extract the 'proverbial grain from the bushel of chaff,' though the operation will not, under the circumstances, be a pleasant one.

Taking the returns in chronological order, we find the first on the list to be that from Assam, which is specially meagre. The letter of Mr. H. Z. Darrah, C.S., Director of Agriculture, is dated more than two years back, that is, the 26th May 1888, and he says, that "occasionally feather-hunters have now and then been known in Goalpara, Kamrup and Sibsagar, and the paddy-bird has suffered in consequence," but the Act "to be of any value, should be extended over the whole Province," which was exactly what Mr. Rainey advocated. But Mr. Darrah evidently wants no legislative interference—for he says, rather inconsistently, that, however stringent the Act might be made, it would be impossible to enforce its provisions; because "the creation of legal offences, in direct opposition to the wishes of the majority of the community, would only afford an additional handle for extortion to subordinate officials." But "the legal offence"—to use the writer's own words—has already been created by the express authority of Act XX of 1887, though only within certain limited areas. As to the latter part of

the sentence, we presume the writer means that the subordinates of the Police would reap a rich harvest of bribes from "the majority of the people" who appear to be given to potting birds indiscriminately, be it for their flesh or their feathers, it matters not which; or, why should they be averse to legislation in the matter. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit.* This admission of an adverse witness exactly bears out what we heard, when on a visit to Shillong, a few years ago. Remark- ing on the evident scarcity of birds, we were told—both by a well-informed Government official of long standing in the Province, and by a still better informed Missionary of much longer standing there—that the birds had been indiscriminately slaughtered by natives who were well provided with guns and ammunition, and were allowed to indulge in their *penchant* for shoot- ing all birds they came across, without any let or hindrance. Such a report as this cannot, we think, be regarded as in any way satisfactory, and, though endorsed by the Chief Commissioner, it discloses no valid reason against the extension of the Act, which, even in its restricted form, is allowed to remain a dead- letter. We think, indeed, we may go still further and say, there *are good grounds* for extending the Act to Assam, for otherwise birds will be altogether exterminated there, as they are in a fair way of being under the present conditions. The opinions of non-official Europeans—Tea Planters, scattered all over the Province, who must possess a good deal of know- ledge on the subject,—have not apparently been invited.

The report from the next province is dated only a week later, and comes from the "land of the five rivers," where the Lieutenant-Governor concurs with Mr. Steedman, the Direc- tor of Agriculture and Land Records : (1) that there is no appre- ciable destruction of birds that live on insects ; and (2), that any extension of the Act on its present lines would be futile. But the only officer whose letter is quoted *in extenso* is Mr. E. O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, who records his opinion unequivocally, that :—"Insectivorous birds do re- quire protection," and supports it by facts and figures.

This gentleman also states that the Act "is futile, because it extends to such small areas only as Municipalities and Can- tonments ;" which is exactly what Mr. Rainey contends for, in asking for its general extension to all parts.

The Act, we may repeat, *does permissively* apply to all the provinces within British India, but only to limited areas in such provinces ; while Mr. Rainey advocates its extension *throughout British India*, which, of course, signifies *unrestrictedly* to all parts of every province. What further renders the Act abortive is that, instead of saying Local Governments and Municipal and Cantonment authorities "*shall* from time to time make rules,"

which would be compulsory, it simply says, "*may* from time to time make rules."

To turn again to the Report of the Punjab Government. It states, that "had the existing Act been made applicable to the areas under District Boards, as was proposed by this Government in paragraph 2 of Mr. Young's letter, No. 246-S, dated the 8th September 1887, to the address of the Government of India in the Legislative Department, it might have been desirable to apply its provisions *when extended to insectivorous birds*, to such localities." The italics are ours, and are meant to point out a radical error in the Report, inasmuch as the Act can apply to insectivorous birds when the Local Governments choose to so define the term "wild bird," as used in the Act, and that their not doing so, is their own fault, and not that of the Government of India. But, apart from this glaring error, what are we to infer from the curious mode of reasoning adopted? Are we to understand that the Punjab Government asked for a whole loaf—or rather, to put it more correctly, half a loaf—but, having got only a quarter of a loaf, or a smaller fraction thereof, it will pettishly not accept what was then refused, much less anything more? The hostile attitude assumed by the Punjab Government against the extension of the Act is, to say the least, most extraordinary, when viewed in the light of what it stated only a short time previously, to the effect that—to quote from the Hon'ble Mr. Scoble's speech in Council:—

"The European demand for the skins of birds of bright plumage is said, by competent observers, to have done much harm in some parts of India, as these birds are often of very insectivorous varieties. The rural population are very sorry to see them destroyed; while the only persons interested in the trade are the exporters and a few professional netters and snarers employed by them."

What has caused this change of front, the Local Government can alone explain; but as it has not deigned to do so, we may fairly pronounce its conduct in the matter altogether unjustifiable. We cannot, however, close our remarks on the Report of the Punjab Government without noting that, in the discussion of agricultural questions, when glaring blunders are committed, it is the Directors of Agriculture who generally lead the way. Mr. Steedman, for instance, will have nothing to say of "game birds," as they are not to his knowledge specially *insectivorous*; but, if this gentleman were an agriculturist, in anything more than designation, or even an observant sportsman, he could not have failed to have observed that, though they are not *purely* insectivorous, they are partially so, greedily devouring most of the insects they happen to come across. The Directors of Agriculture appear to be selected

not for their knowledge, but rather for their lack of knowledge, of matters appertaining to agriculture. As long as the Government consider that every Covenanted Civilian is fully qualified for any appointment, however technical or special the knowledge requisite for efficiently performing the duties may be, we must expect to find 'square men in round holes and *vice versa*,' which cannot be conducive to their comfort, and is certainly detrimental to the best interests of the public.

The Burma Report comes, strange to say, from the *Financial Commissioner* of that out-lying province, recently greatly augmented by vast territorial acquisitions. It is most laconic, occupying only a few lines, and is against the extension of the Act. But, unfortunately for himself, the writer, in the very little he has to say on the subject, does not rest content with merely pronouncing against the *extension* of the Act, which was all he was required to report on, but ventures to go a step further, and says, he is opposed to "legislative measures." This, too, in face of the fact that the Act, No. XX of 1887, had already permissively become law in Burma, and the Legal Member of Council, in asking that the Bill might be passed, stated "that a general consensus of opinion was in favour of it," and that "where objection had been taken, it had been, not to the principle of the Bill, but that it does not go far enough." Before taking leave of this thoroughly unsatisfactory report, we cannot resist the temptation to extract "a gem of the brightest ray" which lies buried in it. It is the unique opinion of a Deputy Conservator of Forests, a Military man, that the Bill is not needed, because

"*the Burman has always been averse to taking life . . .*"

Well, here we have a revelation, indeed! All the fearful cruelties perpetrated in the land of the White Elephant, and the vast number of human lives taken by *dākāits*, of which we read so much in reports, Military and Civil, must be pronounced purely mythical. But what this officer means to say is, we suppose, that Buddhistic tenets inculcate the preservation of life. No doubt; but do the people act up to the precept? Are there no indigenous *Shikāris* in Burma? Be this as it may, we know for a fact that, before the annexation of Burma, Mugs used to come in boats to the Sundarbans to catch kingfishers and other birds of bright plumage, which, they said, were sold by them for high prices to the King of Burma to decorate the walls of his palace. So much for the value of local reports.

Next we have the Report from the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which says, rather guardedly: "As far as at present informed," it considers that "the destruction of birds, useful from an agricultural and horti-

cultural point of view, is yet not so great as to call for special measures for the preservation of their destruction," and that "such a measure would be very difficult to put into force."

Why? The Director of Agriculture (whose name is unfortunately omitted, though his letter is given at full length), here, however, reveals a diametrically opposite view of the matter. He writes of accidentally coming across a *depôt* of this trade in a village in the Lucknow District, where "thousands of skins of all kinds of birds were laid out in the sun, after-curing, preparatory to packing for exportation." He adds that it is impossible to say what numbers are exported, but, each *kothi* probably sends 5,000 skins in the season," and assuming the number of such *depôts* to be, at a moderate computation, say 20, we have $5,000 \times 20 = 100,000$ birds' skins exported. This does not, however, represent the actual loss; for this observant officer states that the bird-catching operations are probably not suspended in the breeding season, and, as the birds are in their best, or nuptial plumage at this time, feather-hunters will necessarily choose it rather than any other season for their destruction, being paid the best prices for the best feathers. The actual loss, therefore, may fairly be estimated at twice the number of birds given above, or 200,000, since, for every bird netted, snared or shot, at least another is lost, helpless nestlings being starved to death, and eggs left to addle in their nests which would have been hatched in due course. Here we have not only a glaring waste and terrible loss of useful birds, but the greatest cruelty perpetrated likewise.

The Director of Agriculture in this province gives his opinion rather emphatically in favour of the extension of the Act, stating that "there can be no doubt whatsoever but that wholesale slaughter of birds for export, solely for the sake of their plumage, should be absolutely forbidden under penalty;" and he further adds, "that there would certainly be no kind of opposition on the part of the native public to any legislation on the subject, and rather to the contrary amongst the Hindus." Thus we have a singular instance of a Government recommending inaction for no reason whatsoever, and in spite of a report of its responsible adviser in such matters, which is altogether in an opposite direction. It is not an edifying spectacle, and comment on such conduct would be superfluous.

The report from the Central Provinces states that "the trade in feathers has lately shown signs of inordinate development," and that "it may be desirable to make use of the Act to check this." Evidently the Chief Commissioner would not be satisfied with its being enforced only in the close season; for he observes that "the rules under it would only apply during the close season, and could not attain the object of

preventing undue destruction of insectivorous birds at other times." From this remark it is evident that the Chief Commissioner has bestowed some independent thought on the subject, and is not unmindful of the destruction within his Province of insectivorous birds for their feathers. His suggestion of protecting such birds at all times, or, all the year round, is an excellent one, and is well deserving of consideration, which we hope will be accorded to it by the Supreme Government.

The Bombay Government's report is against action, and is evidently based on the views enunciated by Mr. G. W. Vidal, C.S., who, if we are correctly informed, is a local naturalist of some sort. This gentleman solemnly affirms that "any special action in the matter" would be "a blind experiment," as no sufficient exact knowledge is at present available—(1) as to particular insects whose destruction is needed, or (2) as to the particular species of birds whose services can be counted on to fulfil the desired object,—and he goes on to "doubt very much, if any one living could name the species of birds whose special preservation, in the interests of agriculture, he considers necessary." So the argument of this local naturalist amounts to this, to express it in the form of a syllogism:—That to determine the point at issue, it is necessary to ascertain certain facts; but, as such facts cannot be ascertained, *humanly* speaking, *ergo* the point at issue cannot be determined. Mr. Vidal, we may add, is wrong when he says that "Mr. Rainey. . . has not even attempted to name the species of birds," for, in the Proceedings of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, where Mr. Rainey's Address is published at length, it is stated:—

"The most useful of the insectivorous birds are the *insessores* or perchers," such as the *charás*, or sparrows, the *sálik*s or starlings, the *fungiyás* or drongo-shrikes, the *táhuýá charás*, or bee-eaters, the *núllantas* or rollers, the *dayals* or magpie-robins. Next, among the *grallatores* or "waders," are the *bogs*, or egrets, the so-called 'paddy-birds,' thus named by Anglo-Indians on account of their frequenting paddy-fields, where they feed on insects and not on paddy, as erroneously supposed by some persons."

This passage was, we may add, quoted with approval by the Editor of the *Field*, when reviewing Mr. Rainey's pamphlet on the subject.

Throughout the civilized world insectivorous birds are known and acknowledged to be most useful to agriculturists in exterminating destructive insects, and they are, in most countries, protected accordingly, especially in America, the *flora* and *fauna* of which more resemble those of India than Europe. We may add that Mr. Rainey does not say, that purely insectivorous birds alone need protection; for, among the birds

he named as requiring to be preserved, he distinctly included the so-called paddy-birds, or egrets, among the waders. We presume it will be admitted by all, even the sceptical Mr. Vidal, that *termites*, or "white ants," must be included in the class of destructive insects, and yet most, if not all, species appertaining to the order *Rasores* will ravenously feed on them when in their *larval* state.* Are they not, therefore, useful as destroyers of destructive insects, and do they not need protection? Mr. Vidal appears to think that these birds are almost wholly graminivorous, but they are in reality not so: they are insectivorous as well, though, of course, to a much smaller extent.

Regarding Mr. Vidal's frivolous objection as to the want of the names of insectivorous birds, we may state that, among these official papers, there is a list of purely and partially insectivorous birds, furnished by such a competent authority on the subject as Mr. Wood-Mason, the able Superintendent of the *Indian Museum*. Besides, to protect *effectually* insectivorous birds, all birds, even *Raptors*, ought to be protected, as will be shown further on, when quoting the weighty opinion of the learned Secretary of the Zoological Society at Home.

The Director of Agriculture of the Bombay Presidency concludes by stating that "the conferring of such powers"—for the prevention of killing—"would at least be popular in certain localities, for instance, in parts of Guzrat, where Jain feeling is strong," and that "he is strongly of opinion that more should be done than mere prohibition of sale, and restriction by licence," thereby indirectly admitting that the *evil does exist and calls for restrictive measures*, though it is evidently inconvenient to acknowledge the fact directly and distinctly.

The Madras Government, as might have been expected from a Governor of Lord Connemara's stamp, has made an extensive enquiry into the subject, and has arrived at the conclusion that "the Act might be extended, so as to enable Local Governments to declare the killing of any kind of wild birds, or the possession of such birds' eggs or nestlings during certain seasons, to be illegal in any district, or part of a district."

Among the papers forwarded with the report, we find some deserving of special notice. In the first place, we have a communication from the Quarter Master General of the Madras Presidency, dated the 9th January 1889, stating that Rules

* Surely the fact is known to everybody in India, that when swarms of locusts (*Acridium peregrinum*) appear in any part of the country and ravage the crops, they are held in check by nearly all species of birds, who are their natural enemies, and who do yeoman's service for man in thus protecting, to an appreciable extent, the products of his fields.—THE AUTHOR.

had been framed, under Act XX of 1887, for introduction into certain Cantonments therein specified, which, but for Mr. Rainey's action, would probably have never been laid down. The Resolution of the Board of Revenue upon the various Reports, received from the different Municipalities and Cantonments and District Officers, runs as follows :—

"The Board concurs in the opinion, and thinks that the object aimed at may be very easily attained by extending to District Boards the powers which, under Act XX of 1887, are confined to Municipal and Cantonment authorities, and enlarging these powers by the addition of a prohibition against slaughter during the breeding season. It is desirable, too, that protection should be extended to the eggs of valuable birds and nestlings."

Here is a pregnant paragraph from the Report of Mr. J. Lee Warner, Collector of Chingleput :—

"4.—When I was at Nellore, a firm in Madras was buying from *Shikáris* egret feathers, of which good specimens can be obtained in one bird out of ten birds shot. This was causing the most wicked slaughter, and there was no regulation to prevent it. *The agriculturists are well aware that the birds indicated above are their good friends, but are too apathetic, or timid to make common cause against their destroyers.*"

We are responsible for the italics.

Again, Mr. Maunsay, from Madras, says—

"3.—The arrival of these insectivorous birds is anxiously expected by agriculturists to avert the destruction of crops by insects ; while *Shikáris*, whose only means of subsistence is by killing and selling such birds, also eagerly await their arrival. These either kill the birds by shot or catch them in large numbers, by spreading their nets on the tops of trees.

"4.—I would, therefore, beg to state that the effectual protection of these insectivorous birds is highly desirable in the interests of agriculture."

Other officers give similar testimony, including Dr. Shortt, whose scientific attainments and elaborate experiments with the venom of snakes are well known and appreciated from one end of India to the other, and even in Europe, and who writes at some length on the subject.

The "Order" of the Madras Government, concluding the papers relating to that Presidency, recommends :—

"Enlarging the provisions of Act XX of 1887, so as to enable Local Governments to make the killing of any kind of wild birds—whether game or insectivorous—as also the possession of such birds' eggs or nestlings, illegal during certain seasons in any district, or part of a district.

"The application of rules framed under Act XX of 1887 to a few Cantonments and Municipalities would be productive of no good. No provisions, short of those indicated above, would be likely to prove effectual."

This is exactly what Mr. Rainey has stated in his pamphlet on the subject.

Lastly, we come to the Report of the Bengal Government, which has taken the longest time in preparation. The Lieutenant-Governor says :—

"The general drift of the correspondence is to show that it would be useless to attempt to protect insectivorous birds by any extension of Act XX of 1887."

He further says that :—"There is no room for the protection of insectivorous birds in any of the ways indicated, because such birds are not at present killed in considerable numbers. The proposal commended for immediate consideration must therefore fall to the ground."

Such, we regret to see, is the impotent conclusion arrived at by Sir Steuart Bayley. We will now proceed to examine the communications referred to somewhat in detail.

Mr. Finucane commences his letter with the astounding assertion, that "Mr. Rainey has not made any definite proposals." He has distinctly made a definite proposal, and that for the extension of the Act. Here is what he says :—"The Act *per se* is very simple and brief, containing no more than four sections in all, and the penalties imposed for any breach of the rules framed under its provisions are by no means severe, only small fines being leviable in respect thereof. But such as they are, they would no doubt act as a deterrent, if the limits within which the rules are to have force were extended to the whole of British India, and not merely confined to the areas of the different Municipalities and Cantonments comprised therein."

Mr. Rainey, in short, wished to see the Act *extended* made compulsory throughout British India, as the present Act applies only to very limited and altogether insignificant areas, and is only permissive.

Mr. Finucane rather reluctantly admits that, "there can be no doubt that certain birds, useful to agriculture, have been very largely destroyed in some localities; that there is danger of still greater destruction: and it ought clearly to be in the power of Government to check the slaughter of such birds." But he does not see how this can be brought about. Surely, if the Act were *extended* and made compulsory, this consummation, most devoutly to be wished for, could be attained. If not, why not? We can see no obstacle whatsoever to the Act being successfully carried out, provided—and here is the real hitch—that the officials entrusted with its administration will evince a reasonable

zeal in enforcing its provisions, and not act in the half-hearted and lukewarm manner characteristic of men who have to initiate a reform to which they are personally averse.

Glancing at the array of opinions of the numerous officers consulted, we find great divergence among them, and most of them display a deplorable ignorance of the state of their respective districts, which doubtless arises, in part at least, from their being confined almost exclusively to desk-work. In one district, the Collector reports that no insectivorous birds are killed, while the preceding officer, Mr. D. B. Allen, who was trained for some time, we believe, at the famous Agricultural College at Cirencester, gives a diametrically opposite opinion. Most of the officers, who are for or against the measure, give guarded opinions either way, and it is, therefore, quite refreshing to come across a free-and-out-spoken opinion, such as that of Mr. Marindin, hailing from Dinagapore, who says:—"I agree with Mr. Rudd Rainey that the protection of insectivorous birds would be a most beneficial measure in the interests of agriculturists, and that it would be of little use to confine legislation to Municipalities."

The report from the Indian Museum comes, not from the Superintendent Mr. Wood-Mason, but from his Deputy, Mr. Sclater, who, we believe, is the son of Dr. Philip Lutley Sclater, the well-known veteran Secretary of the Zoological Society, and is doubtless a competent cabinet naturalist; but his experience of India is very limited, indeed, and mainly, if not altogether, confined to the precincts of the "Maharatta Ditch." His knowledge, or rather lack of knowledge, of the food of birds in their wild state, may be tested by his assertion, that—"The food of egrets consists entirely of fish and frogs; the cattle egret, perhaps, devours a few grasshoppers, but the bulk of its food consists of fish and tadpoles." Our experience of egrets has been the same as that of the late lamented Mr. Henry G. French, whose letter is printed at length among the papers submitted by the Government of Bengal to the Supreme Government, and who had an experience of about three score years in the *Mufassil*, and was well-known as a remarkably observant and thoroughly practical botanist and zoologist. He says of them, that they ought to "be preserved, as they invariably follow in the train of cattle and sheep, and catch and eat all the insects which rise in front of these animals as they move about." Who has not observed them, especially in former years, in the wake of cattle so engaged? And we may add, the vulgar specific designation of the bird is derived from this habit. They are not now to be seen in such numbers thus employed, as the wholesale destruction to which they have been subjected, at the hand of feather-

hunters and others, has sadly diminished this and kindred species. Mr. Sclater's knowledge of the food of animals is, no doubt, based on actual experience; but that experience is probably derived from seeing the food supplied to the animals confined in Regent's Park. *That* is not necessarily their ordinary exclusive food in their state of liberty in their native wilds, in as much as, to confine our remarks to the instance mentioned, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to supply these egrets in England with insects, destructive or otherwise, from the far East; while small fish and tadpoles can be obtained in sufficient quantity to satisfy their rather voracious appetites. The well-known dealer in living animals at home, Mr. William Jamrach, assured us that he fed his tigers and superior felines on board, during their voyage from India to England, on "curry and rice," and that they relished and thrived on such fare; yet no one would reason from this, that it was their ordinary food in their native wilds. But, to return to storks in general. They are a very numerous family, and are by no means exclusively carnivorous, varying their food considerably. The white stork (*Ciconia alba*), now comparatively rare in England, is a regular summer visitant on the Continent, where—to quote Dr. Sclater's words—"it is everywhere a cherished guest, as it is popularly supposed to bring good luck to the house to which it resorts, for they build their nest on chimneys." Then, in India, where they actually do a great deal of good to the cultivators' fields, why should they be ruthlessly exterminated? We pause for an answer.

As we have had occasion to quote the opinion of Mr. Sclater, Junior, of the *Indian Museum*, in connection with this subject, we may also cite that of his father, Dr. Sclater, Senior, the well-known and able Secretary of the Zoological Society. The latter gentleman, in a discussion on the protection of Indian birds, said:—"I think it would be better, if it is determined that it would not be to the interest of the people of India, that the assaults on birds should be continued; that the trade in birds' skins should be prohibited altogether, and not merely an additional price put upon the skins by raising a revenue from them."*

He further made the following shrewd observations, which are well worthy of consideration, and the suggestion thrown out might be adopted with real advantage:—"I think that a law for the protection of birds should include all birds. I think it is a great mistake to specify in the Schedule of the Acts, as is now done, certain birds that are to be protected, and to leave out others altogether. I think all birds should be protected, during the breeding season at least. We must recollect that, if we exclude certain sorts of birds from these

* Journal, *East India Association*, 1884.

Acts, we thereby invite their destruction ; and there is no doubt, in my mind at least, that even the various birds which it is supposed to be a good thing to exterminate, contribute as much to the preservation of the life of the smaller species as the protection of those smaller species only would do ; because we all know that birds of prey carry off the weaker members of those insect-eating birds, and thereby, as we may be certain, increase the fecundity and improve the race of the smaller and weaker birds on which they subsist."

In short Dr. Sclater wisely advocates the preservation of the balance of birds as Nature intended.

The perusal of this mass of official papers leaves a distinct impression in our mind that the majority of District Officers have little or no knowledge of the interior of their districts ; and, probably, from over-work, find writing such reports, on subjects with which they are altogether unacquainted, or only imperfectly acquainted, extremely distasteful work. They are, no doubt, over-burdened with work, and dread the introduction of any measure likely at all to increase their labours and responsibilities. But, notwithstanding the little—very little—light these papers throw on the subject of the destruction of birds for their plumage, it is not difficult from the cases of wholesale destruction of birds, cropping up in the correspondence here and there, by mere chance as it were, to judge of the extent of the evil, that exists throughout India. It is evident that, unless some effectual check is speedily put upon the indiscriminate and wanton destruction of birds for their feathers, India will soon find herself in the hapless position in which America was lately, when she had to pay for the importation of the very birds which she had calmly seen ruthlessly destroyed ; though, in this country, we have been duly warned by precept and example that the policy of neglect and supineness we are pursuing will inevitably land us in this strait.

As regards the means of checking the evil. This the authorities profess to consider a stumbling-block, and assert that they are utterly at loss to know what to recommend. Those officers, who, like Mr. A. Smith, Commissioner of the Presidency Division, say that the Act ought to be extended to District Boards, but fear that these public bodies will be as obstructive in the matter, as Municipalities have proved, are, no doubt, perfectly right so far. But why not, in extending the Act, make it *compulsory also*, instead of merely *permissive* as at present. This would undoubtedly effect the object in view, and, if a moiety of the fines leviable in respect of offences committed under the Act were at once made over to informers, there would be probably sufficient incentive to prosecution. But there are various

radical defects in the Act itself which will render it necessary to have it re-cast altogether. When the Hon'ble Mr. Scoble followed, as he evidently did, the lines of the English "Wild Birds' Protection Act of 1880," he did so apparently only as regards the scale of fines, that is, the imposition of enhanced penalties for repeated offences; but that Act might be followed with advantage in other respects, too. He said, in his speech in Council, "that the Bill would also admit of protection being given to insectivorous birds;" but it can scarcely do so, and, as a matter of fact, it has not done so, and is never likely to do so. To take up merely one point in proof of what we assert. The definition of the words "Wild Birds" in the English Act, 43 and 44 Victoria, Chap. 35, is perfectly clear and intelligible. It states that "the words 'wild birds' shall, for all purposes of this Act, be deemed to mean all wild birds." While the Indian Act leaves the matter in doubt and uncertainty; for it transfers to Municipal and Cantonment authorities the power of defining the expression "wild birds" according to their will and caprice, with this nominal reservation only, that the term "wild birds" includes a "peacock and every bird of game." But to the English Act a Schedule is annexed, giving a list of over four score birds—only their vulgar English names—while, in India, the number would be far greater, and, as the vernacular names would probably have to be given, they would vary in different parts of India, according as the language spoken was Bengali, Hindi, Uriya, Mahratta, or some other of the numerous dialects current in different parts of this vast country. Therefore a separate Schedule would have to be given for each Province, or part of a Province, for local names of birds vary considerably in different localities of even the same Province.

The *laissez faire* system, we know, alas, too well, finds favour in India. *Vis inertiae* reigns supreme. We are quite willing to allow that the enervating and relaxing climate of this hot and humid country is against the display of any physical or mental activity. But when a vital question is concerned, such as the protection of agricultural interests in a thoroughly agricultural country, apathy might for once give place to a little energy, sufficient, at least, to pass a much needed and simple legislative measure to prevent a great calamity; for the destruction of crops by insect pests is a calamity—and a great calamity—it must be admitted. We hope, therefore, that the Supreme Government will appreciate the gravity of the situation, and bestir themselves to pass a most useful Act before it is too late.

Before concluding this article, it may be worth while to record a fact, which is not generally known except to naturalists,

that certain birds play no insignificant part in the fertilization of flowers. The *Cinnaridæ*, or sun-birds, in South Africa, and the *Apidæ* elsewhere, flit from flower to flower to cull their saccharine food, but they do not "mix their honey," as they usually restrict their visits to the same species of flower. It may be further added that, as pointed out by Mr. C. F. Scott-Elliot, in his valuable and interesting contribution on ornithophilous flowers, in a recent issue of the *Annals of Botany*, according to the views enunciated by Darwin, the similarity of colour, a peculiar shade of red, in the generality of ornithophilous flowers and on the breast of the different species of *Cinnyris*, is an important element in pollination by birds.

YOUNG NIMROD.

P. S.—The *Field* of November 15th, 1890, commenting on and commending Mr. J. Rudd Rainey's action in the matter of the protection of insectivorous birds in India, says :—

"There can be no question that the destruction of insectivorous birds, whether by liming, nets, snares, or guns, should, during the breeding season at least, be vigorously suppressed."

CORRESPONDENCE.

WITH the view of providing a place for communications of interest, whether bearing on the subject-matter of papers that have appeared in the *Review*, or otherwise, which, though unsuited, in respect of length or mode of treatment, for insertion in the form of articles, may nevertheless be of sufficient importance to warrant their publication in a Quarterly Review, it is intended to add to the *Calcutta Review*, from the current number, a new section under the above heading—ED., *C. R.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

DOES CALCUTTA NEED A LINNEAN SOCIETY ?

TO THE EDITOR, "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

SIR,—In the *Calcutta Review* for January there is an article, by Babu Sarat Chandra Mittra, which has suggested the question which forms the heading of this paper. At the outset, I may say, that I do not think that Calcutta does need any such new society as is proposed ; but, while pointing out some objections to the scheme, I have yet another object in view, namely, that of suggesting an alternative which would probably find more supporters.

The grounds brought forward to maintain the necessity for a Linnean Society in Calcutta, turn mainly on the belief that the Asiatic Society of Bengal does not devote sufficient attention to the natural sciences. I find that, roughly speaking, some 1,400 or 1,500 papers on natural science subjects were published by the Society between 1784 and 1883, and of these, more than one-third dealt with Botany or Zoology. Since 1883, Part II of the Journal, dealing with natural history, has been published thirty-six times (including supplements and indices) and the majority of the papers have been on Botanical or Zoological subjects. Now, although these papers may not represent the entire number read before the Society, it is probable that all of any permanent value were published. We must also not lose sight of the fact that it costs a good deal of money to publish papers, especially those accompanied by plates ; and the more liberally the Asiatic Society is supported by its members, the more papers it will be able to publish.

It cannot, therefore, I think, be argued that the Asiatic Society does not encourage Natural History, though I hope to point out how its usefulness might be increased. However, even supposing, for the sake of argument, that the Asiatic Society, as Babu Sarat Chandra Mittra thinks, is not doing all it could to encourage the study of the natural sciences, the Botanists, Zoologists, and Geologists who are pining for a new society, have other very material objections to encounter. Most of the science-loving European and native gentlemen in and about Calcutta, already belong to the Asiatic Society, the Microscopical Society, the Medical Society, or the Photographic Society, and few of them would wish to pay additional subscriptions to a new society. A new society must have

members; these members must pay subscriptions; and these subscriptions must suffice for house-rent, establishment, printing, books and many other expenses. Now, to take a particular case suggested by Babu Sarat Chandra Mittra:—Will the members of the Natural History Committee of the Asiatic Society quit the old society to form the nucleus of the new Linnean Society? I, as one of them, am quite sure they will not; any such schism would only weaken the Asiatic Society, and would, especially at the present time, be a great mistake. The number of men in India, even including those in the scientific departments of the Government Service, who devote their time to the study of natural sciences, is small, and the Asiatic Society is quite able to use any papers they may contribute, and requires all the money they can subscribe. Moreover the Asiatic Society possesses a library which the new society could not get together in a hundred years, and works on natural history, not to be found on its shelves, can nearly always be consulted in the libraries belonging to the Indian Museum, the Geological Survey, or the Royal Botanic Gardens. I feel quite sure that, if Babu Sarat Chandra Mittra is desirous of studying Botany or Zoology, he would be allowed to avail himself of all the advantages of the Zoological Gardens, the Botanic Gardens, or the Indian Museum, and the results of his investigations, if valuable, would be eagerly received by the Asiatic Society. There is a quotation in Babu Sarat Chandra Mittra's paper which has suggested to me the desirability of formulating a proposal to separate the Asiatic Society into sections, working independently, as regards meetings and discussions, but still under the same general and financial government now prevailing. At present the great drawback to the one monthly meeting held in the society's rooms is that, if one wants to hear a paper on Zoology, it may be necessary to sit through a long discussion as to the merits of certain old coins or temples which are of no particular interest to the naturalist; while, on the other hand, the archæologist and numismatist may not feel any particular interest in the description of a rare plant or animal. I think that the literary and scientific sections of the Society should be separate, under separate secretaries, and meeting on separate days. It should also be optional for the Natural History section to meet in any place where the subject under discussion could be best illustrated. Under such regulations, any member could attend the meetings which were of personal interest to him, and all present would feel that they had one aim and object in meeting together. Under the prevailing system, the presence of the uninterested members at

any given meeting renders the proceedings somewhat chilly at times ; and often the reader of a paper cannot but feel that he is a nuisance to those who do not care about his particular subject. Thus, free discussion is checked by the presence of an 'uninterested' element. Even with such a division, all the members would still be integral parts of the Asiatic Society, voting together at general meetings called for purely business purposes, and upholding the prestige of a society which should always endeavour to carry out the ideal programme set forth by its worthy founders.

J. H. TULL WALSH.

CALCUTTA, *February 3rd*, 1891.

THE QUARTER.

AMONG the subjects that have occupied public attention in India during the past three months, the Age of Consent Bill overshadows all the rest ; while, at home, the split in the Irish Party has still continued to be the chief topic of interest in political circles.

That the disposition to extend the authority of the State over the affairs of life, which is part of the spirit of the times, should seek expression in Indian legislation, was inevitable ; and, though we have the assurance of the Government of India, that, in the matter of this Bill, it has acted on its own motion and in obedience to motives which imply no new departure, it may be accepted as none the less certain, that the measure is an outcome of the tendency in question. A multitude of circumstances combined to mark Indian marriage laws and usages as a favourable field for the operations of the social reformer. Owing to causes which it is unnecessary to analyse here, British feeling on the subject of the protection of young girls has been, for some years past, in a specially sensitive condition. An important section of the advanced party in this country, keenly alive to the fact that further progress in social reform depends largely on the extension of the period of female childhood, have been quick to avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered them, and an active propaganda for the purpose of securing legislative interference in this and cognate matters, has been, for some time, in progress both here and in England. The recent influx into India of English and American lady doctors has been attended by results which have not been without influence in stimulating the movement. Finally, the public conscience in both countries had been deeply stirred during the past year by the death of the unfortunate girl Phulmani.

In spite of these and other signs of the times, the announcement, made soon after the return of the Government to Calcutta, that it was about to bring in a Bill on the subject without delay, came upon the general public somewhat as a surprise. For, though it was known that the necessity for legislation had been strongly urged on the Government, not only by the English press in India and England, but by various public bodies, it was felt that, in a matter so intimately

affecting the domestic life of the people, no final decision would be arrived at without giving the fullest opportunity for the expression of native opinion.

The Bill, which is styled the Indian Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882, Amendment Bill, proposes to raise the age of consent for both married and unmarried women from ten to twelve years: and it proposes to do this by an amendment which will render a husband, who has sexual intercourse with his wife when she is under twelve years of age, liable, on conviction, to the punishment prescribed in the Code for the offence of rape.

The object of the law was explained by Sir Andrew Scoble to be the protection of child wives who have not attained the state of puberty, from an act of which it need only be said that it amounts, according to civilized notions, to physical violence of a highly revolting and injurious kind; and it was maintained that, though in exceptional cases, the state in question may be attained before the age of twelve, the only practicable way of securing protection for the vast majority of child wives, was to draw the line at that age. It was further contended by Sir Andrew Scoble that the proposed measure would create no new offence, and involve no interference with the Hindoo religion as laid down in the Sacred Books.

In concluding a very able speech on the subject, the Viceroy added his testimony to that of Sir Andrew Scoble on these points, in the following terms:—

"We propose for the present to limit ourselves to legislation which, as my honourable friend has pointed out, will not create a new offence, and which will not touch the marriage law. Our object is simply to afford protection to those who cannot protect themselves—protection from a form of physical ill usage which I believe to be reprobated by the most thoughtful section of the community; which is, to the best of my belief, entirely unsupported by religious sanction, and which, under the English law, is punishable with penal servitude for life, without any exception or 'reservation.'"

His Excellency, at the same time, took the opportunity to assure the public that, with one possible exception, the Government had no intention of undertaking any further reform of native marriage laws in the direction indicated by certain Resolutions recently submitted to it by an English Committee, into the nature of which we need not here enter. The exception relates to the provision of the existing law which enables the decree-holder in a suit for the restitution of conjugal rites, to enforce the decree by imprisonment, and regarding which the Viceroy expressed an opinion that option should be given to the Court to refuse an order of imprisonment, and intimated

that the Government proposed to deal with the matter at the next revision of the Criminal Procedure Code.

The Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter opposed the Bill, on the ground that it was unnecessary for the protection of child wives from personal violence, they being sufficiently protected by the existing law, and that it would involve interference with the religious rites and duties of orthodox Hindoos in Bengal according to the interpretation of certain texts laid down by Raghu Nandan Bhattacharjya, the accepted authority in that Province.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar supported the Bill, as necessary for the protection of helpless children among large sections of the population against physical violence; and, with reference to the religious objection urged by Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, he maintained that, even if the interpretation of the law in question were strictly and invariably followed in any part of India, it ought to be disregarded in the interests of humanity.

Assuming that the grounds on which the action of the Government is based are substantial grounds, the position it has taken up, as set forth in the speeches of Sir Andrew Scoble and the Viceroy, is open to the obvious objection of being an unnecessarily weak one. If the physical violence which it is the declared object of the Bill to prevent, is of sufficiently frequent occurrence to justify legislation of the kind proposed, then it is sufficient to justify legislation irrespectively of anything that is laid down in the Sacred Books of the Hindoos on the subject. This being the case, it is open to grave doubt, whether the Government would not have adopted both a safer and a more convenient course, had it rested its action exclusively on the higher ground of the paramount interests of humanity. We say safer, not with reference to any doubt as to the tenability of the contention of the Government that the proposed measure is in harmony with the precepts of the Hindoo religion,—for on this point the existing practice of the majority of the general body of educated Hindoos is in itself a sufficient warranty for its position,—but because, by appealing to such a test as crucial, in a matter of this order, it lends a certain amount of colour to a most erroneous and extravagant construction of the Proclamation of 1858, and creates a precedent that might hereafter prove of a very embarrassing character. And we say, more convenient, because we are strongly disposed to think that, by throwing out this challenge, the Government has courted the very opposition which it was most anxious to conciliate, and stirred up an irritating controversy which it should have done everything in its power to discourage.

In their Report, submitted on the 6th instant, the Select

Committee to whom the Bill was referred, recommended that it should be passed with two amendments. One of these provides that only Magistrates of the highest class shall be permitted to take cognisance of the offence of rape when it is alleged to have been committed by the husband of an outraged girl. The other, recommended by the Calcutta High Court, provides that no Police Officer of a rank below that of a Police Inspector shall be employed to make, or take part in, investigations in such cases.

To the Report, which is singularly brief, is appended a long memorandum of dissent by Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, which clearly proves two things : one, which it was possibly not intended to prove, that, in Bengal at least, the practice is much more widespread than was commonly believed by the advocates, or is generally admitted by the opponents of the Bill ; and the other that, whatever effect the bark of the Bill may produce, its bite will probably be very little felt. Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter would evidently prefer a Bill that should make thirteen years the age of consent, with an exception in favour of cases in which a particular physical condition might be established at an earlier age. This, he maintains, would completely meet the religious difficulty, and would have the advantage of protecting a large number of child wives who will not be protected by the Bill as it stands ; while, as to the objection that the existence of the physical condition in question could not be satisfactorily proved, he contends, with some show of reason, that it could be proved more easily than the age of the girl. But he ignores the inconvenience, and, unless cases were heard *in camera*, the demoralising consequences, which would result from making the existence of this condition a subject of judicial enquiry at all.

The opposition to the Bill has been widespread, and has extended, in a greater or less degree, to all parts of the country, and, to some extent, to Mahomedans as well as Hindoos. Outside Bengal proper, it has been chiefly confined to the more conservative and less intelligent classes of the community ; but in Bengal the great body of the Hindoos, including the educated class, as far as they have expressed their opinion, have pronounced strongly against the measure. The explanation of this attitude, which stands in striking contrast with the admittedly high intelligence of the Bengali people, and the avidity they have shown in availing themselves of the advantages of English education, is to be found in the fact, that the practice against which the Bill is directed is more general and more deeply rooted, and political feeling stronger in Bengal than in other parts of India.

Mistaken as the opposition no doubt is, it would be an error to suppose that it is necessarily either ignorant or insincere.

The number of intelligent Hindoos who really attach any grave importance to the purely religious objections urged against the Bill, is probably small. But, on the other hand, there are a very large number, and among them many who approve of the object in view, who strongly resent the interference with their domestic affairs which the Bill involves, as unjustified by the circumstances of the case. Not a few Englishmen, however much they may abhor the practice which the Government seeks to put down, will be disposed to sympathise with the desire on the part of the people which this feeling indicates, to be allowed to live their own lives and work out their own salvation, or damnation, according to their own lights.

The opposition would probably have been much less bitter, had the Government shown more tenderness for the feelings of those whom the Bill affects, by giving the offence a less opprobrious name, and attaching to it a more moderate punishment. To say nothing of the widespread feeling that it is unreasonable to treat the offence constituted by the Bill, where it is committed against a wife by her husband, on the same footing with rape on a stranger, there is undeniably something repugnant to common ideas of consistency in the Legislature suddenly declaring what, for a long series of years, it had deliberately recognised as an innocent act, to be rape punishable by transportation for life. It is questionable, moreover, whether it was necessary, and certain that, if it was unnecessary, it was undesirable, to subject the feelings of a large number of respectable people to the shock of being told, that they and their forefathers from time immemorial, in doing what the law allowed them to do, and what custom, and possibly conviction, sanctioned, have been guilty of an act so heinous that it deserves to be classed in the category in which the Bill proposes to place it.

Certain of the advocates of representative government for India have endeavoured to found, on the opposition to the Bill, an argument in favour of their views. It is an expression, they contend, of want of confidence in the Government. It is probably something of this kind that Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter has in view, when, in his dissent, he says that he does not think that the Legislature, *as at present constituted*, can satisfactorily deal with the question of the Shastras. It would be curious to see how those who hold this opinion would state their argument in strictly logical form. To our thinking, assuming the proposed legislation to be necessary in the interests of the people, the inference from the opposition is rather against, than in favour of representation. It is possible, though not certain, that under a system of representative government, the decision of the Legislature in the matter

whatever it might have been, would have excited less dissatisfaction; but, knowing what we now do of the feelings of the people on the subject, it is difficult to resist the conviction that that decision, if the Government had been representative in fact, and not merely in name, would have been dead against the Bill.

The event of the Quarter which, next to the introduction of the Age of Consent Bill, can lay most claim to historic importance, is, perhaps, the opening of the remaining section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, which took place on the 3rd instant, the ceremony being performed by the Viceroy at Chakardapur, in the presence of a numerous gathering of visitors and local officials. The section actually made available for public traffic on the occasion, was that between Sambalpur road and Goilkora, and the link thus added to the system, completes through communication between Calcutta and Bombay, *via* Nagpur. The new route, which opens up the extensive grain-growing districts of Chota Nagpur, Sambalpur, and Chattisgarh, is shorter by about 120 miles than that *via* Allahabad and Jubbulpur. The work, which comprised the conversion of 150 miles of metre gauge railway between Nagpur and Raj-Nandgaon to broad gauge, and the construction of 650 miles of a new broad gauge line, was commenced by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company at the close of 1887, and has been completed for something less than the estimated cost of between 6 and 7 millions sterling, of which the sum of 402 lakhs has been expended in India. This has included the purchase money of the Nagpur-Chattisgarh metre gauge line at Rs. 70,229 per mile, and that of the Kutni Umaria line at Rs. 1,17,000 per mile, rates which compare very unfavourably with those at which the Company itself has found it possible to execute similar or heavier work. As an instance of rapid construction under circumstances of, in many respects, considerable difficulty, the work reflects immense credit on Mr. Wynne, the Agent and Chief Engineer of the Company, and the staff of the Company's and Government Engineers by whom he has been assisted.

The Viceroy took the opportunity, in his speech on the occasion, to combat the charge sometimes brought against the Government, of discouraging the employment of private agency for the construction of railways in India. "Let me take this opportunity," he said, "of saying emphatically that no misconception could be greater. The work, administrative and executive, which is already thrown on the shoulders of the Government of India, is of such colossal proportions, that you may depend upon it that we shall be only too glad if some of it is taken off our hands by the intervention of Companies.

If, as is unfortunately the case, we have not unfrequently been obliged to regard proposals laid before us in the name of private enterprise with a critical eye, it has been for the reason that they have been accompanied by conditions so disadvantageous to those whose interests are committed to our charge, that it was absolutely impossible for us to accept them. In some cases the offers made to us have involved the proposal that we should virtually assume the whole of the responsibility for any loss which the bargain might entail in the event of its proving a disastrous one; in others, we have been asked to alienate vast areas of land without any sufficient equivalent for thus parting with the national estate; in others, again, we have been pressed to concede monopolies of timber or minerals without really knowing what we were going to part with; in yet other cases, we have found private enterprise seeking to construct a section of some great railway, the section selected being, I need not say, the easiest and most profitable, with the certainty that Government would have eventually to undertake the completion of the more difficult and unremunerative sections. Or, again, we have been invited to sanction the construction of projects competitive with lines already in existence, and certain, if completed, to deprive these of a portion of their income. Pray do not understand me as suggesting that the promoters of Railway Companies are seeking to take an undue advantage of the Government of India. They are merely endeavouring, as all men of business should, to make the best bargain they can for their clients, and, so long as India has to suffer, as we do at present, from a fluctuating exchange, it is useless to disguise from ourselves the risk and uncertainty which attach to every Indian speculation, or to expect that those who are engaged in them will not endeavour, by direct or indirect means, to guard themselves against the losses to which the vagaries of the rupee at present render them liable. These are, however, matters which it is impossible to deal with in the course of an after-breakfast speech, and all that I need add upon this subject is, that we are not only ready, but anxious, to encourage private enterprise by affording it every facility, in our power, and, within reasonable limits, by assuming a fair share of the risks and responsibilities of the transaction."

The Select Committee on the Indian Factories Act presented their report on the 6th instant. Though the amendments they have introduced into the Bill go, in some respects, beyond the recommendations of the late Factory Commission, they comprise nothing that can fairly be considered indicative of a tendency to subordinate Indian interests to the views of the Lancashire manufacturer; and, should the Government pass the Bill in its present form, it will deserve the credit of

having presented a firm front to the very strong pressure that has been brought to bear on it to accommodate its legislation in the matter to the lines approved by the Berlin Conference. The most important departures from the recommendations of the Commission, noticed in our last retrospect, refer to the labour of children, the employment of whom it is proposed to limit to a total of eight hours in any one day, in shifts of not more than four hours' duration, with an interval of at least two hours, where the shift system is in force, and in other cases to seven hours in any one day, with an interval of half an hour, the period of childhood being fixed at from nine to fourteen years. Women are not to be employed for more than eleven hours in any one day, or before 5 A. M. or after 8 P. M. There is to be a stoppage of work, for all operatives, for half an hour in the middle of the day, except in factories worked on the shift system. Sunday is to be a holiday for all operatives, unless they have had a whole holiday within the three days next preceding, or will have one within the three days next following. It is also proposed to raise from 20 to 50 the number of work-people whose simultaneous employment in a place of work, fulfilling the other conditions of the definition, shall constitute it a factory under the Act. In the case of all these provisions, except those referring to the employment of children, it is proposed to invest the Local Government, or the Governor-General in Council, or both, with dispensing powers. The amended Bill also proposes to render the provisions of the law more stringent in a number of minor matters relating to the hygiene of the mills, the provision of water, the care of machinery, and the like.

Among the more important of the measures which have engaged the attention of the Legislative Council of India during the Quarter, has been an Act to amend the Indian Evidence Act and Criminal Procedure Code, with a view of preventing accused persons from being prejudiced by evidence of previous conviction, and an Act to amend the Cattle Trespass Act, by providing severer penalties for the offence in the case of wilful trespass, and in other ways to render the law more effective, both of which have been passed; a Bill to amend the Merchandise Marks Act, which is to be passed on the 13th instant, and Bills to amend the Merchant Seamen and Registration of Ships Acts.

The question of Bengal Police Reform has been the subject of investigation by a Committee, who have submitted their Report, after holding several meetings in Calcutta; but neither the composition of the Committee, nor the method of enquiry adopted by it, was such as to inspire much confidence in the result. It is probable that a Committee will be appointed to

enquire into the working of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes ; and a conference has recently been held with the Lieutenant-Governor in Calcutta, to consider the question of the organisation of the Volunteer Forces in Bengal and the best means of increasing their numbers.

The Lushai Frontier has been the scene of a number of small punitive expeditions in various directions. These have included a very successful expedition under Captain Rundall against the Kanhows, who have been reduced to submission. A column under the same officer is about to start for the Tashon Nwengal Country, and another expedition has made a thorough exploration of the Koladyne Country and the Blue Mountain Range. In Upper Burmah, the refractory Tsawbwa of Wuntho, who is ascertained to have been the instigator of a series of outrages on the Bhamo Frontier, has been deposed by Proclamation ; and a force—sent into his district to punish, and, if possible, arrest him—has captured Okpho, where a number of his followers had erected a stockade.

Military operations on a more extensive scale have been undertaken against certain marauding tribes on the Kohat Frontier, who have all submitted, after an almost bloodless campaign ; and an expedition is on the point of starting into the Hazara Country, to punish the Hassanzai and Akhazai tribes, and, if possible, effect their permanent pacification.

A Census of all India was taken on the night of the 26th February. The results, as far as known, make it probable that there has been a general increase of population to the extent of seven or eight per cent. The population of Bengal is returned roughly at 74 millions ; that of Calcutta at 650,000 ; that of Bombay at 804,000 ; and that of Madras at 450,000.

When we closed our last retrospect, a state of active and bitter antagonism existed between the two sections into which Mr. Gladstone's refusal any longer to recognise the leadership of Mr. Charles Parnell had divided the Irish party. Mr. Parnell, however, had offered to retire on condition of his receiving from Mr. Gladstone satisfactory assurances regarding the questions of the settlement of the land and the control of the Police ; and an attempt was subsequently made, through the mediation, in the first instance, of Mr. O'Brien, and ultimately of Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon, who came over in succession from America for the purpose, to reunite the Party on this basis. The negotiations, which took place at Boulogne, with Mr. Parnell, on the one side, and Messrs. Justin M'Carthy and Sexton on behalf of the anti-Parnellites, and which were of a most protracted nature, terminated on the 11th of February, in a complete and, to all appearances, irretrievable collapse. Of the details of what passed very little is publicly known, the negotiations

having been conducted under the seal of secrecy; but the final state of the case between the parties is sufficiently clear. On the question of the land, Mr. Parnell is understood to have insisted, from first to last, that the Irish Parliament should have full power to legislate as it chose, while as to the Police, he demanded that the control of the Irish constabulary should be invested in the Irish Parliament, unconditionally and immediately on its coming into existence. On these two points he demanded from Mr. Gladstone an explicit and written assurance. From Mr. Gladstone, however, the most that could be extracted was, a vague statement that the land question should either be settled by the Imperial Parliament simultaneously with the establishment of Home Rule, or within a limited period thereafter, to be specified in the Home Rule Bill, or else the power to deal with it should be committed to the Irish Legislature; and that a civil force, under the control of the Irish Government, should be gradually substituted for the Irish constabulary in the course of a number of years, which Mr. Gladstone did not think should exceed five. Mr. Parnell very justly contended that these statements contained no indication of any intention to concede his demands.

The general feeling will probably be, that the collapse was a foregone conclusion, and that Mr. Parnell was determined from the first to put his demands high enough to prevent all risk of their being conceded, his sole object in consenting to the negotiations being to throw the onus of the deadlock, as far as possible, on Mr. Gladstone.

Whether an arrangement which would have satisfied the Parnellites, and yet not have alienated the more moderate of Mr. Gladstone's followers, could have been arrived at if both sides had entered on the negotiations with a sincere desire for peace, uncomplicated by personal considerations, may perhaps be considered an open question. But, in the absence of such personal considerations, it is doubtful whether any serious split would have occurred at all, the probability being that, in spite of the immense influence of Mr. Gladstone, backed, or not, by that of the priesthood, the Party would have stood to Mr. Parnell almost to a man.

As it is, the rupture of the negotiations postpones, to an indefinite future, all chance of Home Rule again becoming a serious question in the national politics. The probability seems to be that a general election would rather add to, than reduce the number of Mr. Parnell's following, and this would place a still wider gulf between the nationalists and the moderate liberals. After the breakdown at Boulogne, Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon crossed to Folkestone, where they were at once arrested, under the sentences passed on them last

year ; and they were ultimately lodged in Galway jail. The rupture has been followed by a renewal of the scandalous scenes which followed the original breach ; and the anti-Parnellites have resolved to organise a National Federation, separate from the National League.

The proceedings of Parliament, since it re-assembled on the 22nd of January, have been of a comparatively unexciting character. On the 25th, Lord Cross's Indian Councils Bill was introduced and read a first time. On the 4th of February, Mr. Gladstone moved the second reading of the Religious Disabilities Removal Bill, for the purpose of enabling Roman Catholics to be appointed to the offices of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord Chancellor. The Bill was rejected by 256 to 223 votes, a decision which, if the question were merely one of religious tolerance, would say little for the intelligence of the British Parliament, but for which some excuse is to be found in political considerations connected with the view held by a large number of Catholics of the nature of their allegiance to the Pope. On the 11th February, the Bill to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister was read a second time by a majority of 47 in a House of 357 members, and on the 13th, the Tithes Bill was read a third time. On the 16th, Mr. Morley moved a vote of censure on the administration of the Government in Ireland, which was warmly supported by Mr. Gladstone, but rejected, after a prolonged debate, by a majority of 75 votes.

A motion made by Mr. Buchanan, on the 17th of February, in favour of uniting the three Presidency Commands in India under one Command, was withdrawn, Mr. Stanhope contending that the House was not competent to decide the question, which involved grave political considerations. On the same night, a motion, by Sir W. C. Plowden, for securing facilities for discussing Indian affairs by the House, was carried without a division, the Government leaving the matter in the hands of the House. On the 19th, in the course of a debate on the Army estimates, Mr. Hanbury moved that the rules of the Service should be amended, by giving privates and non-commissioned officers higher pay, and in other ways, with the view of obtaining a more regular and adequate supply of recruits. Mr. Stanhope defended the arrangements for accommodation, rations, and the like, and denied the necessity of an increase of pay ; but stated that it had been resolved to appoint a Committee to consider the questions of deferred pay, short service, the arming of coaling stations, and the substitution of modern for obsolete guns and fortresses. On the 20th, a motion of Mr. Pritchard Morgan for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, was defeated by 235 to 203 votes. On the 24th, replying

to Lord Hartington, in the course of the debate on the Army estimates, Mr. Stanhope announced that it was intended to constitute a Promotion Board, consisting of five Generals, including the Commanders at Aldershot, Dublin and Portsmouth, independent of the War-office and the Commander-in-chief. On the 3rd instant, Mr. Stansfeld's one-man-one-vote motion, which was supported by Mr. Gladstone, was rejected by a majority of 100.

The Government having determined on the occupation of Tokar and Handoub, in order to relieve the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Suakim from the chronic oppression which they suffer at the hands of Osman Digna and the Dervishes, an expedition, consisting of Egyptian troops, landed at Trinitat on the 14th ultimo, and after occupying El Teb without opposition, advanced, on the morning of the 19th, against Osman Digna, who was encamped at Afafite. In the action which followed, Osman Digna's forces, estimated at about 2,000, made a desperate attack on the Egyptians, while they were occupying a portion of the town, but were repulsed by charges of cavalry, after a severe hand-to-hand fight, with the loss of over 700 killed. On our side, Captain H. Barrow, of the South Lancashire Regiment, who was well known in India, was killed; Captain J. R. Beech, of the 20th Hussars, was wounded; and about 60 Egyptian Officers and men were killed or wounded. Osman Digna himself, it is reported, watched the fight from a safe distance, according to his custom, and fled to Kassala as soon as he saw things going against the Dervishes.

The occupation, which is declared by the Government to be temporary, has been made the subject of a bitter attack by the Radicals in the House of Commons. In the meantime, steps have been taken to garrison the principal points for an indefinite period, and a Civil Government has been constituted under a native Governor; while, at a meeting of the Sheikhs at Suakim, on the 8th instant, a telegram from the Khedive, proclaiming a general amnesty, was read by General Grenfell, and, it is said, was favourably received.

The Egyptian Council, after a warm difference of opinion, have approved of the nomination of Mr. Justice Scott as legal adviser to the Government of the Khedive. The appointment, however, has formed the subject of a protest on the part of the French Government, as calculated unduly to increase British influence in Egypt, and as violating the rights of the Porte and other nations.

A desperate attempt has been made by the Silver party in the United States to induce the Legislature to take further steps in the direction of placing their property above the operation of the natural laws of supply and demand, by attaching an artificial

value to silver. A Bill for the free-coinage of Silver, at a ratio of about 16 to 1, was ultimately passed by the Senate by a considerable majority; but the Committee to which the Bill was referred by the House of Representatives, reported strongly against it, and, with its condemnation, all prospect of further Silver legislation during the current Session is considered to be at an end. Recent events in the States have opened the eyes of consumers to the fact, that the effect of legislation of this kind, is simply to bleed them for the benefit of the silver speculators and the proprietors of mines. The banking and mercantile community are naturally opposed to any thing that would tend to the inflation of the currency and the expulsion of gold; and though the Democrats are largely in the hands of the farmers of the West and South, who are, to a certain extent, in the same boat as the silver men, they will not improbably shrink from a policy which would alienate the sympathies of the great mass of the intelligent public of the North.

In the meantime, the price of silver continues to hover about 45*d.*, which is probably not far from its natural value under existing conditions.

The general election in Canada, which turned nominally on the question of partial or total reciprocity with the United States, has resulted in a reduction of the Government majority by one-half, several ministers being among the rejected candidates.

If we except the negotiations between England and Portugal on the Zambesi question, which have so far proved infructuous, little has occurred in the sphere of European politics which is of more than domestic interest; though the bitter attacks on the part of the French Press, of which the ill-advised visit of the Empress Frederick to Paris has been the occasion, possess an ominous significance, showing, as they do, how little time has done to soften the latent hostility of France to Germany. Regarding the exact character of these attacks, which have led to equally bitter recriminations on the part of the *Cologne Gazette* and other German papers, our information is as yet imperfect, but they appear to have been as unprovoked as they were ungenerous and unseemly.

The relations between the Emperor of Germany and Prince Bismarck, arising out of the late Chancellor's unmeasured criticism of the Emperor's policy, are reported to be growing daily more strained. The latest report is that the Emperor has threatened to take legal proceedings; as he would be perfectly justified in doing, to prevent the Prince from carrying out his unworthy threat of publishing confidential documents.

Disquieting rumours prevail regarding the health of the Emperor, who, besides the long standing ear malady, which is reported to be assuming a cancerous aspect, has lately been suffering from an affection of the throat, though there seems to be no special reason for supposing this to be of other than an ordinary character.

Italy has had its small sensation, in the shape of a sudden and wholly unexpected ministerial crisis, some incautious words uttered by Signor Crispi, in the heat of discussion, during the debate on the Budget, having caused a tumult of indignation which culminated, in a hostile vote on the Bill. Signor Crispi at once tendered his resignation, and has been succeeded by the Marquis di Rudini.

Among the domestic events of the Quarter in England, has been a prolonged strike of the employés of the North British, Caledonian, and Glasgow and South-Western Railway Companies, which has now, happily, terminated in the submission of the men. Commencing, as it did, in the depth of a severe winter and in the middle of the Christmas season, it was the cause not only of heavy loss to the Companies, but of grave inconvenience and distress to the public. There seems no doubt that, however unjustifiable the action of the men may have been, their grievances were in some respects real and serious; and the strike has had the effect of inducing the Government to appoint a Committee to enquire into the question of limiting the hours of labour of railway servants generally.

A painful sensation has been caused in English society by a deplorable scandal arising out of an imputation of foul play at baccarat made against Sir William Gordon Cumming of the Scot's Guards. The accusation seems to have originated with Mr. Stanley Wilson and Mrs. Arthur Wilson, in whose house the offence is said to have been committed in September last, the Heir to the Throne being among the card players on the occasion. In consequence of what they saw, or believed they had seen, it was arranged that certain of the party should watch the accused. The result was that they confirmed the accusation; and a representation was made by Lord Coventry and General Williams who were also among the guests, to the Prince. Sir William, who, on being apprised of the charge, vehemently denied it, solicited and was granted an interview with the Prince, to whom he repeated his denial. Ultimately a sort of Committee seems to have been formed, and it was agreed to keep the matter secret, on condition that Sir William signed an undertaking never to touch a card again, which, after a certain amount of protestation, he consented to do. Events, however, proved that there was treachery in the camp; the scandal, in due time, became the common talk of the clubs, and Sir William, becoming aware

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Age of Consent Bill was passed on the 9th instant, with the modifications recommended by the Select Committee, after a long debate, in which the action of the Government was vindicated by Sir Andrew Scoble and the Viceroy, in speeches of great ability, and the tactical error criticised in the foregoing pages amply rectified.

Referring to the contention that the Bill involved a departure from the policy of non-interference guaranteed by the Queen's Proclamation, Sir Andrew Scoble showed very clearly, not only that such a construction of the document in question was unjustified by its terms, but that it was distinctly contradicted by Section 19 of the Indian Councils Act of 1861, in which it was enacted, that, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General, "measures affecting the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of Her Majesty's subjects, might be introduced in any of the Councils. What was enjoined in the Proclamation, he pointed out, was "that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rites, usages and customs of India," and it was a principle long since recognised in practice by the Government of India and affirmed by the Privy Council, that such due regard did not cover acts which ought to be prohibited on grounds of humanity or morality. On the same point, the Viceroy spoke in even more uncompromising terms. The pledges contained in the Proclamation, he said, must be read with two reservations, and the first of these was that, in all cases where demands preferred in the name of religion would lead to practices inconsistent with individual safety, or the public peace, it was religion, and not morality, which must give way.

It is, we think, greatly to be regretted that the Government did not take up this strong ground in the first instance, and thus nip in the bud the irritating religious controversy of the past ten weeks. Opposition there would, no doubt, have been under any circumstances; but in that case the contest would have been fought out mainly on the issue, whether the actual state of things was such as to render the Bill necessary, or not; and on this head, if necessity is to be measured according to any civilised standard, the evidence brought forward by the Government is overwhelming.

On the same date, the Indian Factories Act, as amended by the Select Committee, was also passed into law.

The Financial Statement for the year 1891-92, which was published as a *Gazette of India Extraordinary* on the 20th instant, shows that the accounts for 1889-90 closed with a surplus of Rs. 2,61,20,330, while the Revised Estimates for 1890-91 show an estimated surplus of Rs. 2,78,71,000, of which Rs. 1,92,65,000 is due to the improvement in exchange.

In the Budget for 1891-92 the Revenue is estimated at Rs. 86,02,53,000, and the expenditure at Rs. 85,90,97,000, yielding a surplus of Rs. 11,56,000, exchange being taken at 1-5¼ for the year, and the Famive Grant being restored to its original amount of Rs. 1,50 00,000. Provision is made for a Capital expenditure of Rs. 3,50 00,000 on account of works not charged to Revenue. No rupee loan is contemplated ; but the Secretary of State proposes to raise a sterling loan of £2,600,000, for the discharge of 3½ per cent. debentures and for advances to railway Companies, and to sell Council Bills to the amount of £16,000,000.

J. W. F.

March 26th.

of this, communicated with the Colonel of his regiment, who convened a court of officers. They decided that the accused must send in his papers, on the ground that he had not put himself in the hands of his Commanding Officer, in the first instance, as he was required by the rules of the Army to do. The papers were sent in, and, at the same time, proceedings for libel were instituted. Great indignation is expressed in many quarters against Mrs. Wilson and her friends, whose action, considering the peculiar circumstances of the case, was, to say the least, injudicious. But by far the most injudicious part in the whole affair seems to us to have been that played by Lord Coventry and General Williams in communicating the matter to the Prince of Wales. •

Considerable indignation, not altogether unmixed with amusement, so far as it is possible to feel amusement at anything connected with so pitiful a subject, has been caused by the summary manner in which the authorities at St. Petersburg have dealt with the Memorial to the Czar, regarding the relentless persecution of the Jews by the Russian Government, which was adopted by the Guildhall Meeting in December last. Ordinary official channels having proved unavailable for the transmission of the document, the Lord Mayor had recourse to the unusual, and not very hopeful, expedient of forwarding it to the Czar direct through the post. The result was, that it was sent back from St. Petersburg to the Russian Ambassador in London, with instructions to deliver it to Lord Salisbury, to be returned from whence it came; and, strange to say, Lord Salisbury did not consider it incompatible with his dignity to accept the function of messenger in the matter. Whether the Czar was apprised of the existence of the Memorial, or not, or by whose instructions it was returned, no one seems to know. The presumption is, that it was never submitted to His Imperial Majesty, but dealt with, in the ordinary course of routine, as any other missive similarly addressed and sent would have been. Whether as a result of the Guildhall Meeting, or not, the severity of the persecution has, according to all accounts, been since redoubled.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the names of the Duke of Bedford, who committed suicide while suffering from the delirium of fever; Mr. Geo. Bancroft, the American historian; Sir Richard Burton, the celebrated traveller and writer; and Mr. Bradlaugh, the late Member for Northampton, whose death removes from the stage of English politics one of the acutest intellects, and one of the most honest, independent, and morally courageous men of the day.

CALCUTTA ;
10th March 1891.

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J. W. F.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of Bengal during 1889-90.

THREE important changes in departmental administration were effected during the year,—*First*, the appointment of an Excise Commissioner for Bengal; *second*, the amalgamation of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta, a measure that has given great impetus to the work of Municipal reform and improvement; *third*, the reconstitution of the Calcutta Port Trust under Act III (B. C.) of 1890. A Political Agent was appointed at Guntok to assist the Maharajah of Sikkim with advice in the administration of affairs. The Bhutan authorities, though pressed to join the Thibetans against the British, refused to do so, and their relations with the Government were satisfactory. Satisfactory arrangements were come to with regard to the future administration of Hill Tipperah. The important event of the year in connection with the *Chittagong Hill Tracts* was, of course, the Chin-Lushai Expedition, the operations of which were brought to a successful conclusion. A number of captives who had been carried off in the Chengri Valley and Chima Valley raids, were recovered, and, in addition to the permanent posts at Demagiri, Burkal, and Ruma, and the newly-established one at Lungleh, three temporary posts at Pyramid Hill, Joormorong, and Keokhrading were occupied during the year. The Frontier Police Force performed their very arduous duties in connection with the expedition cheerfully and well, and the Coolie Corps from the Sonthal Pergunnahs is said to have been of great service. Two parties of Shendus who live to the south of Fort Lungleh, and whose country was not affected by the expedition, entered our territory, apparently for raiding purposes, but patrol parties were immediately despatched and prevented any mischief being done. Trade again declined in consequence of the unsettled state of the country.

The relations of the *Kuch Behar* State with the British Government continued to be friendly and satisfactory.

The greater part of Orissa is temporarily settled, and the present settlement will expire in 1896-1897. Accordingly, a scheme was drawn up for a survey and the preparation of a record of rights with a view to re-settlement. The cost of survey and settlement is estimated at about 15 lakhs, and the increase of revenue at 7 lakhs or more. In pursuance of this scheme the transverse survey of 407, and the cadastral survey of 358,

square miles were completed, the total cost being Rs. 76,553. There were 52 applications for survey and settlement under the Tenancy Act. In estates the settlement of which had been completed, or was approaching completion, an increase of rent and revenue was obtained with the consent of the rayats concerned: there was no rioting or disorder, and the number of appeals to the Special Judges was exceedingly small. Settlement work is done cheaply in Bengal, costing about 8 annas an acre. The current demand for rental on Government estates was Rs. 23,32,339, and the collections, including arrears, amounted to Rs. 24,87,163. The condition of the tenantry, although affected by drought and floods, was on the whole, generally good.

In the way of Legislation, three Bills, all of which received the assent of the Governor-General and passed into law during the year, were under the consideration of the *Legislative Council* of the Lieutenant-Governor during the session 1889-90. The first of these was merely for the purpose of amalgamating the Superannuation Funds of the Police Forces of Calcutta and the Suburbs, the latter having now been incorporated with the former; and the second, entitled an Act to amend the Bengal Vaccination Act, 1880, was to render applicable to the Suburbs certain rules and orders till then applicable only to Calcutta. The third Act, which was one to consolidate and amend the law relating to the Port of Calcutta and to the appointment of Commissioners for the Port, although mainly a consolidating measure, nevertheless made some important amendments in the existing law. The number of Port Commissioners was increased from 13 to 15; the manner in which the port property should be valued for purposes of Municipal assessment was prescribed; provision was made for the institution of civil suits by persons debarred the use of private wharves or other works, or whose wharves or other works were removed by the Commissioners; some sections were introduced relating to the mode of preparing the Budget and defining the liability of the Commissioners in respect of goods in their custody; and provision was also made for the grant of pensions to the port employes; the position and duties of the Port Police being at the same time more clearly defined. The question of entrusting a larger share in the administration of criminal justice to benches of Honorary Magistrates came before Sir Steuart Bayley in the course of the year, and, his Honour favouring such an arrangement, the number of cases made over to them increased. District Magistrates report favourably on their attendance, and the work done by them. In its Criminal Jurisdiction, 125 persons came under trial before the High Court. The percentage of convictions to the total

of convictions and acquittals was 77 : a higher figure than in any of the preceding five years. In its Appellate Jurisdiction, the Court dealt with the cases of 3,504 persons ; in 1,239 of which the appeals or applications were rejected, while sentences were confirmed in 873, modified in 298, reversed in 832, and enhanced in 3. There were 255 European British subjects brought to trial in the criminal courts, the average of the three preceding years being 228. Exactly three-fourths of these were in Chittagong, Darjeeling, the 24-Pergunnahs, and Howrah, and 72 per cent. of them were charged with breaches of special and local laws. Of the others, 12 were charged with theft, 10 with mischief, 7 with offences affecting life, and the remainder with minor offences under the Penal Code. As regards litigation of Government and the Court of Wards, there was distinct improvement. Government was concerned in 454 cases and the Court of Wards in 720, against averages of 798 and 1,111 for the preceding five years. Government litigation was successful to the extent of 85·7 per cent., that of the Court of Wards to the extent of 90·7 per cent. The increase in the number of registrations during the year was 110,146, the largest increase yet recorded. The number of ceremonies registered under the Mahommedan Marriage Act showed a slight falling off.

The most important works dealt with by the Calcutta Municipality were in connection with sanitation, drainage, and water supply, which is, as it should be. Two new Municipalities were established during the year, and two old ones (Assensole and the Suburbs of Calcutta) abolished, so that the total number at the close of the year was 147, as in 1888-89. On the subject of capital expenditure, the Lieutenant-Governor remarked that he was not disappointed with the manner in which Municipalities had availed themselves of the more liberal policy inaugurated by Government, and he was quite sure that a very profitable use was being made of the loans already granted ; but he would be glad to see the larger Municipalities, especially those in Behar, more forward to appreciate the necessity of capital expenditure. On the whole, the opinion of local officers regarding the working of the Municipalities was favourable, and His Honour, although he did not hesitate to indicate many important matters in regard to which there was urgent need of improvement, was at pains to make it clear that the year had been characterised by much good work and devotion to public duty.

Crops were on the whole fairly good, though somewhat below the average, and in some places greatly damaged by floods and drought ; and scarcity, at one time or another, threatened many. It was, however, only in the Patna and

Orissa Divisions that matters became really serious, and that large measures of relief had to be undertaken. In their conduct, Sir Steuart Bayley's experience in the Patna Division in the Famine of 1874 stood him in good stead, as well as his indefatigable energy and ubiquitousness.

The quantity of indigo exported, which had remained nearly stationary for three years, increased by about 6 per cent; but towards the close of the year prices were unfavourably affected by the tightness of the Money Market, and a sudden rise in Exchange. The area under tea cultivation was diminished; but the total outturn increased. To improved cultivation this improvement is mainly attributed. In pursuance of a scheme for expediting the development of technical education in India, Mr. E. W. Collin, C.S., was deputed to make a survey of the existing industries, and to report on the advisability of establishing schools of instruction at industrial centres. His enquiry did not extend to the production of raw material, such as coal, indigo, jute, tea, and agricultural produce generally, and therefore did not deal with the question of agricultural education; but he visited all the chief seats of the European and Native industries, and gave a full and interesting account of them. Bengal is almost wholly agricultural, and only 8·73 per cent. of the population are engaged in industrial pursuits, and of these the greater number are found in Calcutta and the surrounding districts. There are in the neighbourhood of Calcutta about 50 mills, factories, and presses which give employment to upwards of fifty thousand natives and to a large number of European foremen; and there are also large mechanical workshops in Calcutta and Howrah, and Railway workshops at Jamalpore, Kanchraparah, and Saidpore. The native industries, in so far as they are independent of foreign influences, are for the most part insignificant. Thus every large village has its potter, its blacksmith, its silversmith, &c., who produce ordinary rough articles for every-day wear and tear; but it is only in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, or at European factories, such as the Burrakur Iron Works, or Burn and Company's Pottery Works at Rancegunge, that high class work can be obtained. This, however, does not apply to the artistic manufactures, for although wood-carving, Assamese silk-weaving and the *Kasider* cloth made from it, as well as silk-weaving generally, have greatly declined, yet the native jewellery, and more especially the filigree work of Dacca and Cuttack, maintains its high standard; and fine ivory carvings, metal inlaid work, and pictured silk of Moorshedabad can still be obtained, although, in each of these three cases, the art is now confined to less than half-a-dozen families. The total value of the sea-borne trade of the Bengal Presidency increased from

Rs. 78,17,13,654 to Rs. 79,12,31,540. This increase was entirely in foreign exports—a hopeful sign.

The Bengal Provincial grant was almost entirely spent in maintaining over 1,200 miles of metalled and 750 miles of unmetalled road, and on Civil Buildings. Under the latter head, Rs. 3,72,689 was expended in constructing and repairing public offices or official residences at Balasore, Arrah, Doomka, Julpigoree, Cox's Bazar, Chittagong, and Pubna; Rs. 46,554 was spent on the construction of three distilleries and in introducing improvements in excise manufacture; the extension of the Museum at Calcutta was nearly completed; of 23 Munsiffs' courts under construction during the year, 11 were completed; Rs. 3,01,263 as spent on additions to the Central Jail at Bhagulpore, the Presidency Jail, the Reformatory School at Alipore, the Dacca Central Jail, the intermediate jail at Khoolna, on constructing an intermediate jail at Doomka and lock-ups at Deoghur, Gaibanda, Somastipore, and Pakour, and in converting the *hajut* at Rajmehal into a lock-up, and in improving the lock-up at Cutwa; the new police office at Cuttack, and the additions and alterations to the Mill barracks at Dacca, to make them suitable for occupation by the reserve police, were completed; some important additions and alterations were made to the lunatic asylum at Cuttack; and Rs. 4,67,182 was spent in constructing roads in Chota Nagpore. These are the chief objects on which the Provincial grant was expended, although a number of other works of minor importance were also carried out. Almost the whole of the expenditure under Local Funds consists of the outlay by District Boards and District Road Committees on roads and communications. The total number of miles of railroad open in Bengal at the close of the year was 2,246½ miles, control and financial responsibility for 1,047½ miles of which had been undertaken by the Local Government. In addition to this total, 129½ miles were under construction and 796 miles under survey. About the Telegraph system, we find it written that the increasing extent to which the public avail themselves of the facilities offered them for *telegraphic* communication, and the eagerness with which they utilize any extension of the system, certainly constitute one very important indication of material progress; and in this respect the rapid progress of previous years was well maintained. The number of messages amounted to 540,245, and the receipts to Rs. 8,27,319, an increase in each case of 9 per cent. over the preceding year. In two years the increase in each case amounts to over 21 per cent. The mileage of lines was increased by 73 miles, bringing the total up to 5,421 miles; and 50 offices were opened while 21 were closed, so that at the end of the year the number of offices open stood

at 606. Among the new offices, three were opened, at the headquarters of districts, so that there are now only two districts in Bengal—Maldah and the Sonthal Pergunnahs—the Sudder stations of which are without telegraphic communication.

The number of publications received, in the Bengal Library was 2,603—75 more than the average of the previous five years. The increase was entirely in publications in English; and Drama, as usual, heads the list.

Report on the Administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st March 1890.

THE actual receipts of the year of report aggregated Rs. 3,92,78,000. A falling off under the heading Provincial is due to deduction from the Provincial share proper of Land Revenue, of a sum of Rs. 22,79,000: of which 20 lakhs represent the contribution from Provincial funds to Imperial, consequent on the re-imposition of the putwari rate under Act IX of 1889. The Provincial expenditure of the year (exclusive of adjustments in favour of Local) amounted to Rs. 2,80,51,000, or Rs. 27,06,000 less than that of the previous year. This more than counter-balanced the amount (Rs. 14,76,000) by which the income of the year fell below that of 1888-89. The total expenditure on Public Works was Rs. 45,41,885, against Rs. 51,55,545 in the previous year. The percentage of Establishment to Outlay was for all heads, 27.70. We are told that the revised scheme for working the Government Workshops at Roorkee, which had been tentatively introduced during the previous year, has worked satisfactorily. The workshops, in short, are for the future to be managed on business principles. No new works of importance were undertaken in connection with railways. The Powayan Steam Tramway has been completed and opened for traffic. The new aqueduct to carry the Lower Ganges Canal over the Kali Nadi, at Nadrai, was also completed during the year.

The gross revenue realized from Irrigation was Rs. 58,03,374, and exceeded working expenses and interest charges by Rs. 1,16,267. The Tarai and Bhabar Canals irrigated 114,680 acres. The greater part of an increased revenue of nearly 3½ lakhs of rupees is set down as having been earned by Canals. *A propos* of revenue, it appears that in the south of the Agra and Muttra districts the inroads of wild cattle did so much damage to crops, that it was found necessary to fence the border for many miles; an expensive precaution, the undertaking of which indicates the severity of the affliction. In Banda

and Hamirpur, the spread of *kans* grass is another serious impediment to cultivation. Reductions of revenue will probably be necessary in order to give these districts a fair chance of financial recovery.

The heavy increase in litigation in the North-Western Provinces since the passing of the last Rent Act, that has been noticed in past years, is maintained. The increase of the last five years has been mainly in the well-to-do and permanently-settled districts of the Benares Division. During these years rent-suits have increased by nearly 70 per cent., whereas in the districts of the Agra Division, where there has been much land thrown out of cultivation and considerable difficulty experienced in the collection both of rent and revenue, there has been a marked decrease in the number of suits for arrears of rent. The increase in the eastern districts is coincident with a marked increase in the use of money-orders for the payment of rent, and it is possible that between the two there may be some connection. The landlord being no longer able to credit collections to arrears, is obliged to resort to the rent courts to secure a record of the arrears and to prevent their becoming time-barred. An increase occurred in the number of applications to eject tenants with rights of occupancy; but the conclusion of the Board of Revenue, after a protracted and patient inquiry throughout the Province, was, that so far as occupancy tenants relinquished their holdings, it is not as a rule under undue pressure from the landlord, and that while there are individual landlords who avail themselves of every pretext and opportunity to destroy the occupancy tenure on their lands, the great body of the landowners are not oppressive in their relations with their tenantry, and disturbance in their holdings is quite inconsiderable in dimension.

In Oudh, the number of tenancies in which notice of ejectment was issued was nearly double that of the previous year, which means that the provisions of the new law are becoming better understood, and are, therefore, more made use of by landlords. Still, the entire number of notices remains insignificant (17 per cent. on the whole number of tenancies) and not a twentieth part of the number issued in the last year of the old Rent Act. In spite of endeavours to inform ryots of the privileges they have acquired under the new law, there is still much ignorance on the subject in backward and secluded parts of the province, and feudal instincts and traditions still survive and hold sway in many districts. Consequently there are still private and illegal enhancements and evictions; but continued careful enquiry points to the conclusion that these are diminishing and are nowhere large. The law strives more or less in vain against natural conditions of contract, and, other considerations apart, the over-population of many parts of the province makes the holding of an ejected tenant matter of keen competition: the in-coming tenant is ready to accept any terms the landlord may choose to dictate, whatever the law may say. Applications for loans under the Land Improvement Act decreased in value in the North-Western Provinces, chiefly in the Meerut Division, where the progress of assessment operations doubtless checked applica-

tions by landlords. In Oudh there was some increase. Sir Auckland Colvin's Resolution holds—

That, in this matter, the attitude of the District Officer is more and more clearly the determining factor in the extent to which this assistance is applied for and taken. The funds placed at the credit of a particular district are seldom large; the area or the numbers that can be helped is in ordinary years very limited; and there are difficulties to be overcome, such as the passive obstruction of the subordinate officials, complications of tenure, and peculiarities of soil: but much can be done when a District Officer chooses, for the help of agriculture in his district.

In six districts of the North Western Provinces, settlement operations were in progress, namely, Gorakhpur, Basti, Bulandshahr, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur and Jhānsi. In the three former districts the assessment work has been completed, and the increase in the revenue in the three districts amounts to 20 lakhs of rupees on a former total of Rs. 42,96,920.

An inquiry into the financial condition of 28 estates in the North-Western Provinces, which had been taken under Court of Wards' management on the application of their proprietors, shows that this management has been very successful; debts amounting to Rs. 18,83,672 having been liquidated out of the profits. Collections from State properties amounted to nearly 98 per cent. of the demand—

The most important of the experiments carried on by the Agricultural Department were those in connection with the reclamation of *usur* land. At the Cawnpore farm good work was done in the education of apprentices and in the distribution of selected seeds. The Director also sent apprentices to six districts where they took a number of borings for wells; boring apparatus was also lent to zamindars on favourable terms, and the advantages of this method of selecting sites for new wells are being rapidly better appreciated.

The area under tea has nearly doubled since 1876, and the outturn now amounts to 18 lakhs of pounds.

The gross receipts from Income-tax were Rs. 20,89,000 against Rs. 20,60,000 in the previous year, the charges for realization of the tax were Rs. 34,000 against Rs. 37,000. The average amount assessed on each thousand of the population was Rs. 42, and the average assessment per person assessed was Rs. 27. The revenue from stamps shows an increase of Rs. 3,05,000, and is the highest on record.

Prosecutions under the Excise Act were more numerous than in the preceding year, but involved fewer persons. The self-seeking vanity of hot gospellers of temperance, like Mr. Caine and Mr. Evans, is probably proof against arguments derived from fact and reason; but some of the well meaning people whom they have alarmed with their objurgations, may, perhaps, be comforted by the following extract from the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution on the North-Western Provinces Administration Report:—

During the year exhaustive inquiries were made, under instruction from the Government of India, into the excise administration in

these Provinces, in consequence of a resolution passed by the House of Commons (on the motion of Mr. Caine) condemning, in general terms, the Indian system of excise. The result of the inquiry went to prove what, for the rest, was well enough known—that drunkenness, as a vice and leading to crime, does not exist in these Provinces; that masses of the population never touch intoxicants in any shape or form; and that the classes who resort to liquor or consume drugs would certainly secure these intoxicants in an illegal way if they were unable to obtain them legally.

About Local Self-government, we are told that most of the District Boards took a wholesome and lively interest in matters entrusted to their charge. In no case did Government find it necessary directly to interfere. There were, on the 31st March 1890, 108 Municipalities in the amalgamated provinces, against 109 in the previous year. Of these 102 were administered under Act XV of 1883, and the remaining six continued under the older Act XV of 1873. The total normal income of Municipalities amounted, in round numbers, to Rs. 30,64,000. Of which total Octroi contributed Rs. 20,02,000; Rs. 11,44,000 was borrowed by Municipalities (almost wholly from Government) for construction of Waterworks, carrying out of Drainage Schemes, and other important local improvements. Everyone who appreciates the immense value and uses of sanitation must rejoice to find the Government liberal-minded in this matter of loans to Municipalities. Municipal administration was on the whole uneventful. Here is a warning note :—

It was ruled, owing to certain irregularities that had occurred at Benares on the occasion of the annual municipal elections, that at all future elections measures should be adopted to ensure that individuals who attended at the polling stations to vote, were not to be allowed either to remain with the returning officers under pretext of watching the proceedings, or to address themselves to electors. It was further decided that, if accommodation were required for spectators, it should be provided in some place separated from the returning officers; and that care should be taken that spectators, whether electors or otherwise, in no way mixed themselves up with the proceedings of the returning officers.

A special census of clans suspected of practising infanticide was held; notably the Sansiahs :—

Endeavours have been made to discriminate between the more notoriously criminal members of the tribe and those families whose connection with crime has been slighter. The former consist mainly of hardened criminals of mature age, and old men and women, whose past history gives little or no hope of their possible reform; and it has been considered necessary to segregate them in a reformatory settlement at Sultanpur. On the other hand, in view of the fact that in Agra and certain other districts, numbers of the Sansiah tribe have apparently taken to honest means of livelihood, it is hoped that, under a system of enforced isolation and strict supervision, the less criminal families of the proclaimed gangs may be induced to settle down to agricultural pursuits and it has been arranged to locate them in scattered holdings, throughout the Province, under landlords who had expressed their willingness to receive them and give them employment under certain conditions it was deemed necessary to impose. In

addition, measures have been taken to separate from their parents, and all the old associations of the tribe, the young and innocent children : to this end a reformatory has been established at Fatehgarh, to be managed on the principles of the juvenile reformatory at Bareilly. The proclaimed gangs numbered 1,687 members : of these 391 have been sent to Sultanpur, 48 children to Fatehgarh, and 638 have been transferred to zamindárs. A large portion of the remainder have, it is believed, escaped to Native States.

Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1889-90.

THE frontier tribes, the Black Mountain Expedition of 1888 being fresh in their memories, were unusually well behaved during the year reported on, and, on the Peshawar border, a satisfactory state of things prevailed.

The same remark applies to British relations with the tribes of the Khaibar Pass, though inter-tribal feuds and difficulties continued. Diplomatic relations with leopards are not efficacious in the direction of changing their spots. Towards the close of the year a railway survey was made of the country along the south bank of the Kabul river. Three military posts were established in the Gomal Pass, and this road would shortly, it was hoped, be a true Royal highway, instead of a difficult route, infested by desperate robbers, and impassable except to strong bodies of armed men. Bribery was another pacificatory engine employed :—

Allowances, amounting to Rs. 30,500 per annum, have been granted to the Mahsúd Wazirís, and the Shíránís have received an annual assignment of Rs. 14,500. The Darwesh Khels of Wana have also been granted an allowance of Rs. 14,000 per annum. In the case of the Wazirís, these allowances are probably not much greater in amount than the income which these tribes used to derive from constant theft and robbery in the Gomal Pass, and they are largely given in the shape of tribal service for the protection of the roads. It is proposed that a light toll should hereafter be levied on all animals and persons using the Gomal route as in the case of the Khaibar Pass. The Dera Gházi Khan border has been quiet throughout the year. The whole of this border is now enclosed by British Bilúchistán, and before long it will necessarily cease to retain its frontier character and remain merely a difficult hill country between two British jurisdictions.

99·1 per cent. of the land revenue demand for the year was collected : there were no longer any outstanding balances in the Gurgaon and Montgomery districts, which at one time showed a very large amount of arrears. The allowances formerly enjoyed by village headmen and putwarís for the collection of local rates had been withdrawn, and at the same time the rate itself had slightly lowered. Criminal statistics for 1889 showed a decided improvement on those of recent years. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks, however, that

there is scope for more improvement. He blames the Magistracy for "some want of discrimination in inflicting punishments," the latter for insufficiency of detective ability.

Under the heading *Civil Justice* we are told that—

There was a considerable falling-off in the number of Civil suits instituted, the decrease being general throughout the province in all but two districts, but most strongly marked in the frontier districts where no doubt Civil references to councils of elders under the Regulation of 1887 have, to some extent, reduced the number of suits coming before the Civil Courts. The general decrease in litigation has been explained as due to the agricultural prosperity which prevailed in most parts of the province, and this explanation seems reasonable, in view of the fact that there was a considerable reduction in the number of suits for money instituted by the trading classes against agriculturists. The number of applications for declarations of insolvency also materially decreased during the year 1889,—an indication that commercial interests were in a prosperous condition.

An interesting feature in the administration of Civil Justice during 1889 was the working of the amended law of appeal, introduced at the close of the previous year. The number of appeals instituted in the District Courts increased by very nearly 1,000, while those preferred to Divisional Judges fell by more than that amount. In the Chief Court the number of appeals instituted from decrees fell from 2,104 to 1,282 ; but the relief thus given to the Judges was, to some extent, neutralized by a large increase in the number of applications for revision. There was a decrease in the number of documents registered in the ordinary way ; a result attributed to the fact that the transfers now made in the annual land revenue records are considered sufficient evidence of title, while, as regards ordinary bonds, there is reason for believing, that there is a growing disbelief in the necessity for registration as evidencing the transaction of a loan.

No further extension of the Municipal system took place during the year, but on the contrary, the abolition of ten petty municipalities had been decided on between the close of the year and the date of the Report. The working of the several bodies was fairly good, but the spirit of faction was not entirely absent. It must be confessed that the system of election is somewhat disappointing and is far from popular.

The desire for improved conservancy and sanitation was, however, becoming more general among Municipal Committees. Drainage and Sewerage Works were under construction in Ludhiana and Gujranwala ; the waterworks of Rawalpindi were extended and a project for the water supply of Delhi was put in hand. Similar projects were either under construction or about to be undertaken in Umballa, Amritsur and Dalhousie. Districts Boards are reported not very energetic bodies : their public works administration in parti-

cular is animadverted on, and more method and vigour therein is advised.

Local Boards "have not hitherto been of much practical utility." Trade, both with trans-border countries and other provinces, showed an increase in value over last year's figures. As regards foreign trade, marked increase took place in the traffic with countries on the North-Western frontier, attributed to the tranquillity that prevailed in Afghanistan. The Trade with Kashmir is reported steadily progressive.

General Report on the Operations of the Survey of India Department administered under the Government of India during 1888-89.

PRAISING the work of the Survey of India is, in its different way, very like attempting to gild refined gold. That indefatigable Department always does good work, always has a good record to show. Its General Report for 1888-89 is no exception to this rule. In connection with it, we note that Field operations during the year were carried on by twenty-five parties; that Trigonometrical surveys have been carried on, on the coast of Lower Burma; that, owing to urgent demand for Forest surveys, the services of officers employed on that work have been devoted to Forests in the Central Provinces, Bombay, Madras, and Burma. Forests, *pay* handsomely: Trigonometrical surveys, though quite as valuable intrinsically, do not bring ready money into the Exchequer; and Governments, like the *profanum vulgus* in these ante-millennial times, are fain to 'make hay while the sun shines.' Thus, we find it written in the Report:—

During the present year it again became necessary, owing to the paucity of officers, to suspend temporarily the electro-telegraphic operations for longitude, and to establish in lieu of them latitude observations on the meridian of 80° on the Jubbulpore Meridianal Series, in continuation of the work of 1886-87. Seven stations were observed at, ranging from the parallel of 19°-49½' on the north to 16°-26' on the south.

Reconnaissance survey of Upper Burma proceeded steadily during the year under review. Survey officers accompanied the various military expeditions, and, as far as they could under the circumstances, exploited the Chin Country, the Shan States, and the Bhamo District. Surveys of a more regular character were carried on in the Minbu, Myingyan, Sagain and Ruby Mine Districts. The year's outturn amounted to 20,510 square miles, mapped on the ¼-inch scale, which brings the total area mapped by Major Hobday's party in Upper Burma up to 52,290 square miles. We shall not

do amiss in mentioning here that the Gill Memorial Medal for 1889 was awarded by the Council of the Royal Geographical Society to Mr. M. J. Ogle, Surveyor, in recognition of his excellent survey work on the North-Eastern Frontier and in Burma.

A small survey party accompanied the Lushai Expedition of 1888-89. The area of new country mapped on the $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch scale amounted to 540 square miles, besides about 210 square miles which were roughly reconnoitred. The work done was small, which was due to the illness and subsequent death of the officer in charge, Lieutenant Pollen, R. E., but it gives valuable additional knowledge of the country traversed by the force.

On the North-West Frontier the party employed in Baluchistan effected, in conjunction with its regular work, a large amount of reconnaissance survey of new country. The tour of the Agent to the Governor-General to Eastern Toba and the Zhob Valley in July 1889, furnished an opportunity for extending our geographical knowledge in that direction, and 1,100 square miles of country were mapped there on the $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch scale. In Western Baluchistan Sub-Surveyor Ahmad Ali executed a reconnaissance, resulting in the addition of 19,000 square miles of geographical information to our maps, and has completed all that is at present required to be known in that portion of Baluchistan. Another surveyor was deputed to Persia in March 1889 for survey work in association with officers employed under the Intelligence Branch of the Quarter-Master General's Department.

The aggregate areas that have been geographically surveyed in the operations referred to above are 19,000 miles on the $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch scale, 22,420 miles on the $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch scale, totals not insignificant.

Exploration on the Northern Frontier has been limited to a reconnaissance by a native explorer in the neighbourhood of Sadiya, with a view to throwing further light on the vexed question of the lower course of the Sangpo river between Pemakoi and its junction with the Brahmaputra. "Political difficulties prevented the full success of this exploration: but as a result of it, and broadly speaking, the course of the Dihong has been somewhat straightened out and made to flow in a more south-easterly direction than before." A large portion of the supposed drainage of the Zyul, or Yang-sang-chun, has been now assigned to the Dihong river, thus giving an ostensible cause for the vast discharge of that stream, for which the previous disposition of the water-parting failed to account.

Maps have been in great demand. There were 3,820 new ones published during the year. The total number issued was 167,527, valued at Rs. 1,05,844. The heliogravure process is said to be making steady progress.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Divān-i-Hāfiz. Translated for the first time out of Persian into English prose, with critical and explanatory remarks, with an Introductory Preface, with a note on Sūfism, and with a life of the Author. By LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. WILBERFORCE CLARKE, R.E., Author of "The Persian Manual," First Translator (out of the Persian) of "The Būstān-i-Sa'di" and of "The Sikandar Nāma-i-Nizāmi." In two volumes. 1891.

THE translation for the first time into English of the whole of the *Divān* of Shams-ud-Dīn-Muhammad-i-Hāfiz-i-Shīrāzī is an event which will be hailed with satisfaction by all students of the Persian language. When they learn that the translation has been produced by no unknown or obscure author, but is from the able pen of so accomplished a Persian scholar as Colonel Wilberforce Clarke, R.E., who has already acquired a well-earned reputation for his faithful translations of the *Būstān* and the *Sikandar Nama*, they will be able to form some idea of the intellectual treat in store for them. We regret our inability, for want of time and space, to do anything like justice to a work which fills two large tomes of eleven hundred pages in all, and which throughout displays the most careful study and deep research.

English translators of Persian poems have generally not confined themselves to giving a correct rendering of the original, but have given something of their own instead. Sir William Jones's so-called translation of one of the odes of Hāfiz, beginning—

"Sweet maid, if thou wouldst charm my sight,
And bid these arms thy neck infold,"

has been lauded exceedingly, and the verses are very beautiful indeed, but it can in no sense be called a translation; and this will be evident to any one who peruses Colonel Clarke's translation of the same Ode given in pages 40 to 45 of the first volume. Such praise Colonel Clarke rightly considers to be rather dispraise, and his translation of the *Divān* is a perfectly accurate and literal translation, in which the oriental imagery of the original has been carefully preserved. Colonel Clarke deserves great praise for his absolutely faithful rendering of probably the

most difficult, and certainly the most beautiful poem in the Persian language. We have now for the first time, we believe, a clear exposition of the mystical tenets of the Sufis, as expounded and laid bare by Hāfiz himself, and this itself is a most valuable acquisition.

The first edition of the work, which has been printed in a most creditable manner by the Government Central Press, comprises, we understand, a thousand copies, of which some are bound in parchment and vellum, some in white cloth, and some in stiff paper, to suit the means of all classes of purchasers. The work can be obtained in India from Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., and in England, where the copyright will be taken out in the course of two or three months, the publishers will probably be Messrs. Paul Kegan and Co.

In addition to the valuable notes on Sūfism in these volumes, a supplementary volume, comprising two hundred pages, dealing exclusively with the subject, will, we are told, be shortly published.

The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burmah.

Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. BLANFORD. Reptilia and Batrachia by GEORGE A. BOULENGER. London: Taylor and Francis. Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co. Bombay: Thacker & Co., Limited. Berlin: R. Friedländer und Sohn, 11, Carlstrasse. 1890.

THE last issued volume of *The Fauna of British India*, published under the authority of the Secretary of State, treats of Reptilia and Batrachia: an interesting natural history study dealt with by George A. Boulenger.

As to the scope and character of the work, we quote from Mr. W. T. Blanford's preface:—

Two classes of Vertebrata, the Reptiles and the Batrachians or Amphibians, are described in this volume of the *Fauna of British India*. These two classes have often been associated in zoological works, and were, by many writers, until recently, not regarded as distinct. The study of both is usually prosecuted by the same observers, and no practical advantage would result from publishing the descriptions of the two separately.

Mr. Boulenger, to whom Indian naturalists are indebted for the present work, has already classified and described all known Crocodiles, Tortoises, Lizards, Chamæleons, and Batrachians in Catalogues of the British Museum that have appeared during the last eight years. Many of the characters of genera and species now published are taken from those catalogues, but numerous additions have been made, and several alterations have been inserted.

It need hardly be said that the scientific part of the work is well done. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired, the plates being specially worthy of commendation.

Induleka : a Malayalam novel, by O. CHANDU MENON. Translated into English by W. Dumergue, C. S. Madras : Addison and Co., Mount Road, Madras. 1890.

STAY-AT-HOME English believers in *The Indian Magazine*, and namby-pamby literature of that sort, and Exeter Hall people with an itch for the exercise of philanthropy to foreign parts and a proneness to preach about the subjection of women in India, should read *Induleka*. After reading it, they will have perforce to admit that some Indians at any rate translate their faith in womenkind and their social functions on other and quite different lines from subjection. Mr. Chandu Menon, the author of this Malayalam novel, which Mr. Dumergue has translated—and translated well, we should think, judging his work by the easy flow and self-evident fitness of the diction—gives us pictures of life and conduct amongst the Nairs of Malabar, which, if the novel is a fair reflex of the social conditions obtaining amongst that community, go far to show, not only that Nair women are held in esteem as the equals, if not more than the equals, of Nair men-folk, but that they have, moreover, attained to more culture, and refinement than they are usually credited with. Mr. Menon's artistic error lies, it seems to us, in making his heroine too much. out of the stuff dreams are made of. *Induleka* is a good deal more intellectual and cultured, and is dowered with a good deal more of liberty than is really permitted to unmarried Indian young ladies, even of the Nair persuasion. We do not think that, as a rule, Nair young ladies, belonging to well-to-do families, have separate establishments of their own, in which they are allowed, without reproach, to receive the nocturnal visits of young men, without even the protecting ægis of a duenna. We do not think that they are given to playing the piano and talking philosophy, in preference to gossiping or flirting. *Induleka* is. Nor do we think that, as a rule, Nair girls prefer English to their mother tongue. *Induleka* does. Mr. Menon is an ardent reformer on Western-world lines, and accordingly he depicts his heroine on the lines he would have an ideal heroine traverse and beautify. She is as accomplished and well-read as she is beautiful, as wise as she is good, as free from national and caste prejudices as she is fond of imitating Western-world fashions of thought and behaviour. When he allows her to be Malayalam and natural, she is charming ; in her affiliation to English modes, pert sometimes, unnatural, and not so charming. Her lover, Madiavan, an echo of the last Congress-platform, as understood in Madras, although described as an adept at cricket, and—lawn-tennis—and “inured

to the toils of field-sports," * is a prig who does not deserve such devoted love as Induleka's. Although a graduate of the Madras University, he is a doubting heart, weak-kneed and flabby, able to argue on any conceivable subject *ad infinitum*, unable to come to a decision on any practical matter affecting himself. He has no backbone. He brings trouble on himself by his folly, and—weeping copiously the while—defies the chapter of accidents, and allows it to crush him, in the approved style that seems common to all Orientals. His complexion was like refined gold: the height of his ambition was a "post" in Government service.

The real worth of the novel, and it is a worthy novel, lies in the glimpses and the finished pictures it affords of Malayalam habits of life and character. Panchu Menon, Karnavan (Chief) of the Chembhaziy of Puvali House, a patriarch of 70, whilom Tehsildar in some native state, a wealthy man, but miserly inclined, is made to pose as an incarnation of bigoted conservatism and obstruction. He knows no English, and does not favour adoption of English habits by Indians. Wherefore, of course, nothing much in the way of exalted virtue can be expected from his portraiture at the hands of Mr. Chandu Menon. Induleka was the only person with whom he did not lose his temper. He was so well aware of his own irascibility, that he seldom visited Induleka in her house, lest some accident should betray him into a passion, though he never failed to enquire about her two or three times a day; but with the exception of Induleka, it is doubtful whether any of the residents of Puvarangu and Puvalli ever passed a day without being deafened by his vituperation.

One day, Panchu Menon swore a great oath, by the great goddess Bhagvate, that he would never give Induleka in marriage to Madhavan. Induleka did not swear at all; but she nearly dissolved herself in tears and determined that at any rate she would never allow herself to be given in marriage to any body else. Accordingly, she treated with scorn and contumely the overtures of the Moorkkhillatta Namburdiripad, a rich Brahman Rajah, a great lady-killer in his own estimation, who, arrayed in cloth of gold and panoply of gorgeousness, came in state, with a large retinue, and laid siege to the heart of Madhavan's ever constant mistress; only to be spurned and laughed at by her. Poor man! He was ignorant of English, and, on that score alone, indefensible. But, besides this appalling lack of virtue, his mouth, when he laughed stretched from ear to ear. Another trait in his character was

* The battery he took with him on his hunting expeditions—which were undertaken on foot and *solus*—consisted of 2 or 3 excellent guns of different kinds and 2 or 3 pistols and revolvers.

fondness for the drama. "If the year had contained more than 365 days, and if he had seen a piece performed every day, even then he would not have been satisfied" Clearly, a young lady so æsthetically brought up as the heroine of this novel, was in duty bound to have no patience with such a commonplace wooer as this. It goes without saying that his wooing, though he was allowed *tête-à-tête* interviews, and though his suit was favoured by the young lady's guardians, was unsuccessful. Heroines in novels, whatever else they may be, are predestined to be constant.

By way of showing her constancy with effect, Induleka took pains to be rude to her unwelcome adorer, made of him a laughing stock and a shame, drew him out to make himself silly. Her behaviour at this time does not strike us as in the best taste, but the chapters of the novel detailing it are serviceable as a guide to Malayalam notions of correct behaviour, and a certain tendency to confound humour with flippancy. Some of the situations in the novel, however, are decidedly humorous, and humorously worked out, too. Take, for instance, the following conversation between Kesarvan Nambudiri and his wife :—

"They say earthoil light is very bad for the eyes." "Who told you such nonsense?" replied Kesavan Nambudiri. "As for earth-oil, I suppose you mean kerosene. That's the proper name. It is first class stuff, and I lately saw the Thread Company's factory lighted throughout with kerosene lamps. I can't tell you, Lakshmi Kutty, how crowded that place is with people, and I've often wished to take you there to see all the wonders."

"What are all those wonders?" asked Lakshmi Kutty.

"Heaven help me, but I can't describe them," replied Kesavan Nambudiri. "The ingenuity of the white men is wonderful, and you'd be astonished, Lakshmi, if you saw it; you wouldn't believe it, but the thing which has made so much noise in the world as a Thread Company is nothing but an iron wheel. It makes all the thread and is driven round and round by nothing but smoke, smoke,—nothing but smoke. But this smoke does not, like the smoke which hangs about our fire-places, irritate the eyes and nose and lungs in the least. They have built an enormous tail like a flagstaff over the Company, and say it is intended to carry off the smoke. But I have my doubts as to this, and think there must be some magic charm inside it. These white men are too clever to fet it out. If there were nothing of the kind, would the iron company and mins move as if they heard the word of command? No, there must be some charm about it."

"Can't any of you find out what the charm is?" asked Lakshmi Kutty.

"If I asked the Engineer he would shoot me. No, No! We can't think of asking him any thing," said Kesavan Nambudiri. "But if any of us went there, he would take us near the machine and rap out one lie after another. Even a child would not be taken in by what he says, but we daren't show in the least that we don't believe him. On the contrary, we pretend that we are quite convinced."

"With all respect to you," replied Lakshmi Kutty, "I think this story about the smoke turning the machine is a mistake. Induleka told me some things a few days ago about the railway train. She said that all machines of this kind are worked by the power of steam, and that smoke has no power in itself. She explained, amongst other things, that there is no smoke without fire, and that we simply see smoke where fire is, but that beyond this fact, smoke in itself is of no use."

"Ah, that may be so in the case of railway trains," said Kesavan Nambudiri, "but all the same, it is smoke that drives the Thread Company round. I am certain, too, that there's some magic power inside that flagstaff. I have no doubt of it. Madhavan or Govindan Kutti must have been palming off some tales on Induleka. The white men never tell these innocents the exact truth, but cram them with some cock-and-bull story, which the simpletons implicitly believe and repeat to women and such like. They never tell the real secret, or, if they do, it is only to those that go over to their religion and put on hats like theirs."

"I am not so sure of that," said Lukshmi Kutty. "There is really no power in smoke."

"Don't say so," answered Kesavan Nambudiri. "There really is some power in smoke. For instance, do you mean to say that the smoke of a sacrifice has no power? Here is also another point I am not certain about, and I suspect that, in this case there is some sort of sacrifice going on, to gain the favour of some deities. There must be some image or magic circles inside that flagstaff. Who knows? Then this sacrifice must be most acceptable to those deities, and it must be their favour which sends the Company round! Who can tell, except Vishnu himself?"

"But can't you look in and find out?" said Lakshmi Kutty.

"Really, Lakshmi, what a question to ask? Do you suppose these white men would ever allow this? If they did, wouldn't their greatness be at an end? Do you think they will ever part with the secret of the railway trains and telegraphs and other contrivances which we see they have brought into their country? Never. Have those white men spent a fraction in setting up this Thread Company? No. All the money came out of the pockets of the natives, and then what advantages have we gained? Not a single native has been admitted into the mystery. They collected ever so much money, but it was in England that they made their Company, and then brought it out here and started it. No doubt the Company is a mighty and splendid thing to look at, but there again, it is a white man who turns on the smoke and sets it whirling round and makes the thread, and we only gape with wonder when we see it turning. If we natives were not great fools, why should we not have had the Company constructed here at Calicut itself? What was there to hinder us? As the money was ours, were they not bound to do what we said? But even if we said anything, it is not probable that we would gain our point. At any rate, after collecting a lakh and a half of rupees or so, they had the Company and everything constructed in their own country, and then brought it out by sea and set it up here. The wiser they and the greater fools we!"

We cordially recommend this book not only to students of native character, but also to novel readers who have not been spoilt by sensationalism, and retain their liking for a homely story, bearing a good deal of similitude to real life and

humanity. The book is priggish in tone throughout : that is the worst fault that can be urged against it. Even the peerless Induleka has priggish instincts. As illustrative of the book's keynote, we quote a long speech put into her mouth by the author :—

"To say that a woman makes light of the marriage tie, is tantamount to saying that she is immoral. Did Madhavan then mean that all, or most of the women in this Land of Palms, are immoral? If he did, then I for one certainly cannot believe him. If he intended to signify that we Nairs encourage immorality, because, unlike the Brahmins, we do not force our womenkind to live lives worthy only of the brute creation by prohibiting all intercourse with others, and by closing against them the gates of knowledge, then never was there formed any opinion so false. Look at Europe and America, where women share equally with men the advantages of education and literature and liberty! Are these women all immoral? Because, in those countries, a woman who adds refinement of education to beauty of person, enjoys the society and conversation of men, is it to be straightway supposed that the men whom she admits into the circle of her friends are more to her than mere friends? Or because, when a woman has cultivated her musical talents, a dozen men go in a body to hear her sing, will you basely conclude that their real object is totally different and by no means so innocent? You men, being fools, take pride in a reputation for gallantry, and we women are implicated helplessly in your scandals; but unless you are utterly lost to all sense of honour, you will surely not besmirch with this foul calumny the fair name of women, who, belonging as they do to your own race and caste, have the strongest claim on your loyalty. A woman may have countless occasions and opportunities for enjoyment and amusement and mirth in male society without swerving a hair's breadth from the path of virtue, and it would cause me the greatest surprise if Madhavan took the part of those pestilential scandalmongers who assume that gratification of lust is in reality the one and only object of such pastime.

'In my opinion, it is the restraints placed on the liberty of women and the fashion of bringing them up as if they belonged only to the brute creation, that are the chief and most prolific causes of immorality, and would any one think of imputing immorality to one of the lower animals because it yields to its carnal appetites? I do not say that education and enlightenment invariably make man or woman proof against debauchery, and experience shows us that depravity and moral corruption do occasionally prevail even among those whose minds have received the utmost benefits of civilization, but I am amazed when I hear certain persons, whom I can call nothing short of fools, assert that the root of the evil is education itself.

'The truth undoubtedly is that the diffusion of knowledge is the greatest foe of profligacy and vice, and Madhavan probably meant to inveigh against the ordinance of our race, by which it is lawful for a woman to put away one husband and take another according to her own will and pleasure. There are some disreputable women who avail themselves inconspicuously of their prerogative, but the prerogative in itself is one of our most valuable institutions. Such liberty is unknown even in Europe, but I have read that some of the wisest heads both in Europe and America consider that the privilege should be universal. Without this power of freedom, numbers of married couples, both in Europe and India, are doomed irrevocably to pass their lives

'in misery, and if the right is exercised, not with vicious intent but on just and proper occasion, it affords women the most ample and needful means of protection. If Madhavan could have reckoned up accurately the number of cases which have occurred in Malabar during the last ten years, in which wives have renounced their husbands and husbands have divorced their wives without just cause, I have no hesitation in stating that he would have found the average on the total number of separations to be less than one in a thousand. It is true that while, in some instances, the renunciation is justified by circumstances, in others it is due only to the perversity or misfortune of one or other of the individuals concerned, but that Nair women should be charged with habitually resorting to such tactics is intolerable. The maintenance of their liberty in this respect is beneficial, but the privilege is intended to be used, not abused, and when it is abused, infamy is the natural consequence. The fault, however, lies not in the ordinance itself, but in the wrongful application of it, and therefore I cannot allow such a sweeping accusation against my sex as is contained in Madhavan's angry words to pass unchallenged.'

British Work in India. By R. CARSTAIRS. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. MDCCCXCI.

MR. R. CARSTAIRS, C.S., is an active minded and busy man, even whilst in enjoyment of the *otium cum dignitate* he is fairly entitled to when on furlough. In proof of his activity, we have before us a book of his on *British Work in India*; a book which, to use his own words, is offered, not as the last word to a controversy in which all is said that can be said, but rather as a contribution which may lead men to think, and may induce fertile minds to produce thoughts. We commend the suggestion to members of the National Congress, whose fertile minds seem hitherto to have been strained in the direction of bombast rather than serviceable cogitation in the country's needs, and the best means of transforming them into accomplished facts.

Mr. Carstairs' book, it appears, originated in conviction borne in upon his mind by many years' experience, that Englishmen, in their regard for India, may be divided into two sections:—

One of which seem to think that India is another Britain, but for British rule, and that all it needs in order to become free and prosperous, is to be given up to its own inhabitants; while the other section seem to think, that the relation of master and slave is the only one that can be looked for between the British nation and the peoples of India.

The first part of this differentiating judgment is not clearly intelligible, though its general drift is apparent. All through the book there are traces of similarly slipshod literary workmanship; and they tend to throw doubt on the author's fitness

for the work he has undertaken; for confusion of words is indication of confusion of ideas. Judged on one side of his work, Mr. Carstairs is platitudinarian to a wearisome extent; on the other, he is weakly prone to sensational language, *e.g.*, in his opening chapter:—"On the one side we hear orators cry Crush! By the sword the empire was won, and by the sword it must be held. On the other, we hear men cry in the name of holy freedom, Retire: India for the Indians Stand aside, and let the people of the country work out their own destiny." In his chapter on Central and Local Government, Mr. Carstairs hits a blot when he says, that the area governed by the District Board is far too great, being generally as large as many English counties, and swarming with a dense rural population. And in this great district there is no single will which the Boards can represent. "Therefore the Board cannot possibly be representative of local will." This is a hard saying: we confess inability to follow the argument. This is plainer:—

The members of the District Board are for the most part men who seldom go about, and know no part of the area they are supposed to govern save the immediate neighbourhood of their homes. They are either lawyers or men of little education and narrow experience. Compare with these the nobles and gentlemen who have hitherto conducted the county business of Great Britain. They have to depend, in a far greater degree than the district officers did, on the knowledge and action of others, either their paid servants or the district officer himself, for discovering and supplying wants. The District Board is, indeed, a very good example of that dangerous class of persons already described, who, posing to the Government as representatives of the people, and to the people as agents of the State, will, if suffered to have power, become despots on their own account, carrying out neither the will of the people nor that of the State.

One of the difficulties in the way of an elective legislature in India recognized by our author is the fact, that this method of ascertaining who is strongest, is a Western world method, uncongential and inapplicable to the traditions and habits of Oriental life. Another difficulty in Mr. Carstairs' way, is definition of the place the British nation ought to occupy in his scheme; yet another, an idea that the peoples of India are not all of the same fighting value. "We cannot by counting heads ascertain which side would win, if there were a resort to force." Would would-be savants and estimators of mob force in England be able to calculate any more accurately? The great Napoleon's dictum notwithstanding, Providence is *not always* on the side of the big battalions. *À propos* of an elected legislature, Mr. Carstairs writes with some prevision of judgment:—

If the British nation were to stand aside for a year, and indeed, give a free hand, surprising results, which may be guessed, would follow.

One result, it is, safe to prophesy, would be that Bengal, with its seventy millions of sheep, now so full of bluster and eloquence, would be mute in presence of the wolves of the Punjab and of the North-West; that the Mussulmans, although in number only one-fifth of the Hindoos, would be making a bid for power; and that the martial races of India would be putting, in spite of the settlement by vote, to the practical test of war, their respective claims to guide the "national will." The "national will" would probably be torn to pieces and destroyed in the struggle.

Travel, Adventure and Sport. Kashmir by ANDREW WILSON
Salmo-Hucho Fishing in Bavaria, by GILFRID W. HARTLEY.
Travels in Circassia by LAURENCE OLIPHANT. William
Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

IN No XII of the reprint of *Tales from Blackwood* is an account of Kashmir by Mr. Andrew Wilson, which should interest Indian readers. It may not be amiss at the present time to reproduce Mr. Wilson's remarks on the character of the people of that most beautiful and degraded region. He says:—

Many hundred years ago the Chinese traveller Fa Hian spoke of the people of Kashmir as being of a peculiarly bad character. Ranjit Singh said to Sir Alexander Burnes, "All the people I send into Kashmir turn out rascals (*charamzad*); there is too much pleasure and enjoyment in that country." Moorcroft described them as "selfish, superstitious, ignorant, supple, intriguing, dishonest, and false." A more recent traveller, Dr. A. L. Adams, the naturalist, says of them: "Everywhere in Kashmir you see the inhabitants indolent to a degree, filthy in their habits, mean, cowardly, shabby, irresolute, and indifferent to all ideas of reform or progress." Their name has become a by word throughout a great part of Asia. Even where there are so many deceitful nations, they have obtained a bad pre-eminence. According to a well-known Persian saying, "you will never experience anything but sorrow and anxiety from the Kashmiri."

The Handbook of Games. Enlarged Edition with Contributions by DR. WILLIAM POLE, F.R.S.; MAJOR-GENERAL DRAYSON; ROBERT F. GREEN; "BERKELEY;" and "BAXTER-WRAY," In two Volumes. Vol. II.—Card Games. London; George Bell & Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1891.

ABOUT a third part of the second Volume of Messrs. George Bell and Sons' *Handbook of Games* is devoted to Whist and its tactics, and the book is dedicated to Henry Jones, Esq., known to the world as "Cavendish, the highest living authority on many of our games of chance and skill." "Cavendish," in fact, godfathers the book, which is an adequate guarantee that it is according to Hoyle—Hoyle sublimated and refined, according to the usage of more modern times, the arcana of American leads, &c.

Here is a table of approved leads :—

Holding—	1st Lead from that suit.	2nd Lead from that suit.
Ace, king, queen, knave.	King.	Knave.
Ace, king, queen.	King.	Queen.
Ace, king.	King.	Ace.
King, queen, knave, with only one small.	King.	Knave.
King, queen, knave, with more than one small.	Knave.	King or queen.
King, queen.	King.	Small, if not taken by ace Queen, if so taken.
Ace, queen, knave, with one small.	Ace.	Queen.
Ace, queen, knave, with more than one small.	Ace.	Knave.
King, knave, ten, nine. King, knave, ten.	Nine. Ten.	If ace or queen falls, king.
Queen, knave, ten, nine.	Queen.	Nine.
Queen, knave, ten.	Queen.	Knave, or ten.
Ace with four small.	Ace.	Small.
Other cases.	Small card.	

The laws of Solo Whist are given, and there are treatises on

piquet, écarté, euchre, bezique, cribbage, loo, commerce, and round games. The compilation deserves its title of Handbook, and is a useful one.

A History of Civilization in Ancient India based on Sanscrit Literature. By ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, of the Bengal Civil Service, and of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law; Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Author of a Bengali Translation of the Rig Veda Sanhita and other Works. People's Edition. Complete in one Volume. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1891.

OUR thanks are due to Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co. for a copy of a People's Edition of Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, complete in one volume—a form in which it ought to become popular. We have already reviewed the book at some length in previous issues of the *Review*, and need only add now to what we have said before, that Mr. Dutt's work is a valuable contribution to the history of his country, a book which, now that it is placed within everybody's reach, everybody would do well to read.

English Composition and Rhetoric. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. Edited, with additions for Indian Students, by JOHN ADAM, M.A., Principal and Professor of History and Political Economy, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras; Fellow of the University of Madras; Sometimes scholar of the University of Aberdeen and of Pembroke College, Cambridge. *Limæ Labor.* Madras: Tawker Sadananda and Co., Esplanade Row and at Trichinopoly, 1891.

MR. ADAM, the Principal of Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, seems bent on rivalling Sir Roper Lethbridge in the manufacture of school books. The latest outcome of his industry is a reprint of Professor Bain's *English Composition and Rhetoric*, with notes and additions for Indian Students. As a teacher of English, to such students, Mr. Adam's chief difficulty has lain in the fact, that they can hardly be persuaded of either the possibility or the need of method in composition, and he has set himself to laying down directions for methodizing. Particular and minute directions, which may possibly be useful to boys who measure their exercises with a foot-rule, but which we are afraid will, with those who diligently follow after them, tend to intensify the predominant fault of Indian students,—parrot-like imitation without mental receptivity. It seems to us that originality of thought

amongst them stands in need of encouragement rather than depression.

In his chapter on versification, Mr. Adam glorifies the meretriciousness of alliteration, and has been at pains to collect isolated instances of its use by Milton, Coleridge, Shelley, and Tennyson. Why did he not quote some of the ridiculous janglings of language, that love of alliteration has led Mr. Swinburne into? Students should be shown both sides of a shield.

The National Review January 1891. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place.

THE *National Review* for January is replete with interesting matter. Boys' fathers and mothers might do worse than read and inwardly digest papers on *School-boys' Parents* by Austen Pember, and *Modern School Bills* by Arthur Gaye; while people responsible for the upbringing of young women, may derive instruction from what Miss Frances Ashton, of Girton College, says about the scholastic course of girl undergraduates and graduates there.

She complains of unnecessary difficulties put in the way of young women desirous of taking an ordinary degree, and declares, that they are practically forced into taking a tripos; which means, on her showing a foregone conclusion that second and third class results are the best that can be looked for. Mr. Gallatty having ventured to question the superiority of women over men in modern languages, Miss Ashwell quotes figures in opposition. Here they are:—

MEN.

		First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.
1886	- -	...	1	2
1887	- -	...	1	1
1888	- -	...	...	2
1889	- -	3	3	4
1890	- -	1	2	1
		—	—	—
Total	-	4	7	10.
		—	—	—

WOMEN.

		First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.
1886	- -	2	1	...
1887	- -	1	1	1
1888	- -	1	1	...
1889	- -	2	3	1
1890	- -	...	5	...
		—	—	—
Total	-	6	11	2

Thus twenty-one men have taken this tripos and nineteen women; but the women have carried off two more first classes and four more second classes than the men.

Mr. Appleyard's Article—*Matthew Arnold : Criticism of Life*—is eulogistic of that poet's work :—

In reading Arnold's poetry the student is never bewildered by a doubt as to what it is that his author means to say, and never called upon to reconcile two apparently conflicting statements. If Arnold did not always see life "whole," he at any rate saw it "steadily." From the time when he first began to write, to the year when he resigned the Oxford chair of poetry and departed "into the world and wave of men," his muse never wavered in her views of life, and never gave utterance to a single vacillating or undecided note. The stoical sadness and the gentle pantheism are as perceptible in *Resignation* as they are in *Thyrsis*.

It appears to us that the bent of Matthew Arnold's mind was too essentially critical for good poetry to be evolved from it. Mr. Appleyard does not think so, but nevertheless, after some quotations from *Thyrsis*, *The Scholar Gipsy*, &c., he is fain to pen this apology: "But it will be said that all this is vague and indefinite, that here is no utterance worthy of Apollo, no sure consolation for the world-weary and dejected." Mr. Appleyard strenuously combats this critical verdict. We are of opinion that it is a correct one.

Adventures of Thomas Brown, a Griffin. Bombay : Messrs. Thacker and Co., Limited, 1891.

TO those whose appetite for fun needs no coaxing, we can recommend the above unpretentious little volume in which Mr. Thomas Brown, who, we believe, is a well-known Bombay Civilian, narrates the experiences of his early youth and Griffin-hood. From the first page to the last, there is no affectation of a serious purpose, and the reader is spared all speculation as to the proportion which truth bears to fiction in the narrative. The author's humour is of the frank and demonstrative kind, which places no reliance on surprise, or artifice of any sort. He himself tells us plainly that he writes principally to amuse the young, and in "a vein of frivolous levity only;" yet there are passages in the book which never so crabbed age will find it hard to resist. Take, for instance, the following, in which Colonel Horace Pigg, &c., Military Political Agent, laments "the good old days" :—

"Thirty years ago," sighed Pigg, — and his sigh was as the sigh of the distant hurricane, — "I joined this department. Seventeen years of age I was with all my faculties brisk and keen. They put me in charge of the State of Haramkhorabad. By Jove, what a charge it was! and how magnificently I discharged my duties! First, thing on my arrival I sent for the dewan, an aged scoundrel. He knew no

English, and it is not easy to be diplomatic in Hindustani when one is but imperfectly acquainted with that exuberant language. I recollect the scene as though it were yesterday ! ' *Salaam*, ' says I to him ; and, with a profound obeisance, ' *Salaam aleikum gharib par-wur*, ' he replies. I fancied he was calling me opprobrious names, and fixed him sternly with my cold grey eye. ' *Sunno*, ' I continued, with expressive directness, ' *tum barra luchiu hai*,—ho, ' I mean (for I always used the plural of respect in addressing distinguished natives)—' *be shak tum barra luchia ho*. ' This took the wind out of his sails and he gazed at me idiotically. But I was determined to be diplomatic and achieve a reputation. ' *Ham malik*, ' I resumed imperiously, ' *tum nokar, hamara hukm karo, kya ?* ' He appeared to be quite dumb-founded and made no reply to this overture, so I dismissed him on the spot, and appointed my butler's brother—a very talented Portuguese gentleman from Goa—Dewan of Haramkhorabad. You could not do that now-a-days, ' he added, turning to me with a note of pathetic enquiry in his voice, "at least not without an awful row." I was much too deeply interested in these reminiscences of the palmy days of a moribund department to check them by any rudely discouraging comments : so I merely said. "Perhaps not, my dear colonel, but pray go on." "Well, that State was soon a model of good government. It is true that the ex-dewan wanted to appeal, but I decided the matter *ex parte* ; and when he pressed his application, I tried him for contempt of court, begad, and laid him by the heels for six months." "Was not that just a little—er—summary?" I ventured to interpolate. "Summary be hanged ! I tell you that's the ticket with these native States. You would not believe it, but I had no more trouble with that dewan. In fact, he removed himself clear out of my jurisdiction without losing a moment, as soon as I let him out of gaol : and though he petitioned Government, they only said : 'Where the devil's Haramkhorabad, and who the devil's Pigg ?' So I had it all my own way. The new dewan worked splendidly, and my butler built himself a palace at Goa. A very respectable, and highly connected family they were, I believe, though in reduced circumstances when I first met them. Well, in about six months or so, there was a confoundedly intricate case. I saw at once which way it ought to go, of course ; and I don't suppose it would have occupied a man like me half an hour if they would have let me alone. But a barrister of sorts came down and insisted on pleading. He quoted all sorts of books I had never heard of, and though I overruled him on every point promptly, and on principle, he seemed dissatisfied. When I had wasted quite enough time over a case that was a foregone conclusion to my mind, I was just going to deliver judgment, when my barrister wanted 'to open for the defence,' I think he called it. This was too much. 'You are estopped, Sir, from defending this case,' I shouted. 'May it please your honour, and why ?' says he. 'Gad, that's more than I know,' says I ; 'but estopped you are, and you may bet your pile on that.' I tell you he just bustled out of court and away back in his bullock cart across the wilderness. They are the plague of an honest political's life, those barristers : but I never saw any more of them at Haramkhorabad. Ah, grand old times those were ! Fine old military justice ; and what justice it was too ! The pure undiluted article !"

The Indian Church Quarterly Review. January 1891. Edited by the REV. H. J. SPENCE GRAY, M.A. London: Messrs. J. Masters, 78, New Bond Street. Calcutta: The Oxford Mission Steam Printing Works.

LUX MUNDI has reached a tenth edition, and is now an iconoclast factor in Bible criticism that cannot be ignored. *The Indian Church Quarterly Review* for January opens with an onslaught on the book, from which we quote:—

Archdeacon Deacon and Dr. Leathes have both expressed themselves utterly dissatisfied with the new preface to *Lux Mundi* just out: the former in several letters to the *Guardian*; the latter in the *Theological Monthly* for August. "We have no business," says Dr. Leathes, "to import inspiration into the discussion: still less are we at liberty to use the word in a vague and indeterminate sense, as though we were all agreed upon the meaning of it. . . . Let us first know clearly what we all mean by inspiration, or else let us leave it out of the question altogether. . . . The real question is, whether what the Old Testament says about itself is, or is not, to be trusted. . . . It is all moonshine to talk of the revelation of God as the net result of a series of illusions, misconceptions, misrepresentations, and what not, every one of which is a mistake in itself, though the whole together constitute the revelation. . . . We are told by the writer in *Lux Mundi*, that inspiration excludes conscious deception or pious fraud. . . . But take the case of Deuteronomy. What are we to say of a writer who, in the reign of Josiah, eight centuries after Moses, should put forth an ideal representation of the last months of the life of Moses, of whom there was no record whatever, and say among other things—"These are the words of the covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which He made with them in Horeb"—would this be conscious deception or pious fraud? Or would it be a case in which the purity of the intention would justify the dubious character of the means employed? . . . The life of the Church is based upon historic fact. It cannot exist, if divorced from fact: and it is the Scriptures, which are the ultimate witnesses to the facts on which the existence of the Church depends. . . . There can be no Christ in the New Testament, if there is not the framework, skeleton, and outline of a Christ in the Old. But if there was no promise to Abraham, and no promise to Moses, and no promise to David, and no vision vouchsafed to Daniel, I am at a loss to know where the framework of a Christ is to be found in the Old Testament: for if we cannot trust the history in these matters, we can trust it nowhere."

We cannot consider these words at all too strong for the occasion. They are the weighty words of common sense. They protest against contradictions in logic; against quibbling, conscious or unconscious, with a solemn subject; against airing tentative hypotheses in a work professing to be didactic.

To this issue of the *Review* the Rev. F. N. Oxenham contributes an appreciative paper on the "Ober-Ammergau Passion Play of 1890." Dr. Plummer's paper on "Cremation" should be read. Here is its concluding paragraph:—

But perhaps enough has been said to show that the disadvantages of interment are serious enough to make us think that an alternative method is required, especially in the neighbourhood of large towns and in times of pestilence; and still more to show that among various possible alternatives the one that has most claim upon our attention is cremation. Those of us who think much about the health of our children and grandchildren, to say nothing of a more remote posterity, ought to take an interest in checking the grave mischief which very frequently attends the costly process of making and maintaining a cemetery, and ought to encourage any practical means that can be adopted for putting an end to it altogether.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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